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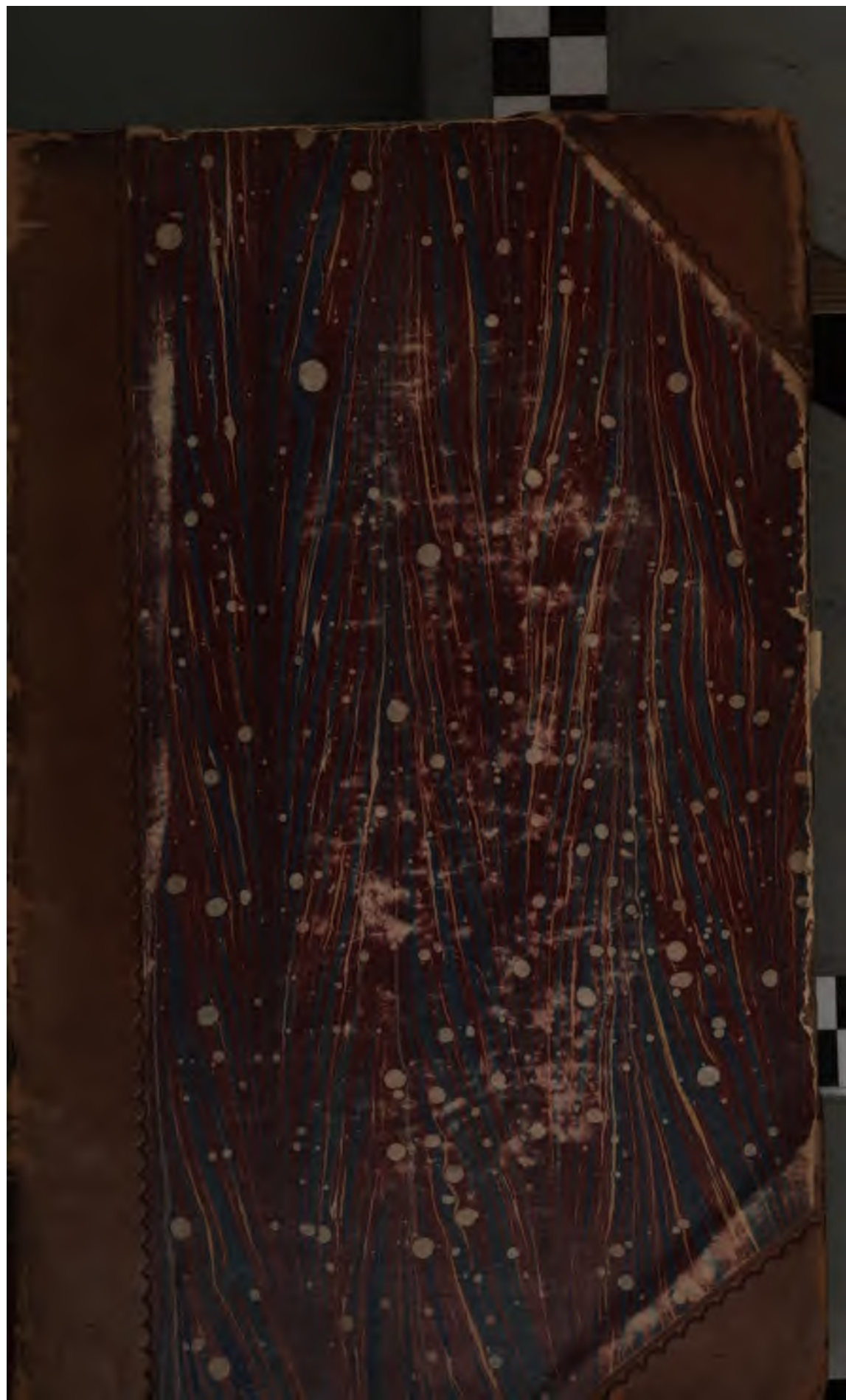
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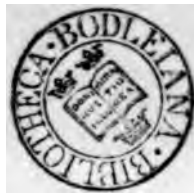


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THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO
THE PRESENT TIME.

VOL. VI.



THE MONASTERY OF FIFE

BLACKIE AND SONS
GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND LONDON.



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WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

VOLUME VI.



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BOOK XXIV.
1709.
Anne.
View of foreign and domestic politics.

I. DISCONTENT was not now confined to the Scots or the Jacobites. Taxes began to press heavily in England, and the object which had rendered the war so popular appeared to be accomplished: France, humbled and exhausted, was no longer the terror of Europe, and the aggrandisement of the house of Austria appeared to threaten the balance of power as effectually as that of the family of Bourbon, and rendered it a matter of doubt whether a brother of the emperor, or a grandson of Louis, would be most to be feared as the monarch of Spain and the Indies. The Tories in England were not all, nor even a majority of them, Jacobites, but they possessed that principle equally strong in Jacobite or Hanoverian—the love of power; and were like them not always over scrupulous about the means of obtaining it. They had long viewed with desire the places from which they were excluded; but the unvaried success of Marlborough seemed to seal their exclusion, when that very circumstance operated in their favour.

II. A severe winter, which blasted the expectation of the vine, and destroyed the hope of the olive, completed the misery of France; and her king, whom the venal poets of his court had prematurely deified as “the Great,” was compelled to bow himself before his enemies and sue for peace. He agreed to submit to the most humiliating terms—to acknowledge the archduke Charles as king of Spain—to cause his grandson to withdraw from the contest—to acknowledge the queen of England and the Protestant succession—to order the Pretender to leave his territories—demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk—to give strong barriers to the States and the duke of Savoy, and to discuss any further concessions in a general congress. The allies alleged that France

was insincere, and the negotiation was broken off; but the tories insinuated that it was the avarice of Marlborough, and the policy of the whigs, who must have lost their war-offices and emoluments, that occasioned the failure; and all moderate men unconnected with party, lamented that terms which would have secured the repose of Europe and the protestant ascendancy, had been refused without a sufficient and palpable necessity. From this period the war began to become unpopular, and the whig administration to decline in the affections and confidence of the nation. They had already lost the confidence of the queen. A Mrs. Masham, a relation of the duchess of Marlborough, who had been introduced by her to her majesty as her dresser, soon perceived that Anne felt uneasy under the domineering friendship of her grace, and by more supple attention, and humble compliance, supplanted the imperious favourite; and the intrigues of Harley had paved the way for the dismissal of the whigs, whenever a proper opportunity should arrive; but as Anne was naturally deficient in that moral courage which enables a person to act with decision, it is problematical whether that opportunity might ever have arrived, had not the whigs themselves procured it.

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1709.

Negotia-
tions brok-
en off.Mrs. Ma-h-
am becomes
the queen's
favourite.

III. Scarcity began to be felt in Britain, and the tories contrasted the sufferings of the people, the decline of the trade, and the amount of taxes, with the vast fortunes which the general, the treasurer, and the immediate servants of the crown were realizing; the constant drain, too, of men, which the murderous victories of Marlborough occasioned, not only spread misery throughout the cottages of the country, but carried distress into the bosoms of many of the first families of the land. While these causes were sapping the foundations of the whig ministry, a high church zealot sprung a mine they themselves had charged, which shattered their government, and produced a most violent concussion throughout the whole empire.

Whig in-
terest de-
clines.

IV. At the union the episcopalians affected to dread the admission of so many presbyterian peers and commoners into the united legislature; and this prejudice had been carefully cherished by the tories whom they opposed. The convocation of the English clergy had been suspended dur-

BOOK
XXIV.1709.
Causes of
it.

ing the last sitting of the British parliament, while the assembly of the church of Scotland had been permitted to meet; toleration was the avowed creed of the whigs, and the consequence had been an alarming increase of sectaries; the benevolence which had dictated a subscription for relief of the foreign refugees—who were chiefly calvinists—and an act passed for their naturalization, were represented as invidious methods to swell the ranks of the enemies of the church: and all were urged as proofs of a conspiracy against the hierarchy, and preparatory to a renewal of the religious fanaticism of the days of the commonwealth:—however ridiculous these imputations may now appear, they were then both widely disseminated and believed: the explosion followed.

v. On the anniversary of the gunpowder plot, Henry Sacheverel, D. D. a fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, if not of superlative abilities,* certainly of matchless effrontery, who had previously, by intemperate invective against the existing government, attempted to render himself notorious—having been appointed to preach in St. Paul's, before the lord mayor, chose for his text 2 Cor. xi. 26, "In perils amongst false brethren:"—and in his declamation, indulged in the most virulent abuse of the then present administra-

* "As to his wit and learning," one of the controversialists of the day makes the following remarks,—“I dare be his compurgator with respect to both these. The very title of his sermon is bad grammar. ‘The Perils of False Brethren in Church and State,’ is properly the perils to which these false brethren are exposed, and not the perils arising from them. As to other gross nonsense, did any man ever before hear of ‘professed hypocrites?’ but if he did, I am confident ‘parallel lines running together, and at last meeting in the centre,’ is a discovery entirely his own.”—Bisset’s *Modern Fanatic*, p. 16.

The mathematical discovery here eulogized, is extracted from an assize sermon which I have not seen; but the two printed discourses—“The Communication of Sin,” and “The Perils of False Brethren,” which I have, are not quite such despicable performances as his antagonists describe; they no doubt contain much distorted argument, delivered in turgid language, and studded with false ornament; and much “turbulent and rampant and even blasphemous matter,” but there are many severe and some plausible passages in them; nor is it rational to suppose, that if they had been such very silly performances, they could have produced the effects they did. They were aided, however, Cunningham tells us, “by a melodious voice, a good figure, and a graceful delivery.” *Hist. v. i. p. 275.*

tion and their measures; in particular, the lord treasurer was scurrilously attacked under the name of Volpone,* and those bishops who had inculcated toleration were inveighed against as perfidious prelates and false sons of the church. He roundly asserted, in the most unqualified terms, the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, which, by a strange kind of sophistry, he averred the revolution did not oppose. The union was obliquely satirized, on account of admitting presbyterians to take the sacramental test, which he represented "as breaking down the inclosures and making a high road in upon her [the church of England's] communion, so that the pure spouse of Christ was prostituted to more adulteries than the scarlet whore in the Revelations;" he then "sounded the trumpet in Zion, declaring the church was in danger from the violent assaults of open enemies, and the indifference and lukewarmness of hollow heartless friends; and that it became every true and right-hearted man to put on the whole armour of God." This discourse, which the common council refused to sanction, he printed, with the approbation of the lord mayor, to whom it was dedicated; and the tories, to whose passions a vehement appeal was made, expressed the wildest approbation of the incomparable performance; while the whigs, in return, decried it as utterly contemptible in a literary, and detestable in a political point of view. It happened, however, to fall in so well with the turning tide of the times, that upwards of forty thousand copies were sold in a few days.

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XXIV.1709.
Sacheverel's sermon.Applauded
by the to-
ries—de-
cried by the
whigs

vi. Exasperated at its success, and wincing under some unpleasant, but not untrue rubs, it gave to their galled flanks, the ministry adopted the worst of all possible methods of wreaking their vengeance on the author. Had they allowed it to remain unnoticed, it would have been the wonder of an hour, and would have died away; or when it was injudiciously obtruded on the attention of the house of commons, had they adopted the opinion of the wiser members, ordered the obnoxious pamphlet to be burned by the

Impolicy of
the minis-
try respect-
ing it.

* An avaricious, and, of course, a fraudulent, cheating, lying scoundrel, the principal character in Ben Johnson's comedy of Volpone, or the Fox.

BOOK
XXIV.

1710.
He is im-
peached.

hands of the common hangman, and committed the writer to Newgate till the end of the session, it would, in all probability, never more have been heard of; but by some unaccountable infatuation, they resolved to impeach him solemnly at the bar of the house of lords, as guilty of high crimes and misdemeanours.

His trial.

VII. No sooner was this known, than Sacheverel was proclaimed the champion and martyr of the church, to whose subversion his impeachment was only the prelude. Inflamed by such assertions, the populace, during his trial, which lasted three weeks, attended to almost nothing else; they surrounded his chariot as he went to Westminster hall, and diversified the entertainment by various interludes, insulting the whig members, burning the furniture of the dissenting chapels, and rioting most lustily for the honour of the church! Anne came regularly to the trial incognito. Being supposed friendly to the impugned doctrines, the earl of Wharton one day took the opportunity to observe, "that if the revolution was not lawful, many in that house, and vast numbers out of it, were guilty of bloodshed and treason; and that the queen herself was no legal sovereign, since the best title she had to the crown was her parliamentary title founded on the revolution;" bishop Burnet was equally explicit. He remarked, "that by inveighing against the revolution, the toleration, and the union, a direct attack was made upon her majesty; who had a distinguished share in the first, had uniformly declared that she would maintain the second, and that she looked upon the third as the most glorious event of her reign."

Found guilty—his sentence.

VIII. The debates were long and violent, both parties summoning their whole strength, but at the close the delinquent was only found guilty by a majority of seventeen voices, fifty-two voting for, and sixty-nine against him. He was sentenced to be suspended from preaching for three years, and his sermon ordered to be burned in presence of the lord major and the sheriffs of London, which was done accordingly; and by a late and rather whimsical act of justice, the famous decree of the Oxford university, passed nearly thirty years before, asserting the absolute au-

thority, and indefeasible right of princes, was committed to the same flames.

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XXIV.

1710.

IX. Such a result of the mighty preparation and enormous expense of the impeachment, realized the fable of the mountain in labour, and threw an air of ridicule over the whole proceedings. The tory faction justly considered it as a triumph, and celebrated it by bonfires and illuminations, not only in London, but throughout the whole kingdom; and their rejoicings were succeeded by numerous addresses, expressive of zealous attachment to the church, and detestation of all anti-monarchial and republican principles. In a progress which Sacheverel afterwards made to take possession of a living in Wales, he was magnificently entertained by the univerty of Oxford and several noblemen, and his procession resembled the pomp and state of a prince; he was received in many of the towns by the magistrates in their robes, and was usually escorted by a body of a thousand horse. The hedges for miles were hung with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; the steepies were covered with streamers and flags, and the air resounded with shouts of "the church and Dr. Sacheverel."* To those who court the favour, and idolize the voice of the multitude, this enthusiastic admiration of a hypocritical haranguer, which pervaded all ranks for a while, is calculated to carry wholesome admonition; and when contrasted with the indifference and obloquy with which Marlborough was almost at the very moment treated, proclaims loudly the worthlessness, as well as the mutability of popular applause. This trial had so completely occupied the attention of parliament, that little other business was attended to, and nothing that particularly regarded Scotland. But the Scottish peers, who had till now uniformly voted with the court, divided upon this occasion, and Hamilton, Mar, Weems, and Northesk, went over to the tories: for which the duke was rewarded afterwards with the lord lieutenancy of Lancaster.

Rejoicings
of the tory
faction.

Sacheverel's popularity.

Scottish
peers divide on the
question.

X. Emboldened by these appearances, while the tory ma-

* Two steeples in Bridgenorth had no less than fifty pounds worth of flags and colours upon them, which were enough for a fleet of colliers, and would have been more religiously employed. Annals of Queen Anne. Oldmixon, p. 454.

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1710.

A tory mi-
nistry form-
ed.Triumph-
ant in Eng-
land.

nia was at its height, the queen dismissed the whig ministry, and formed a high church cabinet, at the head of which Harley, created earl of Oxford in the following May, was placed; sir Simon Harcourt being made lord chancellor; lord Rochester, the queen's uncle, president of the council; Henry St. John and lord Dartmouth, secretaries of state; and the duke of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland. A new parliament being requisite to support the new ministry, the elections in England were carried before the popular commotion had subsided, almost wholly in favour of the tories; and such was the sudden and violent alteration, that a whig durst scarcely appear as a candidate, except at the hazard of his life. The pope and the pretender were forced to hide their diminished heads, and ceased for a time to be terrible, while the banners of "church—and—state" waved triumphant.

General as-
sembly.Commis-
sioner's
speech.

x1. Rumours had reached Scotland of the tumult which raged in the sister kingdom, and the presbyterians were deeply interested in marking its progress, but they prudently remained tranquil waiting the issue; and when the general assembly met in April, any reference that was made to the mad uproar then urging on by the high church episcopalians, was remarkably guarded. The queen's letter was shorter and more general, not less kind or gracious than usual; but the earl of Glasgow—continued commissioner, the whigs not being yet displaced—in his speech was more than commonly warm, in enlarging upon her majesty's unabated affection for the church, and regard for their privileges. Mr. W. Mitchell, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, the moderator, made use of the following significant expressions in his reply: "I have no doubt this assembly will give a dutiful answer to her majesty's letter, each word of which hath its weight, and I hope shall have its effect: I do but add, that as this assembly, and all the favourers and lovers of Zion, hold a high esteem of our privileges and blessings, so I pray and hope they shall be helped through the good hand of our God, to evidence that sense they have of their worth and value, and to show themselves in all things ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ." The answer of the assembly was rather more pointed. "We crave leave upon

this occasion to assure your majesty, that we abhor all the principles that stain the glory of the reformed christian religion, and all opinions that have a tendency to shake the excellent and solid foundation upon which your majesty's just title to the supreme government of your dominions, and the security of your throne in a protestant succession against all popish pretenders, are happily established." They very judiciously, however, avoided in their act for a fast, hinting their fears about the stability of their church, and confined themselves in their preamble to those causes which might at any time be urged "as subjects of humiliation:—the great and crying sins of the land, atheism, irreligion, popery, many errors, and dreadful delusions, with immoralities of all kinds, heinously aggravated as being committed by a professing people in a reformed land, against the clearest light of the glorious gospel."

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1710.

Answer to
the queen's
letter.Act for a
fast.

XII. As no answer, however, had been received to the application of the last assembly, for some medium in Edinburgh through which they might receive the civil sanction for such appointments, they applied to the commissioner, requesting him to transmit the act to the secretaries of state, to be laid before the queen, which he did by the flying post, and readily obtained the royal signature. The application, however, happened to arrive when the episcopal shouting of the church in danger was at its height, and the ministry, who felt their seats shaking by the noisy zealots of one polity, were afraid of encountering the claims of another. Accordingly Sunderland—who communicated the queen's approbation to the moderator—in a private letter to Carstairs, warned him of the danger of pushing forward the pretensions of the church with too much zeal; but he evidently mistook a mere matter of form for some new clerical assertion of authority.*

sanctioned
by the
queen.

* He says, "I hope the assembly will be sensible of her majesty's goodness in condescending to interpose the civil sanction to their act: for which it must be owned there was no occasion, the government not having been wanting hitherto in any thing necessary for promoting either the civil or religious concerns of the people; so that if we could see into the views of some who perhaps have been most active and zealous for this step, we should probably find them different from what they appear to be, and to fall but too much in with the like

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1710.

Commis-
sioner's
closing
speech.

xiii. His grace the commissioner, who was better acquainted with the nature of their proceedings, expressed himself in a very different strain. "I shall not be wanting," said he in his closing address, "faithfully to lay before her majesty the great duty and regard I have observed in the ordering and despatching all your business, to her majesty's person, authority, and government;" and with a kind of presentiment that he might not again speedily meet them, he affectionately added, "I beg leave to return you my most humble and hearty thanks for the many great civilities, and undeserved favour and kindness you have ever loaded me with; and now, particularly on this occasion, I do assure you, I shall, to the utmost of my power, ever support the government of this church, and faithfully and sincerely serve the interests of the same." No acts of any consequence were passed by the assembly.*

Scottish
peers elect-
ed, all fa-
vourable to
the minis-
try.

xiv. Scotland, which might have naturally been expected to be as unanimous in opposition to the high church faction as England was for it, already discovered the subserviency of her representation to the reigning ministry. Hamilton naturally exerted himself for the tories, and Argyle, disgusted at the neglect of Marlborough, also supported the party in place, in which they were joined by Mar; but they acted separately, and the administration affected to leave

humour here, which has already raised so great a ferment; and which, if not diverted, must necessarily end in the disturbance of the quiet both of church, and state. And I dare not promise you, if the assembly should offer again at the like step, that they will meet with the same easiness and compliance in the government. Sunderland's letter to Carstairs, dated May 10th. Carstairs's Papers, p. 785. At this date the whigs had no conception of such a complete overturn as took place in a few months, and would therefore have been willing to gratify the queen and the tories by discountenancing the presbyterians and dissenters. Even Harley apparently contemplated a coalition with part of the ministry; but the latter thought, as they could command the house of commons, and were so strictly united with the allies, they would force the queen to retain them as her servants. This confidence in their own strength was another cause of their downfall; and, had the tories been moderate, would have prevented their rise, for they had alienated their best support, the presbyterians and dissenters. "It was the misfortune of the nation," says a writer of the day, "that we were delivered from one bad set, and put into the hands of such as were no better, if not worse." Thoughts on the peace.

* Actings and Proceedings of the General Assembly, MS. 1710, and Printed Acts, id. An.

the elections in Scotland free. The jacobites complained that they did not, as they expected, receive any countenance from the court;* Queensberry declined interfering with the elections, as his influence in Scotland had greatly diminished since the union; and being, through the interest of Ormond and Rochester, continued third secretary of state, he consented to desert his old friends, and form a part of the new government. The whole sixteen peers were agreeable to the ministry; but it was remarked as a bad omen for the adherents of the pretender, that the earls of Kinnoul, London, Orkney, and Roseberry, had formerly acted with the whigs, and could not be counted upon as favouring their cause, but would be tories only in so far as their interest directed them.† About two-thirds of the commons were tories—that is, ministerial supporters; and had it not been that the revenue officers who were appointed by the last ministry, from gratitude—a very rare principle in politics—voted for their candidates, scarcely one whig would have been returned from the north side of the Tweed, though the presbyterians had taken the alarm, and the ministers began to doubt the stability of their establishment. Even in Fife, which, ever since the days of the reformation, had been distinguished as friendly to the side of the whigs, in a contested election the lyon-king-at-arms carried off the prize; but it must be granted, that the conduct of the other party when in power had not been such as to secure the affections of the people of Scotland; and that, if they would have preferred them, it was more from a dread of their supplanters, than from any great love they bore to them.

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XXIV.

1710.

And about
two-thirds
of the com-
moners.

xv. Every eye was now directed to the new parliament, which met on the twenty-fifth November. Mr. Bromley, member for the university of Oxford, was chosen speaker, which sufficiently indicated the sentiments of that portion of the legislature; but the queen in her speech gave no intimation of a change of politics in the cabinet—"in the plainest

Parliament.

Queen's

speech.

* Lockhart's Commentaries, 319, ib. 320.

† Semper eadem was affixed to the weathercocks on the queen's visit to Oxford. The same sarcasm might, with a little variation, have been affixed on the election day, to the vane at Holyroodhouse.

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XXIV.

1710.

words," she declared her intention "to support and encourage the church of England, and preserve the British constitution according to the union;" only the customary eulogium on the success of the campaign was omitted; and in place of her usual promise "to maintain the toleration as by law established," she substituted a cant phrase, which had been employed by Sacheverel's counsel, and promised "to maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous consciences;" adding however as a solatium, and "that all these may be transmitted to posterity, I shall employ none but such as are heartily for the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, the interest of which family no person can be more truly concerned in than myself."*

Retaliation
of the tories
in contest-
ed elec-
tions.

xvi. Having now an opportunity, as was naturally to be expected, the tories retaliated, without mercy, upon the whigs, in contested elections; and supported their own claimants with an equal indifference to the justice or injustice of the exceptions made against them. The Scottish representatives had only one, that of Dumfries-shire, which was disputed, and it was probably the only one which was decided impartially. Grierson, junior of Lag, was returned member, against whom the second son of viscount Stormont (James Murray) petitioned; both were tories, but according to the good old Scottish custom, whose divisions had always subdivisions, they were ranged in two parties, the duke of Queensberry leading the one, and the duke of Ha-

Grierson of
Lag

milton the other—and Lag being a relation of Queensberry's, he was superseded by Murray; all the Scottish members, to show the aversion they had to his patron on account of the union, voting against him. What however appears to have chiefly influenced the English members, and carried the decision, was the creation by Queensberry of fictitious freeholders. He had given the right of freehold to several voters, in trust, or redeemable for a trifling sum, a practice which, if allowed, would have always thrown the counties

Loses his
election by
fictitious
votes.

* The whole of the new ministry almost sent letters containing the most ardent professions of attachment to the elector of Hanover, and there are no grounds for supposing that Harley, now at the head of the administration, ~~who~~ was a whig in principle, and bred a presbyterian, was not at this time sincere. Hanover Papers, 1710.

into the hands of those peers who had extensive superiorities;—a majority of the commons, therefore, rejected these votes as illegal encroachments on the rights of the qualified electors, and declared in favour of the candidate who had the greater number of *bona fide* suffrages.

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1710.

xvii. Actuated by party rage, the tories in the house of commons, after voting a liberal supply for continuing the war, instituted an inquiry into the enormous expenditure already incurred; and to mark their opposition to the persons and principles of their predecessors, procured a vote of censure on the late treasurer, whose accounts they said were irregular, though his enemies were constrained to acknowledge that no suspicion could attach to his integrity. In the upper house the conduct of the war in Spain was condemned, and while the victories in Flanders were studiously passed over, the earl of Peterborough was thanked for his conduct in the Peninsula.

Proceed-
ings re-
specting the
war.

xviii. Cordially as they all agreed in their opposition to whig politics and whig ministers, the Scottish and English tories could not coalesce in regard to commercial regulations. Linen was the only staple manufacture of Scotland, and had been cherished with the most anxious solicitude by the Scottish parliament. A bill was, however, now introduced, imposing a duty for thirty-two years on every piece exported from Britain; this the Scottish members, particularly Baillie of Jerviswood, and Mr. Smith the representative of Glasgow, opposed as unfair; because the staple manufacture of England [woollen cloth] being always exempted from duty, that of Scotland had a right to similar encouragement, more especially as their woollen manufactures had been entirely ruined by the union, and England had none of linen to suffer. A long debate having ensued, Harley at length rose and expressed his astonishment that there should be any difficulty in the case, "for have not we," said he, "bought them, and a right to tax them? pray, for what end did we give the equivalent?" Lockhart instantly got up and said, "he was glad to hear now publicly acknowledged by the right honourable gentleman, a truth of which he had never doubted, that Scotland had been bought and sold, but he much admired to hear, from one who had so great a hand

Act impos-
ing a duty
on Scottish
linen.

Harley's in-
considerate
remark.

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Lockhart's
retort.The duty
imposed.Bill for re-
gulating the
linen trade
in Scot-
land.

in the purchase, that the equivalent was the price; as nothing was more certain than that the equivalent was paid to Scotland on account of a sum with which the Scottish customs and excise were to be charged, and which was to go to the payment of English debts contracted before the union. Since, therefore, Scotland was bought and sold, it must have been for a price never yet brought to light, and he would be extremely glad to know what the price amounted to, and who received it? Before the union," he added, "they were told many fine things about the communication of trade, and about the due regard that would be had to the circumstances and abilities of the united kingdom, and the Scots had trusted this and much more to English honour; but this tax, which went wholly, or at least chiefly, to affect Scotland, and that in the most tender part, and the other treatment they had already experienced, rendered but too apparent what would be the consequence of such unlimited confidence. He was glad, however, that gentlemen spoke plainly, as it taught the Scots what they were to expect, and justified the conduct of those who had opposed the scandalous and pernicious sale of their country." The duty was notwithstanding imposed, only, instead of being paid by the piece, it was allowed to be paid by the yard, an alteration of considerable importance, as the pieces in England measured forty yards, whereas in Scotland they seldom exceeded ten.

xix. A more unjust and irritating proceeding followed. Mr. Yeaman, member for Dundee, presented a bill for regulating the linen trade in Scotland, fixing the length and breadth of the webs, rectifying several abuses in bleaching, appointing public stamps to be affixed on all cloth exhibited for sale, and prohibiting the exportation of linen yarn. To this last clause, some gentlemen who had estates in Ireland strongly objected; for the Scottish linen yarn being useful to the Irish trade, parliament was bound, they said, to reject it; because, their woollen stuffs not being allowed to be carried to England or the plantations, the English had engaged on all occasions to encourage the Irish linen manufacture. Mr. Baillie replied, that if the Scots had insisted that the ten thousand pounds given annually to the Irish for improving their linen manufacture should be stopped, because it inter-

ferred with their interest, there might have been some cause for opposition; but it was very hard that the Scots should not be allowed to preserve the manufacture, and improve the produce of their own country to the utmost; and the laird of Carnwath added, "He wondered to see so small and withal so just a demand meet with such opposition; that he always knew and believed that Scotland must yield to England, but he did expect she might have stood her ground against Ireland; but this and sundry other mistakes, he perceived, would soon be cleared."

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xx. Mr. Bromley then interposed, "The sum of the present debate," he said, "amounted to this, that whatever was or might be the laws of Scotland, yet now she was subject to the sovereignty of England, and must be governed by English maxims and laws, and Ireland must not be ruined to humour a few North British members." As he was proceeding, Lockhart, who would not suffer the honour of his country to be insulted with impunity, called *him* to order. "Scotland never was," said he indignantly, "nor ever would be, subject to the sovereignty of England. He had often observed, when gentlemen spoke, they talked of the trade, liberty, &c. of England, which he was inclined to believe had proceeded from custom and inadvertency, but now there was too much reason to suppose that some gentlemen did really think the interest of England comprehended that of Great Britain, or at least that the other part thereof was little to be regarded;" and he concluded by politely observing, that the gentleman's arguments were as empty as his expressions were unmannerly.

Debated in
the com-
mons.

xxi. On this occasion the exertions of the Scottish members were successful, and the bill passed the commons. But in the house of peers, where the whig interest was strongest, not only was the obnoxious clause rejected, but an amendment was proposed, allowing Irish linen to be exported to the colonies duty free for five years, after the expiration of five years which had been previously granted; and this, which was in fact a prohibition of Scottish linen, was carried, with only about six dissentient voices, besides the Scottish peers.

Passed.

Altered by
the lords.

xxii. When returned to the commons, the indignation of

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Ultimately
lost.Bill for sup-
plying na-
val stores
from Scot-
land reject-
ed.

the North Britons was so vehement, that the amendments were ordered to be considered some six months after, and the bill was lost:—but it left another rankling sore in the minds of the generation who sighed over the lost independence of their country, whose patriotic feelings were still farther corroded by the rejection of a measure which might have greatly benefited Scotland, and could have done no possible harm, whatever advantage, to England. The extensive forests in the north were entirely unavailable for any useful purpose, on account of their distance from a market, arising from their mountainous site, and the almost total want of roads; and a number of noblemen and gentlemen, who possessed what might have been rendered a very productive source of wealth, derived no advantage from the bounty of nature. Some of them, who had calculated upon their own personal emolument, and others, who expected great national advantage from the improvement of plantations, thought it but a reasonable request to require that naval stores should have the same encouragement when brought from thence to England, as when imported from Norway or America; but a bill which passed the house of commons for this purpose, was likewise lost by the amendments proposed in the house of lords.

Mistake in
the coal
export bill.

XXIII. An abortive and ill-timed attempt to place an addition to the salary of the judges on the customs of Scotland, the surplus of which was appropriated to the encouragement of trade, instead of the civil list of Great Britain, kept up the irritation; and in this state of the parties, even an accidental error of a clerk was construed into an intentional injury done the Scots. This natural mistake, which Lockhart calls “ane unaccountable enuff story,” happened thus:—When a duty was granted upon all coal exported from Britain, an exception was made in favour of coal exported from the west of England to Ireland, or the Isle of Man. This exception, upon the motion of a Scottish member, was extended to the west coast of Scotland also, by inserting the word Britain in the bill; but when the act was engrossed, the clerk carelessly retained or substituted England, and thus it received the royal assent. It was rectified when discovered, but the incredulous Scots

would scarcely be persuaded that the alteration was not intentional.

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xxiv. Without confidence in either party, the situation of Scottishmen who were sincere lovers of their country, was at this juncture exceedingly perplexing. The whigs, their natural allies, were almost all episcopalians; they had shown their disregard for the articles of union, and in matters relative to Scotland they had sacrificed her interest, whenever it came in contact with that of England:—the tories' professions of respect for the security of the presbyterian church, as by law established, were as strong as the whigs'; and a number of them had voted against the encroachments upon the Scottish constitution. When the change of administration, therefore, took place, had the northern representatives acted upon the principle of voting unitedly, disinterestedly, and independently, they might have obtained an elevation in the senate which would have enabled them to hold the balance between the conflicting factions, and rendered it impossible for either to act in opposition to their decided opinions. But they were divided among themselves; and it would perhaps be asking too much of human nature, to require any body of men of any nation to act long consistently together for the good of their country, when their private interests are daily assailed, and they are furnished with specious arguments to defend, or apologize for deserting it. A majority joined the tories, and for a while several of the leading Scottish members, who had supported the last, adhered to the present ministry: nor did they think they forgot their principles or their country when they did so.*

1710.
Perplexing
situation of
the Scottish
members.

They di-
vide.

A majority
joins the
tories.

xxv. The earl of Islay, placed in this predicament, thus justified himself and his brother Argyle, in a confidential letter to Carstairs—"I was always of opinion it was ob-

Earl of Is-
lay's ex-
cuse.

* Though I use whig and tory as the distinctive names of two factions which divided the British parliament, the reader will observe that while the terms are the same, the parties are widely different from the Scottish who were similarly designated. There the whigs were all presbyterians, and the tories to a man jacobites. In England both were episcopalian, but a majority of the tories were friends to the protestant succession, and in their own way as much opposed to the papists as the Scots.

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For his po-
litics.

vously our interest not to mingle ourselves too much with the factions here—I mean as Scottishmen; for, it being very plain that no party here has our country much at heart, exasperating any side might at some conjuncture or other, draw both upon us, and crush us at once. The queen has been pleased to remove the earl of Sunderland, as 'tis said, for behaving himself disrespectfully towards her, and some are so bold as to presume to censure even her majesty's taking that step; I for my part think it my duty to approve of it, as I shall of any other alteration she may happen to make; and think our interest both of church and state as secure, under these she may employ, as it has been hitherto. I flatter myself that my brother and I have not been the least zealous for the maintaining the rights of our church where they have been concerned; and we dare never—though there were no other reason—enter into any other schemes, because, to speak plainly, we know very well, and I am sure, our forefathers felt it, the mercy of our enemies.”

Episcopa-
lians.Chaplains
to English
regiments
prevented
using the
prayer book
or preach-
ing.

xxvi. Considerable attention had for some time been excited in Scotland, by clandestine attempts to introduce the use of the English liturgy in the Scottish episcopalian worship. The Scots of other days had always resisted this innovation as subjection to the English church, even those among them who submitted to the authority of bishops; and both the prejudice and law of the country being against it, they who adhered to this communion never yet attempted to revive what had been the original moving cause of all the troubles of their church. When the chaplains of some English regiments, who happened to be stationed in Scotland on the rumoured invasion, introduced that form, some of the presbyterian ministers interfered, and with a degree of bigotry which ill accorded with the situation of persons who were trembling for their own liberty, prevented not only the use of the prayer book, but even stopped their preaching to their own people. This occasioned a controversy, which ended—as all controversies should do—in procuring for the episcopalians that liberty which they had so long denied the presbyterians, and which the presbyterians now wished to

deny them :—the liberty of worshipping God according to their conscience, in the manner which they deemed the most agreeable to the practice of antiquity.

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1710.

XXVII. When this controversy was at its height, a Mr. Greenshields, the son of a Scottish episcopalian clergyman who had lost his church at the revolution, and retired to Ireland, having been admitted to holy orders by a Scottish bishop, after he had served a cure for several years in Ireland, returned to Edinburgh, and opened a meeting-house, where he used the liturgy of the church of England, which had not heretofore been used in any of the episcopalian chapels. The presbytery summoned him to appear before them, in order to inquire into his licence and authority to exercise ministerial functions ; and upon his declining their jurisdiction, prohibited him to exercise any part of the holy ministry within the bounds and liberties of Edinburgh. He still persisting, information was lodged with the magistrates, who, upon receiving intelligence of this heinous offence, proceeded forthwith and shut up the meeting-house, and committed the parson to prison with as much alacrity as ever their predecessors had hunted out a conventicle. Mr. Greenshields then applied for a bill of suspension and liberation, which was refused, unless he would find security never to exercise any part of his ministerial function in that city, which he refused to do. His case was then brought before the court of session, by an action against the magistrates of Edinburgh for wrongous imprisonment, where the sentence of the magistrates was affirmed, upon which he appealed to the house of lords ; but their lordships were then wholly taken up with Sacheverel's impeachment, and did nothing in the business. Next year, the tories being triumphant, when the appeal came to be heard, the sentence of the lower court was reversed, and the magistrates of Edinburgh found liable in very heavy damages ; a decision which, however distorted by party prejudice at the time, must now, when reviewed calmly, be pronounced equitable, just, and right.*

Case of
Mr. Green-
shields.

Magistrates
of Edin-
burgh
found liable
in damages.

* Case of Mr. Greenshields, Edin. 1710. Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 34⁵
—348.

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1711.

Lesley's
representa-
tion to the
pretender.

XXVIII. This decision, which gave high dissatisfaction to the presbyterians, and wrested the power of persecution from their church courts, delighted the jacobites—for almost the whole of the Scottish episcopalians were adherents of the house of Stuart;—and some idea of the importance they attached to it may be formed from what Lesley* says in a memorial presented to the court of St. Germain's, on his arrival in France in April 1711. "Since the revolution, there has not been so great a confusion of councils and of measures in England as there has been since the last change in the ministry; and the affair of Greenshields, a minister of the church of England, whom the parliament has lately protected against the presbyterians of Scotland, has irritated the latter to such a degree, that they would concur in whatever might deliver them from the union with England, which is universally detested in Scotland, where they are all persuaded, that nothing can deliver them from it but the return of their sovereign."†

His hopes
revive.

XXIX. Always deceived, yet always sanguine, the jacobites imagined this now no dubious or distant event, and the pretender was himself not less sanguine. The doctrines advanced by the advocates of Sacheverel, and repeated in the addresses, he considered as so many decisive proofs that his hereditary rights must be universally acknowledged, at least by the majority of the nation, of whom he thought the tories, who now ruled the storm, were at once the leaders and the multitude; and the exaggerated and furious accusations of the whigs, who represented them all as his friends, confirmed his belief. Full of these high hopes, he ordered, about the time of Sacheverel's trial, a medal to be struck, bearing a head, on the right side, with the legend—*Cujus est?* whose is it? and on the reverse the British islands, with a motto—*Reddite*, restore. Several of these had been circulated among the officers of the British troops in the Netherlands, and some had reached his friends in Scotland. The duchess of Gordon, in the height of her zeal, presented one to the faculty of advocates;

Strikes a
medal—
duchess of
Gordon
presents
one to the
advocates.* Lesley, the well-known non-juror clergyman, author of the *Rehearsal*.

† Stuart Papers, 1711.

but Burnet, their dean, at first hesitated about receiving it, till having consulted some of the members of the faculty, he presented it at the next meeting for their acceptance, to be placed among the other coins and medals in their repository. The greater number of the advocates had ever remained friendly to the house of Stuart, and would willingly have received it; but the over officiousness of the dean, who styled it a medal of James the Eighth, whom the English called the pretender, and moved that thanks should be voted to the duchess of Gordon for her present, obliged her majesty to interpose. They insisted that it should be returned to her grace, as receiving it "was throwing dirt in the face of government, and owning a right contrary to her majesty's." "Oliver Cromwell, who deserved to be hanged, his medal," said a Mr. Robert Fraser, "and the arms of the commonwealth of England, had been received, and why not this?" "When the pretender is hanged," retorted Duncan Forbes, "it will be time enough to receive the medal," in which opinion Mr. Joseph Hume of Nicholas, Mr. Hugh Dalrymple, Mr. James Fergusson of Kirkennel, and sir James Stuart of Goodtrees, coinciding, Dundas of Arniston rose in wrath, and replied, "Dean of faculty, whatever these gentlemen may say of their loyalty, I think they affront the queen, whom they pretend to honour, in disgracing her brother, who is not only a prince of the blood, but the first thereof; and if blood can give any right, he is our undoubted sovereign. I think, too, they call her majesty's title in question, which is not our business to determine. Medals are the documents of history to which all historians refer; and therefore, though I should give king William's stamp, with the devil at his right ear, I see not how it could be refused, seeing an hundred years hence, it would prove that such a coin had been in England. But, dean of faculty, what needs farther speeches? None oppose the receiving the medal, and returning thanks to her grace, but a few pitiful scoundrel vermin and mushrooms, not worthy our notice. Let us therefore proceed to name some of our number to return our hearty thanks to the duchess of Gordon."

xxx. Overwhelmed by this polite and elegant address, the faculty voted, by a majority of sixty-three against twelve, that

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Debate in
the faculty
as to receiv-
ing it.

Dundas of
Arniston's
speech.

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Vote of
thanks to
duchess of
Gordon.

thanks should be returned to her grace ; and to render them more acceptable, that they should be conveyed by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Hume of Westhall ; which was done accordingly, the former in a strain of elegance, rivalling his oratorical display at the meeting. “ He returned her the most hearty thanks of the faculty for all her favours, particularly in presenting them with a medal of their sovereign lord the king ; hoping, and being confident, that her grace would very soon have an opportunity to compliment them with a second medal, struck upon the restoration of his majesty and the royal family, and the finishing of rebellion, usurping tyranny, and whiggery !”

The faculty
condemn
the former
resolutions.

xxx1. A transaction so notoriously seditious having attracted the notice of the queen’s advocate—sir David Dalrymple—the faculty called an extraordinary meeting, which was very numerously attended ; when they unanimously condemned the whole proceedings as the transaction of a party, ordered the medal to be delivered up to the lord advocate, made a most ample declaration of their duty and loyal affection to her majesty’s person and government, and the protestant succession, as by law established ; and expressed their detestation of all practices that directly or indirectly might contain the least insinuation to the contrary, or give the smallest encouragement to the pretender. Dundas, whose jacobitism was fully a match for his judgment, wrote a vindication of his conduct more violent and treasonable, if possible, than his speeches ; but the printer carried the manuscript to the lord provost, and he transmitted it to the solicitor-general, who prevented the publication. An account of the first meeting of the faculty having been published in London, reached the court of Hanover ; and the elector ordered his minister, Baron de Kreynenberg, to present a memorial, requiring the prosecution of the offenders. With this request, the ministry complied in rather an extraordinary manner ; they removed sir David Dalrymple, with a reprimand for his omission of duty in not prosecuting the medalists, and bestowed the advocateship on sir James Stuart, for his activity in suppressing the vindication ; but Dundas and his associates were allowed to remain unmolested.

Elector of
Hanover
desires the
medalists
to be tried
—proceed-
ings in con-
sequence.

xxx11. In the midst of all these confusions and overturn-

ings, Carstairs continued to manage the politics of the church with his wonted calmness and sagacity. He was averse to that contracted system and spirit which unfortunately prevailed among many of his co-presbyters, and would have prevented the episcopalians from enjoying freedom of worship: an enemy to persecution in any shape, he had not approved of the rigour with which Greenshields was treated, yet attached to the church over which he presided, he would not allow her to succumb to her envious rival. He was chosen moderator this year in the assembly, to which the versatile Annandale was appointed commissioner. Anticipating the storm that was brooding over the church, he made as decided a stand for her privileges as the circumstances in which he was placed would admit, and vindicated her from the groundless aspersions of her enemies with a warmth and vigour that remind us of her defenders of other days.

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General as-
sembly.Carstairs
moderator.

xxxiii. Placed in an extremely trying situation, he did not resort to intemperate language or precipitate measures—but he made no surrender of principle; and in the most delicate, yet sufficiently intelligible manner, he conveyed his distrust of those professions which he durst not directly say he disbelieved. The queen in her letter repeated, and the commissioner expatiated upon, her promises of protection and support to the church of Scotland, as by law established. Carstairs replied: after expressing the gratitude of the assembly for her gracious assurances, he proceeded, “Allow me, my lord, to take this opportunity of assuring your grace that her majesty hath not more faithful subjects in her dominions than the presbyterians of Scotland are. We are not ignorant that some of those of our nation that are ill-willers to our church do represent us to be a divided and despicable part of our nation, and that they boast of their numbers and of the vast disproportion as to these that is betwixt them and us. But we pray that the sovereign and good God may grant, that our native country may never be so unhappy as ever to see an experiment made of what truth there is in this matter, or an occasion given to show the vast difference there is as to true resolution and firmness of mind betwixt a solid principle in which conscience is concerned,

His reply
to the com-
missioner's
speech.

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1711. and disaffected humours and party. We are not insensible that there are not a few that are waiting for our halting, and that methods have been used by some of them that are openly disaffected to the constitution of our church, to make us uneasy, and to tempt us to murmur; and for gaining their ends they would surmise that patronages were to be restored,—well knowing what an important security to our church the abolition of them is, and how great a value we put upon the law that delivered us from them; but whatever suggestions or endeavours may have been as to this momentous affair, yet, blessed be God, they have had no other effect but to give us a fresh discovery of the wisdom, goodness, and equity of her majesty's conduct as to the concerns of this church. It's these shining virtues of our sovereign, and our trust in the public faith and the justice of a British parliament, that makes us confidently persuade ourselves that all the advantages that our church doth enjoy by law shall be preserved to us sacred and inviolable."

Answer to
the queen's
letter.

xxxiv. With equal ability, the answer to the queen's letter, while it expressed the assembly's grateful sense of their present advantages, not obscurely intimated their fears for their continuance; and along with their wishes for her prosperity, and the stability of the protestant succession, they unreservedly declared their decided attachment to the house of Hanover. "That your majesty," say they in the conclusion, "may be compassed about with divine favour as with a shield, and always preserved both from deceit and violence, for the protection and comfort of the protestant churches, the happiness of your people, and the security of the liberties of Europe, and for procuring thereto a safe and honourable peace, and defeating all the hopes that adversaries may have of imposing a popish successor upon your dominions; that, after a long and happy reign upon earth, your majesty may be possessed of a glorious immortality; and that the succession to the throne, after your majesty and the heirs of your body in the protestant line of the illustrious house of Hanover, may be firm and sure, are, and shall be the constant prayers of the ministers and elders met in this national assembly of the church of Scotland." This declaration they

followed up by an act, recommending to all the ministers of the church, in their public prayers, after praying for the queen, expressly to mention the princess Sophia, electoress and duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the protestant line in that family, upon whom the succession to the crown of these dominions is by law established. And as the episcopalians, and some of the north-country curates who had conformed to presbytery, had been in the habit of praying for the queen and her successors, so as to imply that they meant the relict of James VII. and his son, the pretender, they added, "or that they pray in such terms as that their congregation may understand that they mean the princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being protestant."

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1711.
Form of
prayer for
the queen
and pro-
testant suc-
cession.

xxxv. Till lately, the difficulty had been to procure preachers to supply the demand of the vacant charges; but the case was now so much altered, that the assembly had begun to take into consideration the prejudices that might arise to the church, from licensing too many probationers, or persons not duly qualified, and enacted sundry salutary regulations thereanent; but with an inconsistency not altogether unparalleled in public bodies, they continued to instruct their commission to receive such of the curates as remained, and were willing to conform, although they must have felt the disadvantages of receiving concealed enemies into their bosom, and were under the necessity of expressly providing against their machinations. At the close of the assembly the moderator noticed the attempts that were making against them, and in terms more explicit than at the opening, signified their fears. The commissioner replied, "that he could with great confidence assure them, that her majesty would give such effectual redress as would satisfy all of them that she had a very particular care of all their legal rights and privileges." And thus they parted.*

Act con-
cerning
probation-
ers and cu-
rates.

xxxvi. Negotiations for peace had been going forward during the recess. The election of the archduke Charles to be emperor of Germany, which had recently taken place, would have rendered it as destructive of the balance of power in Europe, for him to wear the crown of Spain and the In-

* Minutes of the General Assembly MS. Bib. Edin. Printed Acts.

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Prelimina-
ries of
peace with
France

dies, as for the grandson of Louis; and thus the main ostensible object of the war was removed. As it was the interest of the ministry to finish a contest, against the continuance of which they had so strongly declaimed, preliminaries were signed on the 27th September by Mr. St. John and the earl of Dartmouth; by which the French king engaged to acknowledge the title of the queen and the protestant succession, and to take all just and reasonable measures for preventing the crowns of Spain and France being ever united; to put the Dutch in possession of such fortified places in the Netherlands as should serve hereafter as a barrier; to afford sufficient security to the empire and the house of Austria; and to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk at the peace, on receiving a proper equivalent. The Dutch and the elector of Hanover were equally averse to these conditions, and not only remonstrated against them to the court of England, but published their memorials as appeals to the people. Immediately the tory writers exclaimed against the insult offered to the queen; and the October club,* consisting chiefly of country squires, were easily induced to resent any foreigners' intermeddling with their affairs. On the other hand, the duke of Marlborough, who had been continued in his command, had illustrated the campaign by the most successful and brilliant generalship, which he concluded with the capture of Bouchaine, a place deemed almost impregnable; and the whigs, who had rejected offers more ample before this additional waste of blood, were violent in their outcry against sacrificing in the cabinet that glory the country had acquired at so much cost in the field.†

give univer-
sal dissatis-
faction.

xxxvii. Never did party passion run higher, and never before had the press teemed with such scurrilous personal invective on both sides, as during the period when they were mustering their forces for the parliamentary encounter.

Violence of
parties.

* This club consisted mostly of English country gentlemen, who were not in these days distinguished for profound political knowledge, but were furious for church and state. They were called "October," from being accustomed to drink at home "October brown beer," and sometimes the "tantivy," in allusion to their fondness for fox-hunting.

† Lockhart's Commentaries, p. 340. Stuart Papers, 1811. Tindal, b. xxvi. Somervill's Queen Anne, 450.

The Scottish jacobites continued to augur every thing that was favourable from the times: they had planned, before the rising of last session, the restoration of episcopacy, in which they were encouraged by the delusive promises of the courtiers, and had formed themselves into a secret committee for furthering this object,* which they considered as one grand step towards restoring the pretender. In this last project they flattered themselves they had the countenance of the queen; and the reception she had given to the Edinburgh county member, one of the most notorious among them, when he presented an address from his constituents in a very high monarchical style, was certainly a very imposing circumstance. After she had heard it read, she most graciously replied, and told him, although he had almost always opposed her measures, she did not doubt of his affection for her person; and hoped he would not concur in the design against Mrs. Masham, or for bringing over the prince of Hanover.† He answered he would never be accessary to any affront put upon her majesty; and as for the prince of Hanover, she might judge from the address, that he would not be acceptable to his constituents if he gave his consent for bringing over any of that family, either then or any time hereafter: at which she smiled, and he withdrew. When he was gone, she said to the duke of Hamilton, who had presented him, she believed he was an honest man, and a fair dealer; to which he returned, "He could assure her he lik'd her majesty, and all her father's bairns."

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1711.

Jacobites
sanguine in
restoring
episcopacy.

XXXVIII. It was probably from the repetition of such incidents—for there never seems to have been any direct communication before between them—that her brother, in the month of May, was induced to write Anne the following letter:—"Madam:—The violence and ambition of the enemies of our family, and of the monarchy, have too long kept at a distance those who, by all the obligations of nature and duty, ought to be more firmly united; and have hindered

Pretender's
letter to
the queen.

* It consisted of Carnegie of Boysick, Mr. James Murray, sir Alexander Erskine, lord-lyon-king-at-arms, sir Alexander Cumming of Cantir, and sir George Lockhart. Lockhart Papers, v. i. p. 338.

† The whigs had most impolitically proposed inviting the elector of Hanover's son, afterwards Geo. II., to England in order to prop their sinking credit.

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XXIV.1711.
Continued.

us from the proper means and endeavours of a better understanding between us, which could not fail to produce the most happy effects to ourselves, our family, and our bleeding country.

“But whatever the success may be, I am resolved now to break through all reserve, and to be the first in an endeavour so just and necessary. The natural affection I bear you, and that the king our father had for you till his last breath, the consideration of our mutual interest, honour, and safety, and the duty I owe to God and my country, are the true motives that persuade me to write to you, and to do all that is possible for me to come to a perfect union with you. And you may be assured, madam, that though I can never abandon, but with my life, my own just right—which you know is unalterably settled by the most fundamental laws of the land—yet I am most desirous rather to owe to you than to any living, the recovery of it. It is for yourself that a work so just and glorious is reserved. The voice of God and nature calls you to it; the promises you made to our father the king enjoin it; the preservation of our family, the preventing of unnatural wars require it; and the public good and welfare of our country recommend it to you, to rescue it from present and future evils, which must, to the latest posterity, involve the nation in blood and confusion, till the succession be again settled in the right line.

“I am satisfied, madam, that if you will be guided by your own inclinations, you will readily comply with so just and fair a proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of the name, to the duchess of Hanover, the remotest relation we have, whose friendship you have no reason to rely on, or to be fond of, who will leave the government to foreigners of another language, of another interest, and who, by the general naturalization, may bring over crowds of his countrymen to supply the defect of his right, and enslave the nation. In the meantime I assure you, madam, and am ready to give all the security that can be desired, that it is my unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of my government, to preserve every man’s right, liberty, and property, equally with the rights of the crown, and to secure and maintain those of the church of

England in all their just rights and privileges as have been established; and to grant such a toleration to dissenters as the parliament shall think fit.

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Continued.

“Your own good nature, madam, and your natural affection to a brother, from whom you never received any injury, cannot but incline your heart to do him justice; and as it is in your power, I cannot doubt of your good inclinations. And I do here assure you, that in that case no reasonable terms of accommodation which you can desire for yourself shall be refused by me; but as affairs of this moment cannot be so well transacted by letters, I must conjure you to send one over to me fully instructed and empowered by you, or to give security for such an one from me; for, by that way only, things can be adjusted to our mutual satisfaction, which shall be managed on our side with the utmost secrecy. I have made this first step towards our mutual happiness, with a true brotherly affection, with the plainness and sincerity that becomes both our rank and relation, and in the most prudent manner I could at present contrive; and will be directed by you in the prosecution of it, relying entirely on your knowledge and experience as to the means and instruments.

“And now, madam, as you tender your own honour and happiness, the preservation and re-establishment of our ancient royal family, the safety and welfare of a brave people, who are almost sinking under present weights, and have reason to fear greater; who have no reason to complain of me, and whom I must still and do love as my own, I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of composing our difference, by which only we can hope for those good effects, which will make us both happy, yourself more glorious than all the other parts of your life, and your name dear to posterity.”

xxxix. What effect this appeal to the affection, feelings, and promises of his sister, had upon Anne, we cannot now even guess; the ambition, love of power, or love of country, or by whatever name it may be called, which enabled her to resist the claims of a father, when the crown was in prospect, was not likely to yield to the application of a brother she had never seen, whose birth she had even affected to treat as supposititious, now that it was upon her head. Harley was ig-

Remarks.

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norant of the intentions of the queen, but he knew she possessed the natural aversion of sovereigns to their successors ; and while enjoying her favour, he did not choose to obscure the evening beams of enthroned majesty, even for the rays of a rising sun ; he therefore disapproved the introduction of the prince of Hanover, and gave no encouragement to the applications of the pretender.

Parliament

XL. After several prorogations, parliament met on the seventh of December ; and the queen, in her speech, announced “ that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war,” the time and place were appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace. The earl of Nottingham moved, in the house of peers, that a clause should be inserted in the address, expressing their opinion “ that no peace could be safe or honourable for Great Britain or Europe, if Spain and the West Indies were allotted to any branch of the house of Bourbon ;” which was carried by a majority of four. But the house of commons, in more complaisant language, assured her majesty, “ that they would use their utmost endeavours to disappoint as well the arts and designs of those who, for private views, might delight in war ; as the hopes the enemy might have vainly entertained of receiving advantage from any division among them.”*

Answer of
the lords to
the queen's
speech.

Of the
commons.

* Lockhart, who was one of themselves, has handed down to us a very spirited sketch of this assembly. “ The house of commons, though all of them are vested with equal powers, a very few of the most active and pragmatcal, by persuading the rest that nothing is done without them, do lead them by the nose, and make mere tools of them, to serve their own ends. And this I suppose is chiefly owing to the way and manner of electing the members ; for, being entirely in the hands of the populace, they for the most part choose those who pay best ; so that many are elected who very seldom attend the house, give themselves no trouble in business, and have no design in being chosen even at a great expense, but to have the honour of being called parliament-men. On the other hand, a great many are likewise elected who have no concern for the interest of their country, and, being either poor or avaricious, aim at nothing but enriching themselves ; and hence it is that no assembly under heaven does produce so many fools and knaves. The house of commons is represented as a wise and august assembly ; what it was long ago I shall not say, but in our days it is full of disorder and confusion ; the members that are capable and mindful of business are few in number, and the rest mind nothing at all. When there's a party job to be done, they'll attend and make a hideous noise like so many bedlamites ; but if the house is to enter on business, such as giving of money, or making of public laws, they converse so

XL. Another question, respecting the privileges of the Scottish peerage, was the next subject that divided their lordships. The duke of Hamilton had been created a British peer, by the title of duke of Brandon ; but when he came to take his seat, the whole of the whig strength mustered against him, although Queensberry had been admitted without the smallest objection. His cause was warmly espoused by the court, and the queen herself had deigned to solicit for him ; but in the face of the plainest reasoning, in spite of precedent, and in violation of the principles of the union, and the undoubted prerogative of the crown, the spirit of party prevailed. None of her majesty's rights, it was observed, was more clear or indisputable than that of bestowing honours without restriction ; and all subjects of the united kingdom were capable of receiving them ; the commons of Scotland could, without dispute, be created British lords of parliament ; and it was strange to assert, that their nobles should be the only persons in the empire incapable of enjoying any accession of dignity. In the act of union, the peers of Scotland were, " by virtue of that treaty," to have a representation of sixteen for their whole body ; and they appealed to the English commissioners, who durst not deny the fact, whether that clause was not purposely inserted to capacitate and not to disqualify : their decision, that Queensberry, when created a British peer, had lost his right of voting as a Scottish, was also urged without effect. The act of union, it was replied, had made all the peers of Scotland peers of Great Britain in every other respect, except that of sitting and voting in parliament, which privilege was vested in their sixteen representatives ; and although the queen might give them what titles she pleased, their incapacity of being peers of parliament was settled by law, and the prerogative limited as to that. The duke of Dover had indeed been admitted, but he had never been challenged, and that was rather an oversight than a precedent. In reply, it was allowed that the queen could not grant the right

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Duke of
Hamilton's
right to sit
in parlia-
ment as a
British
peer refus-
ed.

loud with one another in private knotts, that nobody can know what is doing, except a very few who for that purpose sit near the clerk's table ; or they leave the house and the men of business, as they call them, to mind such matters. Commentaries, p 350.

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The Scot-
tish peers
remon-
strate and
retire from
parliament

of sitting or voting in the British house of peers to a Scottish lord; but it was asked by what deed had she deprived herself of the right of creating any of her subjects a British peer, and the case of the duke of Dover was express, when a Scottish nobleman became a British peer, he sat as such, and not as Scottish. But the whole power of the crown, and of the representation of Scottish nobility, was exerted in vain. It was then proposed that the opinion of the twelve judges should be asked, but this also was negatived, and the whigs had the honour of carrying this encroachment upon the prerogative by a standing majority of fifty-seven against fifty-two, and under a protest. The Scottish peers, justly incensed at this decision, signed a representation to the queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of disgrace put upon the whole peerage of Scotland, who were thus stigmatised as the only description of persons in the nation incapable of being admitted to the honours of the British peerage, and they withdrew in a body.

Twelve
new peers
created.

XLII. The ministry, who now found it impossible to carry any measure in the house of lords, were emboldened by this flagrant encroachment upon the rights of the crown, to exert them in a manner liable to no legal quibble, and, to defeat a faction, had recourse to an exertion of the prerogative which nothing but such determined obstruction of the regular movements of government could justify; they created twelve commoners peers in one day, and thus secured a majority for themselves in the upper house.*

Resolution
of the lords.

XLIII. After this reinforcement arrived, the queen, who interested herself anxiously in behalf of the duke of Hamilton, sent a message to the lords, January 17, expressing her desire for their advice, to find out the best method of settling the affair to the satisfaction of the whole kingdom. In consequence, the lords resolved, "that the sitting of

* This batch of peers occasioned much remark in England at the time. The first day they were introduced into the house, upon the question of adjournment being about to be put, the earl of Wharton asked them, whether they meant to vote individually, or by their foreman? And the heroic line of a celebrated actress, uttered in the delirium of a fever, was often repeated.

Ha! ha! and so they make us lords by dozens!

Burnet, v. vi. *Memoirs of Mary Anne Bellamy.*

the peers of Great Britain, who were peers of Scotland before the union, in that house by election, was alterable by parliament, at the request of the peers of Great Britain, who were peers of Scotland before the union, without any violation of the treaty;" and the Scottish seceders, satisfied with the door being thus left open for a revisal of the vote, returned to their seats. But justice was not done to the noble family of Hamilton, and to the nation, till 1782, when, upon a petition from the duke, the opinion of the twelve judges being required, they unanimously agreed that his grace was entitled to be summoned to parliament as duke of Brandon, and that his majesty was not restrained by the twenty-third article of union from creating Scottish peers, peers of Great Britain.

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The Scottish peers resume their seats.

XLIV. Having been thus successful against the crown, their lordships next turned their artillery against the people. The occasional conformity bill, which had miscarried three times, and lain dormant for some years, was now revived under another name. It was entitled, "an act for preserving the protestant religion, by better securing the church of England; and for confirming the toleration granted to protestant dissenters by the act exempting them from the penalties of certain laws, and for supplying the defects thereof:"—but beneath this title lurked as base an attack upon religious liberty as its enemies could have desired, and the worse for being so hypocritically done. By it all persons holding places of profit and trust, who should be present at any meeting for divine worship, where there were above ten persons more than the family, in which the book of common prayer was not used, or where the queen and princess Sophia were not prayed for, were liable to forfeit their situations upon conviction, and declared incapable of being employed in the public service, till they should depone, that for a whole year together they had been at no conventicle; and it also enacted, that all the practitioners of law in Scotland should take the oath of abjuration before the month of June. The whigs, as if deprecating the vengeance of the high church party, supported this bill, which entirely destroyed the political rights of the dissenters and presbyterians in England, Ireland, and in the colonies! And in or-

Act for securing the church of England.

Supported by the whigs

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der to obtain the very doubtful aid of the earl of Nottingham, gave their countenance to a principle of exclusion which, if they had sincerely possessed that pure love of liberty of which they boasted, no earthly consideration would have tempted them to advocate. Their only excuse was, that if they had not anticipated the tories, they would have brought forward a bill, the penalties of which would have been more heavy ; but the dissenters, who detested the apology, could not be persuaded that these men consulted their interest who consented to their oppression.*

xlv. While the whigs were thus making inroads upon the cause of freedom in the house of lords, the jacobites and tories, by a curious inversion, were unintentionally extending its legitimate boundaries in the house of commons. As a first step towards reintroducing episcopacy, the secret committee of the jacobites had resolved to obtain for those of that form a legal toleration, and a bill for this purpose was originated in the house of commons. Its preamble was sufficient to procure for it a majority of the English representatives, and seemed so reasonable, that its opponents, in a country where the use of the liturgy was established by law, found it difficult to adduce any argument against it ; its tenor ran thus :—an act to prevent the disturbing those of the episcopal communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of religious worship, and in the use of the liturgy of the church of England ; and for repealing the acts of the Scottish parliament, by which they were subjected to the jurisdiction and discipline of the presbyterian church courts, and forbidding the civil sanction to their sentences. Accordingly, only seventeen in the house of commons voted against it, of whom fourteen were Scottish members, and it was equally successful in the house of lords ; but an amendment, moved there at the suggestion of some of the presbyterian peers, which was rejected when sent back to the lower house, clearly evinced that whatever motives induced that division of the legislature to favour toleration, a rational regard for freedom was not among the number.

Act in favour of the episcopalians in Scotland.

* Journal of the house of lords, Oldmixon, p. 481, Tindal, Book xxvi. ; Sommerville's queen Anne, p. 459, 60.

XLVI. Notwithstanding the fair speeches of Annandale at the last assembly, the suspicions of the presbyterian ministers had not been lulled; and the commission, who kept a watchful eye upon the movements of their enemies, apprised of what was going forward, deputed Messrs. Carstairs, Blackwood, and Baillie to London, to watch over the interest of the church. Carstairs had ever been an enemy to persecution, and while the bill was impending in the commons, he, together with some of the tory members and lord Islay, had a conference with the leading jacobites who were pushing on the business. He told them that he and his colleagues had no objection to the general principle of the bill; as the dissenters in England enjoyed a freedom of worship, he saw no reason why episcopalians in Scotland should not be treated with similar indulgence; but he thought that removing the civil sanction from ecclesiastical censures, would open a wide floodgate for prevailing iniquity. To this a very adequate reply was given; that the magistrate would always possess the power of punishing civil offences, and that the presbyterian ministry would still retain the right of passing church censures; which, as their members professed to make conscience of submitting to, they would be sufficiently able to watch over their morals, and the episcopalians would attend themselves to the purity of their own connexion.

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Conference
respecting
it.

XLVII. Knowing that all opposition in the commons would be fruitless, the presbyterians allowed it to be quietly hurried through, reserving themselves for the lords. Here a difficulty occurred, respecting the title to be given to the peers, which, to the grief of their more rigid and consistent brethren, the deputation contrived to surmount, by acknowledging the bishops as part and portion of the legislature, and presented a petition to the "lords spiritual and temporal" against the act; their lordships, however, appearing inclined to be nearly as unanimous as the commons, the opponents of the bill proposed that, to prevent popish priests and jacobites from taking advantage of this toleration, all who accepted of it should, within a certain time, subscribe the oath of abjuration. This the others could not well object to, and they consented, on condition the ministers of

Debated in
the house
of lords.

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Sent back
to the
commons.

the established church were at the same time compelled to come under the same obligation ; because it was well known that they hesitated about some expressions in the oath. In the act of succession, one of the conditions on which the successor was to be received, was his being of the communion of the church of England, and by the oath of abjuration, the succession was sworn to as limited by that act : —the word “limited” implied only the entail of the crown ; but the relative “as” being considered to imply an approval of the condition, it was proposed to substitute “which was” in its place, making the sentence simply narrative. This alteration, which would have satisfied the scrupulous consciences of all the presbyterians, and would only have stumbled a few of the pretender’s friends, was adopted by the lords ; but the jacobites, who were too much accustomed to evasions themselves not to perceive the design, determined if they were to be saddled with an oath, it should sit as uneasily on the backs of the presbyterians as on those of their brethren. The word “as” was therefore restored to its place by the commons. But the Scottish jacobite leaders, aware that there were many ministers in the established church who feared an oath, were anxious to get the act framed in such a manner as would expose them to the penalties of law as well as the jacobites ; they therefore assailed the English tory lords. “To such of them as they knew designed right things,” Lockhart informs us, “and with whom they might speak freely, they represented, that if the oath passed as amended by them, the bill would do more harm than good, for none of the episcopal clergy would on any account swear that oath ; and it was so cook’d up as to pass glibly with the presbyterians, who, in that event, would prosecute the episcopal clergy if they claimed the benefit of this law, and did not swear the oath ; but if what the presbyterians scrupled at in the abjuration was inserted in this oath, a great many of the presbyterians would likewise refuse it, and in that event the episcopal clergy would not be molested, lest the presbyterian nonjurant clergy should be treated after the same manner. To other lords, with whom they were obliged to be more reserved, they represented that it was a bad precedent to allow any alterations in a ge-

neral oath required for the security of a government; that, in the present case, such as wished well to the church of England should desire to have her equally well with the state; and there was no reason why any alteration should be made in the oath, so as to leave the enemies of the church at liberty to destroy her, as their inclination, and the covenant which they thought binding, led them to."

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XLVIII. Convinced by these arguments, the lords allowed the obnoxious relative to stand, and the presbyterians had the miserable consolation of perceiving that the efforts of their friends for their relief had produced only an apple of discord for themselves. The act itself remains a monument of the wisdom of that providence which overrules the evil passions of men, and renders them subservient to ends the very opposite of those they intended:—the mutual efforts of these two parties to shackle each other having produced a statute which conferred a greater degree of freedom upon both. Coupled with this act were two others, restoring church patronage and the yule vacance, intended by the jacobites to effect the same object—the one, by affording easy access to parishes for men of doubtful principles, would have paved the way for the admission of curates; and the other, by reviving the christmas holidays, was intended to remind the people of the gaiety of the abolished religion, when contrasted with the unsociality of the established;* but, although happily frustrated in their main object, these acts were productive of very important consequences, especially that of restoring patronage.

Act restoring patronage, &c.

XLIX. Patronage had ever been considered by the reformed church of Scotland a burden and a grievance of which they never ceased to complain, till it was abolished by law —[*Vide* Vol. IV. p. 365.]—along with other abuses it was restored at the restoration, but abolished again after the revolution—[*Vide* Vol. V. p. 296.]—and was expressly excluded from the church constitution of Scotland, which was ratified and confirmed by the act for securing the protestant religion and presbyterian government; and engross-

a violation of the union.

* The disregard of holidays formed a distinctive characteristic between the papists and the reformed, *vide* Vol. I. p. 244—note; and the Scottish presbyterians were always particularly averse to "*Sanctes Days*."

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Represent-
ation of the
church.

ed as an essential condition of the ratifications of the treaty of union passed in the parliaments of both kingdoms, and which constitution, in its purity, as then established, was declared to be secured for ever! Throughout all Scotland the aversion to patronage was universal, and even the patrons in general had expressed no wish to regain the power, but the ministers, as more nearly concerned, were more zealously affected in the cause; the deputies of the commission presented to the house of lords an excellent and moderate representation, narrating the history of patronage;—and claiming, that the tenor of the sacred stipulations of the treaty for which the national faith was pledged should be infrangible; stating also that the restitution of patronage, while, in point of presentation, it would only gratify a few, must necessarily disoblige a greater number, and that many, and these the most considerable of the patrons, were opposed to it: that it would give rise to disorders and differences betwixt patrons, presbyteries, heritors, and people; that a foundation would be laid for simoniacal pactions betwixt patrons and those presented by them, and that ministers would thus be often imposed upon parishes, by men who were utterly strangers to the circumstances of the people, having neither property nor residence among them.

Answer to
the repre-
sentation.

L. Remarks upon this representation were instantly circulated by those friendly to the act. The palpable breach of the union treaty was thus got rid of. They insisted that the act abolishing patronage, not being narrated in the act for securing presbyterian church government, was not guaranteed by the union; and besides that that act, although entitled an act for abolishing patronage, was merely a transfer of the power of presentation, and a pure cheat upon heritors, elders, and people; for when a vacancy happened, the presbytery carefully considered how many heritors there were in the parish of their party, and immediately proceeded to create as many elders as would outnumber them if they were heterodox; and these elders—one would be ashamed to tell what kind of gentlemen many of them are—blindly followed the inclinations of the presbytery, so that the presentation was in fact in the hands of the presbyteries; and

if that came to fail, they were still judges, whether the persons presented were fit or not, which he was as they pleased; and what power, they asked, have the people more than under patronage? no man could then be inducted into a benefice upon a presentation from the patron; if the people refused them upon competent grounds, another fell to be presented against whom there was no proper objections, and is not the case the same now?*

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LI. The act passed with little opposition, the English peers not caring much about the matter, and the bishops being almost entirely in its favour. The jacobite laird of Carnwath, who claims the merit of having procured both these obnoxious decrees, exultingly declares his motives in his commentaries. "I prest the toleration and patronage acts more earnestly, that I thought the presbyterian clergy would be more from thence convinced that the establishment of their kirk would in time be overturned, as it was obvious that the security thereof was not so thoroughly established as they imagined."†

The act
passed.

LII. Grieved and perplexed at the failure of their deputation, the commission of the church, as soon as they heard of the toleration bill being passed, addressed the queen, imploring her protection against the imposition of the abjuration oath, which their own friends had most unluckily been mainly instrumental in obtaining. For they were perfectly sensible that a number of the most respected ministers would not comply; and many of them believed that the parliament of Great Britain did not possess the power of annulling that fundamental deed by which they legislated for Scotland; and which had expressly provided that "none of the subjects of Scotland should be held to, but all and every one of them for ever free of, any oath,

The church
address the
queen a
gainst the
abjuration
oath.

* That this statement is not greatly overcharged, is pretty clear from several instances noticed, as not uncommon occurrences, in Boston's Memoirs, 8vo. a work which contains much information with regard to the internal state of the church, from the commencement of queen Anne's reign, till the last trial of professor Simpson. Mr. Davidson of Galashiels' Letters throw considerable light on the same subject. I have also got assistance from a MS. Diary of Mr. Hog of Carnock's, which I obtained from a descendant of his.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 418. Carstairs's State Papers, Appendix, Tindal, b. xxvi. General Assembly MS. Printed Acts, 1712.

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Divisions
respecting
it.

test, or subscription within Scotland, inconsistent with the presbyterian church establishment." In consequence, the oath never was pressed by government, and the presbyterians were too glad to have their own shoulders freed from the yoke, to insist upon its being very straitly fastened round the necks of the episcopalians. But, as the proposers of it anticipated, it occasioned heart-burnings and divisions among the presbyterians themselves; between those who had been trained in the school of persecution, now wearing away, and the conforming curates, whose mixture with the body had greatly tended to deteriorate the mass.*

Views of
the two
parties.

LIII. Forbearance is a word of so lovely an import, that little as the persecuted themselves were liable to be imposed upon by it, they could not always resist it; and it is not therefore to be wondered at, if their less sturdy successors, who did not so earnestly contend for the truth, nor so eagerly watch against what they thought error as their fathers, were often deceived by the enemy approaching under so amiable a guise. The consequence was, that the presbyterians exhibited a strange mixture; for although none had been admitted who did not sign the orthodox formula of the church of Scotland, as members of her courts, yet many had obtained seats whose qualifications were at best but negative; and if free from gross error in doctrine, or immorality in conduct, were lax in their notions of discipline, and lukewarm for the peculiarities of their creed. These, tainted with the leaven of deposed prelacy, were willing to be persuaded that there was nothing wrong in a little evasion, and if they did not swear to a direct lie, there was no great harm done; they made no scruple in taking the oath, with a very ambiguous explanation. The others who conceived that falsehood was never so vile as when conveyed in the garb of truth, would hear of no explanation which did not convey the direct downright sentiments of those who subscribed it; they utterly refused the oath, and were preparing to surrender their livings rather than violate their consciences. With these opposite views the two parties—the latter unfor-

* The commission of the general assembly, in their representation to the queen, inform her "that since our late happy establishment there have been taken in and continued hundreds of dissenting ministers upon the easiest terms."

nnately a minority—awaited anxiously the meeting of the next general assembly.

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LIV. John, duke of Athole, was appointed her majesty's commissioner to "the general assembly of the church of Scotland, holden and begun at Edinburgh upon Thursday, the first of May, one thousand seven hundred and twelve years." He brought the most ample assurances of protection; and "lest," said the royal epistle, "any late occurrences may have possessed some of you with fears and jealousies, we take this solemn occasion to assure you, it is our firm purpose to maintain the church of Scotland as established by law; and whatever ease is given to those who differ from you in points that are not essential, we will however employ our utmost care to protect you from all insults, and redress your just complaints;" it concluded by expressing her majesty's approbation of the commissions' address. Athole in a short speech merely repeated the substance of the letter. Hamilton, professor of divinity in Edinburgh university, conveyed with freedom the sentiments of the assembly in reply. "We cannot conceal upon this occasion," said he, "that things have been done of late wherewith we are most deeply affected, and which may probably lead this assembly to consider seriously of what may be proper for them to do upon such emergents, that they be not found wanting in their duty as to what is intrusted to them; and as we will be careful to exoner our consciences with faithfulness and zeal for the interests of pure religion, so we trust our blessed God, who hath guided former assemblies of the church into a behaviour pleasing to her majesty, will enable us to continue in the same course—next after our duty to God, manifesting our unshaken loyalty to our queen." And, in conclusion, turning to the members, he addressed them, "Reverend and honourable, All I shall say to you at opening this assembly is, that we are met at a very critical juncture, and have a great trust; may we all be enabled to know what is the true interest of this national church, and to follow such measures for serving it faithfully! For that purpose may we be under deep impressions of HIM, and in all our words and actions show ourselves wise as serpents, and harmless as doves; and may we behave with that zeal for

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General
assembly.

The
queen's letter.

Moderator's reply
to the commissioner's
speech.

His address to the
members.

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Prudence
of the as-
sembly.

great many parishes from which no contribution had been received, the general assembly, in compliance with their request, again recommended the truly benevolent object; appointed the several presbyteries to require an account of the diligence of all the ministers within their bounds in this matter, the synods to inspect the diligence of the presbyteries, and send full and distinct reports of their progress to the commission. Greatly to the praise of their leaders, the assembly rose without having afforded the least handle to their political antagonists, although various circumstances had been combined to excite their anger and their apprehension.*

Cameroni-
ans renew
the cove-
nants

LX. Deprived still of the regular superintendence of any ecclesiastical court, the society-men continued to bear testimony against the accumulating backslidings of the church and nation; but whilst there was no judicature in their Israel, and every society did that which was right in their own eyes, dissensions incessantly prevailed among them. A few days after the assembly rose, at a general meeting of the delegates from the more numerous bodies, held at Crawfordjohn, they resolved to renew the covenants, which they afterwards did at Auchinshaugh, near Douglas, on the 26th July; not however with that solemnity and zeal with which their fathers had gone about the work in their hour of peril;—for at the conclusion of the service on the preparation day, the congregation was dismissed with a reproof from the officiating minister, “for their unconcerned carriage and behaviour during the reading of the acknowledgment of the breaches of these covenants.” Some of the members had at the previous meeting proposed a query, Whether they should come armed? “It was concluded there was no necessity for arms, unless there were evidence of a design of opposition to the work.” Of this there was neither intention nor appearance. They were allowed to assemble without interruption, to remain together for several days without molestation, and to dismiss in peace. The engagement to duties come under by the covenanters at Auchinshaugh was afterwards published when the work was finish-

* Minutes of the General Assembly MS. Printed Acts.

ed, and it is not among the least curious of these articles, that a few scattered societies, who could not agree among themselves, should consider it their bounden duty "to endeavour an uniformity in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government" between three kingdoms.*

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LXI. When people are driven till they know not on which hand to turn by the fierceness of the persecutor, it would be harsh to judge too rigidly of the failings or even faults of good men; but to carry tenets, which were only defensible in times of tribulation, to still greater lengths in time of peace, has so much the appearance of a desire to be singular, and a wish to provoke notice and persecution, that it is only excusable as the error of well-meaning individuals, who, deprived of regular instructors, had retained the prejudices of their fathers, without reflecting upon the very different circumstances of the times; unless we should trace it to a more indefensible source, the wish of the people to dictate to their ministers, and usurp an authority to which they have no right; and forcing them to preach to their prejudices, nourished a spiritual pride in supposing that purity of communion consisted, in raising distinctions when there was no difference; and that they were clean themselves in proportion as they were acute in detecting the spots of their neighbours—faults into which all small separate societies are very apt to fall.

Remarks.

LXII. Parliament was prorogued on the twenty-fourth of June, having been kept thus long together that the ministry might obtain their sanction to the terms of the peace before it was finally concluded. Her majesty communicated them

Parliament approves of the proposed terms of peace.

* The hearers of Mr. M'Millan considered it a sin in any of their brethren to hear Mr. Hepburn! A Mr. M'Niel had joined Mr. M'Millan; but before they could be satisfied with him, it was necessary to be assured that he also bore testimony against the minister of Orr. "Anent Mr. M'Niel," say they in a letter, "it is certain that he never taught that any of us should hear Mr. John Hepburn in doctrine." MS. Records of the Societies. The records of these societies, in possession of the reformed synod, are wanting from the conclusions of the general meeting at Crawfordjohn, February 22, 1709, to February 11, 1712. They either had not been regularly kept during these years, or, as I should be apt to suppose, from a note in one of the blank leaves, they have been destroyed; and indeed, except as a mere matter of curiosity, it is as well that it is so. The remembrance of temporary internal squabbling in small christian societies seldom answers any good purpose.

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The people
dissatisfied
with them.

Applauded
by the jacobites.

James' obstinacy
blasts his prospects.

in a long speech on the sixth, when the house of commons, with little difficulty, and the house of lord, after a violent debate, voted addresses of approbation. Somewhat different were the sentiments of the public when informed that the grand object of contention was given up, and that the crown of Spain and the Indies was to remain on the head of Philip; while Louis, who had humbly supplicated peace, and who, by another active campaign, must have, in all human probability, accepted of such conditions as the allies chose to dictate, was raised to be himself a dictator of terms. The people in general, although longing for peace, and tired of taxation, began to revert to their old antipathies; and notwithstanding the efforts of the ministerial writers to prove that peace was better than war, could not be diverted from the idea that a splendid peace would have been better than a doubtful one; and that when, after their long, sanguinary, and successful struggle, they might have ensured lasting pre-eminence and power to their country, by a treaty adequate to the triumphs they had won, it was inglorious, if not disgraceful, to consent to a precarious and unprofitable truce. But the jacobites, who saw in it a prospect of the realization of their hopes, in the downfall of their irreconcilable opponents, united, at the pretender's personal request, with the tories, in applauding the conditions, and supporting the ministry; and the pretender himself seems to have believed that a way was about to open for his peaceably ascending the throne of his ancestors; yet, by an obstinacy fortunate for Britain, as his compliance must have increased his party, he at the same time most unequivocally declared his attachment to that religion which had forfeited his father's right; nor could the solicitations of his friends, nor even, it is said, the sentiments of his sister, induce him to conceal his papistical devotion, or allow to the episcopalians, who were in his service, the open exercise of their forms; and as if this had not been obstacle sufficient, he, following the hereditary politics of his house, embarked in a variety of projects at once, and without confiding entirely in any, committed himself to a number of agents.

LXIII. Multiplicity of intrigue was ever the besetting sin of the Stuarts; and at the moment when union of effort

alone could have produced a probability of success, their means were frittered away in unconnected correspondence with different agents, who all, under professions of the most devoted attachment to their cause, were undermining each other with as much eagerness as if the victory had been achieved, and they had had nothing else to quarrel about but the division of the spoil. When the articles for a treaty were signed, the French envoy in London, who had instructions from his court, introduced the subject to St. John; but they both foresaw that, in the ensuing treaty, the king of France would be obliged not so much to abandon the chevalier, as to acknowledge the succession of the crown to the house of Hanover—and therefore it was proposed previously to free the French king, by a private article, from whatever obligations he might come under in the public treaty to that effect; but St. John, who looked forward to the probability of a parliamentary inquiry, turned over the negotiator to Mrs. Masham, that through her he might directly learn the queen's pleasure; and the following points, with her majesty's concurrence, were agreed upon between Mons. Mesnager, and Mrs. Masham:—"That for the satisfaction of the people at home and the allies abroad, the king should be required to abandon her brother and his interest, on pretence of adhering to the succession as now established. But that nevertheless this seeming to abandon the said interest, was to be so understood, that the king should not be obliged, in case of her majesty's decease, not to use his endeavours for the placing the said prince on his father's throne, to which he had an undoubted right." Besides, Mrs. Masham, in her confidential communication with Mesnager, told him, "that it was the present unhappiness of the queen to possess the throne of her brother, which she had no other claim to than what political measures of the state had made legal, and in a sort necessity, which she believed often gave her majesty secret uneasiness; which was aggravated, in as much as by the same necessity of state, she was obliged, not only against her disposition, but even against her principles, to further and promote the continuance of the usurpation, not only beyond her own life, but for ever. That, under such cir-

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Secret article in the treaty respecting his succession.

Points regarding it agreed to with the queen's concurrence,

who is represented as desirous of it.

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cumstances, it would be an inexpressible satisfaction to her majesty to be delivered from that fatal necessity; and if it could be possible, with safety to the religion and liberties of her subjects, to have her brother restored to his right, at least after her death, if it could not be done before. But she saw no method of procuring peace, without confirming the succession of the house of Hanover—a thing, I am sure,” added the favourite, “that is all our aversions.”

The arrangement defeated by the pretender's impatience.

LXIV. Surmises of this intercourse becoming general, the projected arrangement was defeated, “and all was owing,” says Mesnager in his account of the negotiations, “to the impatience and jealousy of the court of St. Germain, who, though the king had agents of his own in London, who perhaps did their utmost, yet they at St. Germain being uneasy, could not refrain sending a secret embassy themselves. This it seems was a Scottishman, who pretended great interest with a Scottish lord, who was an officer of state in England; but either the messenger failed in the interest he pretended to have, or the Scottish nobleman failed in what he promised to do for him, seeing that after a long stay he only performed these two notable exploits,—first, he spent a great deal of their money, and, secondly, he ruined and exposed the business he was entrusted with; and at last came away with nothing but an empty promise.” A correspondence was at the same time carrying on with Mar, and the general expectation of the party was so high, that the duke of Hamilton endeavoured to open a clandestine communication with the pretender.*

His secret embassy to England fails.

Dismissal of Marlborough makes Louis rise in his demands.

LXV. Numerous obstacles occurred to protract the negotiation; for the ministers of France no sooner perceived the divided state of Britain, than, with the natural finesse of their country, they turned it admirably to their own advantage; and Louis himself, when he heard of the dismissal of Marlborough, added, with his own hand to the dispatches, “the affair of displacing the duke of Marlborough will do all for us we desire.” He instantly rose in his demands, and with such insolence and duplicity, as would soon have ter-

* Minutes of Mesnager's Negotiation, p. 305, 314. Stuart Papers, p. 199, 200.

minated the conferences with the British ministry, had not the latter rashly staked their continuance in power, upon procuring a peace. When these disputes were going forward, and while all was yet uncertain, the appointment of the duke of Hamilton as ambassador extraordinary to the French court, excited a considerable sensation, and gave rise to much and various conjecture. He was known as a professed leader of the Scottish high tories, and had been distinguished by peculiar marks of her majesty's confidence; his mission was reported to be of the greatest delicacy and highest importance, and he had previously been invested with the order of the garter.* He had engaged Lockhart of Carnwath to accompany him to France as his confidential secretary, and informed him that he was entrusted with a secret business beside his public mission, which he might give some hints of to those he could confide in and thought honest men; but to Harry Maule and Captain Straiton, in whom he placed the highest confidence, he was allowed to say that his grace had got all his instructions concerning the negotiation of peace, and he understood there were some things beside, of the greatest importance, to be committed to his management: "and though the lord Oxford had not yet spoke fully out, nevertheless, by his lordship's inuendos, and some private conversation with the queen, he could guess at the import and design of them; he could not then say any more, but desired them all to hope and look for the best, and he assured them that he never undertook any matter with so much pleasure as that journey."† Every circumstance concurs to give credibility to the supposition then so generally entertained, that the recall of the exiled family was the objects of the duke's embassy; but whatever it was, his foolish, yet lamentable end, soon finished the project as far as he was concerned.

LXVI. His grace and lord Mohun had been engaged in a law-suit respecting the succession to the earl of Maccles-

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Duke of
Hamilton
appointed
ambassador
to France.

His com-
munication
to Lock-
hart.

Supposed
intent of his
mission.

* When the queen informed him she meant to bestow the order of the garter, but thought he should resign the order of the thistle—he replied, "her royal father had worn both: and he would never prefer an English to a Scottish honour."

† Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 407.

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His quarrel
with lord
Mohun.

field's estate, for about nine years; which, as such suits generally do, had not only proved ruinously expensive to the parties, but occasioned an almost invincible deadly hatred.

Mr. Whitworth, father of lord Whitworth, having been examined as a witness for lord Mohun, when he had finished, the duke remarked, "that he had neither truth nor justice in him," to which Mohun replied, "he has as much as your grace." Hamilton took no notice of this courteous retort, and the company broke up without suspecting that any thing farther would follow. But Mohun, a successful duelist, already infamous for two murders, finding his insult had not produced a challenge, in the true spirit of a bully, demanded an apology, for an offence which he had already punished; and presuming upon his superior swordmanship, forced his relative to the field, where both, mutually en-

Fatal duel. raged, were so eager upon revenge, that forgetting self-defence, they fell, each satiated in the other's blood. Lieutenant-general Macartney, who was Mohun's second, and colonel Hamilton, who was the duke's upon the occasion, in the same spirit of what has been styled honour, but of which it would be difficult to say whether it were more ridiculous or criminal, had a set-to, to keep their principles in countenance: in the middle of their diversion they were interrupted by the fall of both the noblemen; his lordship, Mohun, had paid the forfeit of his madness upon the spot, his grace, Hamilton, before he reached his lodging.

Both fall.

LXVII. Hamilton was one of the most prominent, most influential, but most contradictory characters of his day. He was consistent in his professions of attachment to the family of Stuart, and suffered in their cause, yet he did them more injury than any of their avowed enemies. He was constant in his open declared opposition to the union, yet he forwarded its completion more than its warmest friends; the reason must be sought in his temper and his circumstances,—he was warm and violent, but unsteady and capricious; he was regardless of personal danger, but he wanted political courage; sanguine at first, he overlooked obstacles, but of acute perception, when he reflected he was shaken by difficulties he had not anticipated. He was besides, hampered in his pecuniary concerns; by his nume-

Character
of Hamil-
ton.

rous law-suits his estates were embarrassed, and they were situated almost equally in Scotland and in England. His mother was a woman of much prudence, and her council might occasionally counteract his rashness. In private life, with all his faults, he must have had redeeming qualities, for his friends, who did not pretend to justify his failings, loved him in spite of them.*

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LXVIII. This unhappy occurrence happening at so critical a juncture, was instantly fastened on as a political rencounter, and the tories roundly asserted that it was a preconcerted murder by the whigs; that Hamilton did not fall by the sword of his antagonist but by Macartney; and party rancour gave currency and belief, if it did not give origin, to a statement to that effect made by colonel Hamilton. A reward of five hundred pounds was offered by government, and an additional sum of three hundred by the duchess, for the apprehension of the general, who, knowing the fate of political culprits in times of popular agitation, fled to the continent. When he returned, at the accession of George I, he delivered himself up to justice, and, upon trial, was acquitted of murder, but found guilty of manslaughter, while his original accuser was threatened with a prosecution for perjury, and had in his turn to go upon his travels.

The duel
considered
a political
rencounter.

LXIX. Peace was at length concluded, and the treaty signed at Utrecht on the thirteenth of March one thousand seven hundred and thirteen; and the populace of London instigated by the tories, expressed, in the most tumultuary manner, their high satisfaction, although the Scottish jacobites had been before them, and congratulated her majesty by anticipation. On the ninth of April, after it had been seven times prorogued, the parliament assembled; when the queen communicated to them the terms, and conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm the minds of their fellow-subjects, that incendiaries at home might not effect that which foreign enemies could not accomplish. They replied by congratulatory addresses, conveying at the same time professions of inviolable attachment to the house of

1713.

Treaty of
Utrecht.

Parliament
congratulate
the
queen on
its comple-
tion.

* Burnet, Lockhart, &c. &c.

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Hanover and the protestant succession. The supplies were granted without opposition ; but an extension of the malt tax to Scotland had very nearly ruptured the union between the two kingdoms.

Extension
of the malt
tax to Scot-
land.

LXX. Although not expressed in the treaty, this tax, by a stipulation guaranteed by the honour of the commissioners, [Vol. V. p. 465.] was not to be levied in Scotland during the war, nor extended to that country for paying off the war debt. Hitherto this stipulation had been acted upon, and the tax, when imposed upon England, had not been extended to Scotland ; but now when peace was concluded, a bill was brought in for imposing it over all Britain. The Scottish members, who knew with what heavy pressure it would fall upon their country, opposed it with all their might, and the English were equally violent in urging it, and thought the Scots had been sufficiently favoured in its not being exacted for these several years past. The others replied, the exemption was no favour, being only the fulfilment of an express capitulation, and if they had asked it for a longer term of years, nay even for ever, it would not have been refused ; but they had trusted to the generosity of the English, and were satisfied with that article of the union which affirmed it as an axiom that the British parliament, in imposing taxes, would always pay a just regard to the circumstances of the people ; they contended that an equality of taxes consisted in proportioning them according to the different abilities of the lieges, not in exacting the same duty equally from all ; and as Scottish barley would not produce either so much or so good ale as English, it would be altogether unreasonable to lay the same burden on both. Besides, should the price of ale be raised in Scotland, in proportion to the tax proposed, it would amount to an entire prohibition, as the people there could not afford to purchase it ; at all events, they contended that the war was not finished till peace was proclaimed, and therefore the stipulated term had not expired. The English members did not deny the stipulation, but replied to the argument they could not answer, by calling for the question, when the house divided, not into factions, but national parties, and of course the poor forty-five, although

Unani-
mously op-
posed by
the Scot-
tish mem-
bers.

They are
left in a
minority

they fought hard and fought to the last, were overwhelmed by numbers.* Unfortunately the peers did not second the efforts of the commons, and although they spoke and voted against the measure, they did not act with that decision and zeal the others displayed, nor had they the weight which they ought to have possessed; the commons had in general divided, and occasionally in a body "voiced" against the ministry, but it was remarked that the noble representatives, under the different administrations voted always "plumb with the ministry."†

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LXXI. While the bill was in progress the debates assumed a form entirely different from any that had hitherto occurred; the distinctions of whig and tory were for the time forgotten, and the combatants again ranked under their opposing national banners, particularly in the house of commons, where the taunts of the English members were met by sarcastic retorts, that they would not dare singly to insult those whom their majorities enabled them to oppress; but when the united opposition of their lords and commons had proved ineffectual to ward off what they considered an act of injustice—and what in fact has proved an essential injury to the country, by destroying a wholesome beverage—the Scottish members agreed to lay aside all minor differences, and unite their endeavours to dissolve a union which had hitherto been only productive of detriment and dishonour. The jacobites eagerly sought such a crisis to forward their own particular purpose; but the inefficiency of the Scottish representation to procure any Scottish object was so evident in this case, and the irritation produced in the contention so universal, that no opportunity so favourable might again readily occur. Lockhart, their leader, therefore, in conjunction with several of his friends, requested a meeting of the whole Scottish commons, to consult upon measures proper to be taken in this emergency, to rescue the nation from the vassalage to which they had reduced themselves.

They
unite to
procure a
dissolution
of the u-
nion.

A meeting
of the com-
mons call-
ed.

* Most of our historians have copied bishop Burnet in his report of this debate, and by not adverting to the nature of the stipulation for which the Scottish members contended, have misrepresented the scope of their arguments which was as stated in the text.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 416, *et seq.*

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Lockhart's
speech.

LXXII. When they assembled, he told them he believed it would be necessary for him to notice the late ill usage they had met from all parties in England, and he hoped they would be unanimous in attempting redress, by coming to such resolutions as could be prosecuted with the greatest unanimity and vigour. The Scottish trade, it was evident, he continued, was wofully depressed, and almost entirely destroyed by prohibitions, regulations and impositions; that the heavy duties imposed on their native produce and manufacture were calculated for the wealthy and improved state of England, and not for their backward and impoverished country, exhausted of money by the continual drain of their taxation, and the resort of so many of their countrymen to London; that, from the haughty and insolent treatment they had lately received, it was sufficiently clear they could expect no redress from the English, and it was as evident that if they did not procure it some way soon, the ruin of Scotland was unavoidable. But the cause was obvious, and so was the cure; the melancholy state and prospects of Scottishmen arose from their being united with a nation superior to them in power, naturally bent against them, and whose interests and maxims of government and trade did directly interfere with theirs; their deliverance must be wrought by breaking their shackles and escaping from the house of bondage. He took no credit to himself for foreseeing all this, nor would he reflect on those who had disbelieved him. He wished to God that he had been mistaken, and that they had obtained all the good fruits they expected: what he wished now was, that all that was passed should be forgotten, and that they should unite cordially to remedy the evil. This he thought should be attempted, as it was established in a legal parliamentary way; and although he could not delude himself with the idea that they would accomplish it at that time, he hoped the Scottish nation would never lose sight of it, and he was assured they would ultimately regain their liberty: and if the subject of dissolving the union were only once fairly set a-going, it was impossible to say, considering the state of parties, what might even then be done; but as many might be startled at the motion, apprehending that it might unhinge the protestant succes-

sion as then established, he would make it an express condition, that the two crowns, when separate, should still preserve the same succession.

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LXXIII. All the commons being unanimous, at the suggestion of Baillie of Jerviswood, a conference was held with the sixteen Scottish peers, and the duke of Argyle, who sat as an English peer. His grace opened the conversation ;—he said, though he sat in the house of lords as an English peer, yet being a Scottishman and Scottish peer, as such he was willing to submit to the judgment of the peers and commons then assembled. He would freely confess that he was much disappointed of the effects of the union, being fully convinced that it was destructive both to Scotland and England ; and as he was a peer of both realms, out of regard to both he heartily agreed to a dissolution, and would concur in every measure they thought expedient for effecting it, and thought the parliamentary mode the most regular. As there was a quarrel between him and Mar,* it was suspected that he acted thus to counteract Mar's influence with his countrymen, and that knowing he would heartily agree to the scheme, took this method of forestalling the market ;† but the earl seconded him earnestly ; and the whole unanimously agreed to lay aside all private differences, and use their united endeavours to effect so desirable a purpose. In the first place, however, they thought it expedient to appoint some of their number to wait upon the queen, to acquaint her with the

Their conference
with the
Scottish
lords.

* Upon Queensberry's death, Mar and lord Islay had both attempted the secretaryship ; and in order not to prefer either, both were disappointed by the post being allowed to remain vacant, which had occasioned a coldness between Mar and Argyle. Mar attached himself to the treasurer, and appears even thus early to have made advances to the pretender. Argyle accepted of the command in Spain, but he found the situation of the armies there so miserable, that he was unable to do any exploits. The commons had voted a million and a half for prosecuting the war with vigour ; he was obliged to procure money on his own credit before the British troops could take the field ; and next year he returned disappointed and discontented at having been left almost wholly unsupported, after the magnificent promises that had been made to him, and the brilliant prospects held out to the nation. Campbell's *Life of Argyle*, p. 136-7. Lockhart's *Com.* p. 435, *et seq.* Burnet, vol. yi. p. 159. Oldmixon, Tindal, &c.

† Lockhart says, there were some who believed that Argyle declared himself so early and so clearly at this meeting " with a design to break an egg in the earl of Mar's pocket." Comment, 430.

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Address
the queen.

resolutions they had taken; and in order that she might perceive it was no factious proceeding, they named the duke of Argyle and the earl of Mar, Mr. Cockburn, junior, of Ormiston, and Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, two whigs and two Tories, to form the deputation. Her majesty, who was extremely averse to the subject, replied to their address, "She was sorry that the Scots believed they had reason to complain, but she was of opinion they carried their resentment too far, and wished they did not repent it."

Motion for
the dissolution
in the
house of
lords.

LXXIV. They next deliberated in which house to bring forward their motion, and resolved to try the house of peers, because the ministry, being opposed to the measure, the whigs had engaged to support it, and their power was greatest among the lords. The earl of Findlater accordingly, as chancellor of Scotland, was pitched upon to introduce it, which he did in a long but embarrassed speech; recapitulating the various breaches of the treaty that already had taken place, the disadvantages which Scotland experienced, and their inability, from their poverty, to bear an equal share of the public burdens of the empire, and concluded by moving, "That since the union had not produced the good effects that were expected from it when it was entered into, leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the said union, and securing the protestant succession in the house of Hanover, insuring the queen's prerogative in both kingdoms, and preserving an entire amity and good correspondence between the two nations." He was warmly seconded by the duke of Argyle, who, in replying to the charge of having changed sides, observed that it was true he had had a great hand in forwarding the union, because he believed it would enrich the one country, and secure the liberty of the other; but now he clearly perceived he had been mistaken; that it would beggar Scotland and enslave England. One chief reason which induced him so eagerly to support the treaty, was his desire to secure the protestant succession, but that, he was now satisfied, could be done as well if the union were dissolved: that he had a particular interest in both countries, he was a peer of England as well as of Scotland; and he believed sincerely that it was as much for the interest of the one country as of the other, that the union

which had been so often infringed should be finally dissolved, as the only way to preserve friendship between them. The pressure of the taxes bore so unequally upon Scotland, that, besides being enormously oppressive, they never would be productive; and if that upon malt were to be collected, it must be done, he believed, by a regiment of dragoons. The English argued, that they did not possess the power of annulling a treaty so solemnly ratified by two parliaments, who had now both ceased to exist. They did not deny but that the Scots laboured under some disadvantages, but they thought these might be remedied by other means than dissolving the union. On the question being put for leave to bring in a bill, it was negatived by only four votes, so nearly was the union saved from a fatal blow. But the jacobites, who had not expected to carry it, considered this a victory, as it afforded a precedent for bringing forward, at some more favourable opportunity, a similar motion. At a meeting of the Scottish representatives next day, it was resolved to defer introducing the subject in the house of commons till the following year, and in the interval, to endeavour to procure petitions from all the counties and burghs in Scotland, to the queen and the two houses of parliament, praying for a dissolution of the union;—a proposal which, however, was never carried into effect, as no petitions were procured, except from the shires of Edinburgh and Lanark.*

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Negatived.

LXXV. Before being dissolved, the parliament addressed her majesty, requesting her to use her influence with the duke of Lorrain, and all the princes in amity with her, not to afford shelter to her brother. She thanked them coldly, and promised to attend to their request. But it was noticed that she received with sympathy and peculiar satisfaction, two addresses from the highlands of a very different description—presented by sir Hugh Patterson, introduced by the earl of Mar—which were afterwards published in the London Gazette. The one from the magistrates and town-council of Inverness, declared, “We, without re-

Address of
parliament
respecting
the preten-
der.

ness.

* Fictitious freeholds, which had not been sustained in the case of the duke of Queensberry, were this session, by a particular act, declared illegal.

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Of Nairne.

serve, depend on your majesty's wisdom in securing our religion, and the succession to the hereditary crown of Great Britain in the family of your royal progenitors, the most ancient line of succession in the world; being as much convinced that our guarantee is entirely in your hands, as your serene majesty does place yours in your people." The other from Nairne was scarcely less flattering to royal prerogative: "We know not," said the magistrates and inhabitants of the loyal burgh, "with what modesty we can presume to address your majesty on the matter of succession, lest we should seem to call in question your majesty's unquestionable prudence, or the faithfulness of your majesty's council; and therefore we sincerely declare, that our utmost wishes reach no farther than that our posterity may reap the effects of your majesty's wise choice, while we think ourselves happy under your majesty's administration all our days."

Of the high-
land chief-
tains.

LXXVI. Such language was not, however, new from that district, nor unaccountable. Early in 1711, pensions had been settled on the principal clans by the government, to secure their attachment and prevent disturbance, esteeming this a cheaper mode than supporting an army in these wild and distant districts; but the jacobites encouraged them to import arms and ammunition, and taught them to look forward to another plundering excursion against the lowland whigs, in the event either of the pretender being crowned, or a disputed succession. In congratulating her majesty upon the peace, the chieftains used the following very appropriate language: "The peace your majesty has concluded with so much reputation, by which you have checked the avarice of some who were shamelessly self-interested, and the arrogancy of others, who, grown wanton under your royal protection, became no less unreasonably ambitious; we say this happy peace is a shining instance of the Almighty's blessing on your endeavours." They then add, "We must also beg leave to thank your majesty for recommending the insolence of the press to the consideration of the late parliament, hoping the ensuing will improve upon the progress of the former, and work out a thorough reformation, that we be no more scandalized, nor hear the blessed Son of God

blasphemed; nor the sacred race of Stuart inhumanly traduced with equal malice and impunity;" and they conclude in a strain of fervent highland loyalty, "Madam, may you still govern by the zeal and affection of your people, and long reap the fruits of that peace you have so graciously planted among them. Happy! if after your majesty's late decease, to put a period to our intestine divisions, the hereditary right and parliamentary sanction could possibly meet in the person of a lineal successor!"*

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LXXVII. Confined to a few, Scottish electioneering is never accompanied by those strong ebullitions of popular feeling that attend the formation of a new parliament in England, nor can the northern representatives almost in any case be said to be the choice of the people. Their contested elections are in general merely a struggle between the "in's and the out's," in which the "in's" have, I believe, without one single exception, carried the majority, from the union of the crowns to the present day. Upon the dissolution, which took place in July, the ministry themselves, Oxford and Bolingbroke, as well as their retainers, were divided, and the higher ranks of political society were in consequence disjointed. The Scottish leaders partook of their dissension, and Argyle and Mar headed the two conflicting interests; by the influence of the latter—now Scottish secretary—lord Islay lost his election as a Scottish peer, and his brother became finally alienated from the court. The commons appear to have been much the same as the former, nor did the jacobites increase in numbers, although they did in effrontery. After the re-election of Lockhart of Carnwath for Edinburgh, the populace assembled in the parliament close around the statue of Charles II., drank the health of the queen, the dissolution of the union, and all true Scottishmen;—which ceremony they repeated at the cross. An incident, although magnified at the time into a declaration for the pretender, seems to have been only a complimentary return for the wine with which the successful candidate treated the cannaille. But the zeal and activity of the popish priests and French

Parliament
dissolved.

Elections in
Scotland.

* Collection of Original Letters and Authentic Papers relating to the Rebellion, 1715. Tindal, 8vo. edit. vol. vi. pp. 102-3.

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emissaries in the north, were more portentous circumstance and called forth from the commission of the kirk "a seasonable warning concerning the danger of popery," to which they were stimulated by reports from the ministers, who bore testimony to the alarming success with which their exertions were attended.

Queen's
health de-
clines.

LXXVIII. Public animosity rose higher as the time approached for the assembling of the new parliament. The contentions in the cabinet increased; the queen's health had begun seriously to decline, and the progress of her disease which ought to have inspired sentiments of tenderness in her servants, or at least have made them suspend their disputes in her presence, destroyed even the weak restraint she had upon them; and their violent altercations became more indecent in the cabinet, and their mutual rancour better known to the public. An alarm for the safety of the protestant succession ensued; the stocks were of course affected, and a general run upon the bank, which arose from the queen's reported indisposition, continued till her recovery was officially announced.

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Parliament.

LXXIX. On the sixteenth of February, one thousand seven hundred and fourteen, the parliament was opened by commission, and adjourned till March second, when her majesty in person delivered the royal speech; it contained one sentiment at least a British monarch ought never to forget: "Our situation," said she in commencing, "points out to our true interest; for this country can flourish only by trade and will be most formidable by the right application of a naval force." She then adverted to the topics which chiefly agitated the kingdom. Persons in private life are not in common very fond of being incessantly urged by expectation to make a final settlement of their property; but the whigs, without intermission, in public and private, in parliament, through the press, and even in her retirement forced this ungracious subject on the queen. Alluding to this conduct, and to the reports that had been spread respecting the dangers which threatened the succession of the house of Hanover, she remarked, "Those who, about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, can only mean to disturb the present tra-

Queen's
speech.

quillity, and bring real danger upon us. After all I have done to secure our religion and your liberties, and to transmit both safe to posterity, I cannot mention these proceedings without some degree of warmth ; and I must hope you will all agree with me that attempts to weaken my authority, or to render the possession of the crown uneasy to me, can never be proper means to strengthen the protestant succession."

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LXXX. It is certainly not carrying the supposition too far, to believe that the natural inclination of Anne for her brother was strengthened by the impertinent and frequent obtrusion of his rival's claims ; yet there exists no proof of any settled plan, either by the queen or her ministers, for risking the peace of her kingdom during her life, to insure his succession on her decease ; although the sentence quoted might bear the construction of an implied threat, in case such party persecution were continued. Both houses voted addresses expressive of their detestation of such practices, and of all who encouraged them ; and immediately proceeded, by angry and virulent discussion upon some of the obnoxious pamphlets, to extend the evil in the reprehension of which they pretended to join. The whigs in the house of lords pitched upon a production of Swift's, which they condemned to more lasting celebrity ;* and the Tories, in the commons, recommended Sir Richard Steele to the favour of the house of Hanover, by expelling him, on account of his political tracts.

Remarks.

Both houses address her.

LXXXI. The security of the protestant succession was the leading question in this parliament ; to which the suspected intrigues of all parties with the pretender, and their avowed declarations for the house of Hanover, gave unusual keenness and interest. The state of the nation was taken into consideration by the lords, on the fifth of April, when the danger arising from the friendship shown to the friends of the pretender by the ministry, and his being allowed still to reside in Lorrain, being mentioned, a question was started—whether the protestant succession was in danger under her majesty's administration ? The debate, which was intended to be reported to the elector, was carried on with

Debate upon the state of the nation.

* Entitled "The Public Spirit of the Whigs, &c."—It was excessively severe against the Scots, and would have gone to rest with the other well written political squibs of the day, but for this sentence

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the greatest violence; and all the topics of accusation and recrimination were brought forward with the earnestness of men who knew they were pleading a cause for the information of the presumptive heir. The discussion commenced at two o'clock, and continued till nine in the evening, when the protestant succession was voted out of danger by seventy-six against sixty-four.

Opposition
persecute
the queen.

LXXXII. The opposition having failed in this, proposed next that her majesty might be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the pretender, dead or alive. The brutality of presenting such an address against a brother to a sister it would have been perhaps illegal to notice; but thus publicly authorizing assassination, was deservedly reprobated by lords North and Grey, and an amendment which substituted,—“an bringing him to justice in case he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain or Ireland,” was adopted. The queen answered, “she did not see any occasion for such a proclamation: but that it would strengthen the succession of the house of Hanover and her own government, if an end were put to these groundless fears.” With a pertinacity almost inhuman, the party continued to annoy the personal feelings of Anne; and when she refused to proscribe the chevalier, they proposed that the prince of Hanover, created duke of Cambridge, should be called to take his seat in the house of lords as a peer of the realm, and her majesty was obliged to write to himself to request his disapproval of the scheme. There was something so unmanly and cruel in this treatment, that had not the queen been nearly as much tormented by the tories, and driven almost to distraction by the dissensions of her ministers, it would not have been at all surprising had she thrown the weight of her whole influence into the scale of the pretender;—but fortunately her decided attachment to the protestant religion proved an effectual bar to this consummation.

Exertions
of the ja-
cobites.

LXXXIII. Her majesty's conduct in resenting these insults, however, was construed by the jacobites into a decided determination in favour of the pretender; and letters were handed about from his friends abroad to his friends at home, descriptive of his person and character, his graceful min-

magnanimity of spirit, and freedom from bigotry; his application to business, ready apprehension, sound judgment and affability; delighting all who approached him by the charms of his conversation, and the sweetness of his temper. The chevalier, too, seemed inclined to relax in his papistical intolerance, although he would on no account consent to a proposal for changing his religion. Leslie was allowed to guide the devotions of his protestant attendants; and with his own hand he wrote his sentiments on the subject of religion, for the purpose of being exhibited. He thought his sincerity in avowing his principles, when it would have been his interest to conceal them, ought to have obtained credit to his professions of securing to his subjects the exercise of theirs; forgetting that though his father was equally explicit in his declarations, yet his people did not find that openness in going to mass was any pledge of safety to the religion or liberty of protestants, or ensured the fulfilment of his other professions. The paper is however very plausibly written, and concludes with an assertion of great weight in former days. "I know my grandfather and father too had always a good opinion of the principles of the church of England, relating to monarchy; and experience sufficiently showeth, that the crown was never struck at but she felt the blow; and though some of her chief professors have failed of their duty, we must not measure the principles of a church by the actions of some particular persons."*

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Conduct of
the preten-
der.

LXXXIV. While the projects and plots of the various parties were distracting the nation, a proclamation was suddenly issued by the queen, promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the pretender whenever he should land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain. As it came out without the least previous warning, both whigs and tories were taken by surprise. The tories were enraged but could do nothing; the whigs instantly pressed the advantage it gave them, and next day moved in the house of commons, that the sum to be paid for the apprehension of the preten-

A reward
offered by
the queen
for his ap-
prehension.

* So high was the confidence of the papists, that at a dinner in the Sun Tavern, Strand, London, of which lord Fingal was a steward, the tickets of admission bore the image of the pope treading heresy under his feet. *Tiudal*, i. vi. p. 216.

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Opinions
respecting
her mo-
tives.

der should be one hundred thousand pounds; they also took occasion to circulate—what is now known to have been true—that the queen was alienated from her brother's succession, because she could not perceive how it could be consistent with the safety of the church of England; and added, the more doubtful assertion, that of her own accord she had issued the paper; though, it is probable what the tories asserted was nearer the truth—that her mental debility increasing with her increasing infirmities, part of her advisers who wished to pay court to the elector of Hanover, had operated upon her fears, and extorted it from her as a condition of her repose. The ostensible reason was the discovery of two Irish officers inlisting men for the service of the pretender, who were seized at Deal, one with a pass from the earl of Middleton, his secretary of state.*

Project for
dissolving
the union
abandoned.

LXXXV. Strange misgivings had taken place among the Scottish jacobites, when they perceived that the English tories, however willingly they went along with them to harass the whigs, were yet by no means prepared to forward their views, in precipitating the claims of the pretender: and when Lockhart, to put them to the test, proposed to renew the motion for dissolving the union, he found their secret committee disinclined to proceed in his straight forward plans; Murray, Carnegy, and Cummin, who had attached themselves to Bolingbroke, would not consent to drive the ministry;—and the junto broke up. But the conflicting forces in the cabinet gave rise to many wonderful changes in the phases of the wandering planets during this portentous shaking of the political heavens—in none more than the Scottish; there were two suns in their firmament, but the rays of neither shone with sufficient clearness or warmth, to point out to interested gazers which would be the permanent soul of the system. They accordingly vibrated between Oxford and Bolingbroke, or rather Mrs. Masham, or the duchess of Somerset, as either ruled the ascendant.

LXXXVI. The attempt made to obtain the bishops' rents for the Scottish episcopal conformists, illustrates curiously

* M'Pherson's Hist. v. ii. p. 597. Hanover Papers, v. i. p. 630, *et seq.* Lockhart Papers, v. i. p. 472.

their variable politics. Some time after the secret committee split, the recreant members requested a meeting with Mr. Lockhart and the lord-lyon. At this they represented that the earl of Mar, and several of their friends, as they thought it a proper season, were very eager to introduce a bill into the house of commons for resuming the bishops' revenues in Scotland, and applying the same to the relief of the episcopal clergy, and the support of such ministers as should accept the benefit of the toleration act. Into this scheme Lockhart and his friends heartily concurred; but he declined bringing forward the bill, not being satisfied with the conduct of any one of the ministers, nor was he certain of their sincere support; but dreaded that he might be deserted and left in the lurch, exposed to the malice of all those who enjoyed grants out of these revenues, and would have suffered by the design. He therefore thought that Murray, who was high in the minister's favour, should move the bill, and he and his coadjutors would strenuously support it; but, being afterwards assaulted by his friends, he consented, and put the draft of a bill, resuming the whole sacred property, into lord Mar's hands. His lordship and a few of the party, who, or their relations, had been participators in the spoil, thought the resumption too general, and wished that the appropriations for the universities might be exempted. Lockhart, who understood these matters thoroughly, and was perhaps the only disinterested, or at any rate consistent public character of a jacobite among the public characters of his time, replied—if that were done, they were making a great noise about nothing; for these appropriations exhausted the best part of the revenues, and were the worst use they could be applied to, seeing the universities were at present seminaries of rebellion and schism. The others gave a cold acquiescence—for they had relatives who were professors both in Edinburgh and St. Andrews—and the laird of Carnwath having bespoken the support of his allies, prepared to proceed with spirit; but just as he was stepping in at the door of the house of commons with the bill in his hand, he was summoned to Whitehall. On his arrival he found lord Mar, who, with many expressions of regret, informed him that several of the Scottish peers had

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Bill for re-
sumption
of the bi-
shops'
rents.Mar's ob-
jections to
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The schism
bill.Arguments
for and
against it.Never car-
ried into
effect.

a few hours before assisted in violating. This bill prohibited any person in England, Wales, or Ireland, from keeping “any public or private school or seminary, or teaching or instructing youth as tutors or schoolmasters, who had not subscribed a declaration to conform to the church of England, and obtained a licence from the diocesan or ordinary of the place; and upon failing of so doing, was liable to be committed to prison without bail or mainprize; and no licence was to be granted until the person produced a certificate of his having received the sacrament according to the communion of the church of England in some parish church, at least a year before procuring such licence, and that he had subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy.” As the schools for the education of the lower and middling ranks—particularly in country towns—were chiefly supported by dissenters, the mischief which this abominable statute would have inflicted is incalculable; the whole array of rational freedom was against it; but it is humiliating to the pride of the wit and the freethinker, to find their great chief-tain Bolingbroke in the first rank fighting against the right of protestants to educate their own children, and pleading the cause of bigotry and intolerance.

xcī. The bishop of London contended that dissenters had made the bill necessary, by their endeavours to propagate their schism, and draw the children of churchmen to their academies; but when it was suggested that they should be allowed seminaries for their own progeny alone, the amendment was negatived by a great majority of the peers; on which Wharton, alluding to Oxford, ironically remarked, that this was but an indifferent return for the benefit the public had received from their schools, which had bred those great men who had made so glorious a peace, and “treaties that executed themselves;” nor could he see any reason for suppressing the obnoxious academies, unless it were an apprehension that they might produce still greater geniuses to eclipse the merits of those great men. The tories, however, had only the obloquy of the scheme. On the very day it was to have taken effect the queen died, and the revolution that followed rendered it powerless.

xcīi. During this session of parliament, the conduct of sir

James Stuart, solicitor-general for Scotland, attracted the attention of the jacobites, to whom he was peculiarly obnoxious; and a violent phillippic he uttered against the administration enabled them to gratify their revenge and procure the appointment to Carnegy of Boisack, one of themselves; about the same time the lord advocateship, vacant by the death of sir James' father, was filled up by Mr. Thomas Kennedy, a creature of Mar's; the army too underwent a purgation, and Argyle and Stair were forced to leave their regiments, and the ministry wishing to see them entrusted in more pliable hands. These removals exalted the hopes, as the queen's declining health excited the activity of the pretender's friends in Scotland; in the previous year his medal had been widely circulated in the south, and in the present, at a horse race in Lochmaben, where an immense crowd of gentlemen and country people were collected, the plates exhibited as prizes were adorned with various emblematical devices. On one was the figure of Justice with her balance, and the inscription—*Suum Cuique*—"Gin ilka body had their ain!" On the other, several men with their heads downward, in a tumbling posture, while one more eminent than the rest, stood erect, with this motto, Ezekiel xx. 27—"I will overturn, overturn, overturn it, and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is, and I will give it him." After the race a number of the most noted of the jacobite gentry proceeded in procession to the cross, with drums beating, colours flying, &c. and there, upon their knees, in deep and flowing bumpers, drank king James' health, with an execration against those who refused to pledge them.

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Change in
the Scot-
tish officers
of state.Hopes of
the jaco-
bites.Lochma-
ben races.

XCIII. Ever foremost in the cause of freedom, the western and southern counties had, early in the year, associated for the purpose of supporting the succession of the house of Hanover; the nobility, gentry, and citizens of Clydesdale, Rensfrew, Ayr, Galloway, and Nithsdale, met at Dalmellington, in the month of June, and opened up a correspondence with the counties of the west; they adopted several resolutions for obtaining intelligence of the state of affairs, especially from the members of parliament, and enforcing legal measures for training the people. In this they were aided by a number of district meetings, and the various prepara-

Loyalty of
the south
and west.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

BOOK XXV.

GEORGE I.

George I.—Proclaimed at Edinburgh.—At Glasgow.—Foreign power him of support.—Pretender ordered out of France.—The king at London.—Change of ministry.—Earl of Mar's letter to the king.—Proceedings in Scotland.—Address of highland chieftains treated with.—The king takes the oath for securing the church of Scotland.—Ireland.—Address of church of Scotland.—His answer.—Causes of rebellion 1715.—Pretender's declaration.—A new parliament called, generally elected.—Contest at Inverness.—King's speech.—Charge the late ministry.—General assembly.—Act against prelatical preachers separatists.—Origin of the riot act.—Motions of the jacobites.—Mr. of Dundee prohibit the celebration of the king's birth-day.—Symptoms of rebellion in the south.—The king informs parliament of its existence, and assures to defeat it.—Scotland neglected.—Edinburgh arms.—Volunteers in defence of liberty and religion.—Their services refused to continue their exertions.—Earl of Mar forms a connexion with the Pretender.—Desires the disaffected nobles to meet him at Braemar.—Raises the standard of rebellion.—Death of Louis XIV.—Mar assumes the command of the rebels.—Proclaims the Pretender.—The rebels fail in an attempt to enter Edinburgh castle.—Their Manifesto.—They enter Perth.—Seize the castle at Burntisland.—State of the royal army.—Argyle appointed commander in chief.—Alacrity of Glasgow in raising troops.—Of the South and West Party proclaiming the Pretender at Kinross dispersed.—Jealousy of the Jacobite chiefs.—Rebels land in Lothian.—Take Leith.—Sumner of Argyle.—Retreat to Seaton house.—Ordered to join the rebels in the Transactions there.—Origin of the English rising.—Earl of Derby &c. proclaim the Pretender at Warkworth.—Proceed to Scotland.—Highlanders join them at Kelso.—Proclaim the Pretender at Dunse.—Resolve for England.—Highlanders leave them and return home.—Proceedings in North and West.—Rebels defeated at Loch Lomond.—Fortify Perth.—Battle of Sheriffmuir.—Inverness seizes the heroic conduct of Mrs. Forbes of Culloden.—Of Sir Robert Muir.

veness re-taken.—Seaforth defeated at Gilchrist moor, makes his peace with Government.—Huntly submits.—Progress of the rebels in England.—They enter Lancaster.—Proclaim the Pretender at Preston.—Are hemmed in.—Surrender at discretion.—Disposal, &c. of the prisoners.—Proceedings in the North.—Mar's offer to capitulate rejected.—Fife freed of the rebels.—The Pretender lands at Peterhead.—Proclaimed at Peterhead.—Arrives at Perth.—First acts of his government.—Orders the destruction of Auchterarder, &c.—Abandons Perth.—Escapes with Mar to France.—Proceedings of Argyle not agreeable to Government.—His measures for the security of the country.—His reception at Edinburgh and at Court.—Termination of the Rebellion.—Proceedings against the prisoners who surrendered at Preston.—Nithsdale escapes, Derwentwater and Kenmore suffer.—Winton escapes.—Executions at Preston, &c.—Scottish prisoners sent to Carlisle for trial.—Final result.—1714-1716.

I. ALTHOUGH the queen's death had been for some time expected, yet sudden at last, it came like a thunderbolt upon her conflicting cabinet, and found them as unprepared as if it had been an event beyond the reach of calculation. So eager were Oxford and Bolingbroke in their contest for power, or for revenge, that they allowed the only opportunity of attaining either to escape for ever:—but the whigs were united and on the alert; the resolute behaviour of Argyle and Somerset overawed the council, and ere her majesty had yet expired, their influence was complete, and the Hanoverian succession secure. The most vigorous measures were adopted to provide for the safety of the kingdom; orders were despatched to several regiments of horse and dragoons to march towards the metropolis; directions were given for instantly equipping a fleet, and an express was sent off to the elector, requesting him to repair to Holland, where he would find a British squadron ready to convey him to England. No sooner had Anne expired than the privy council met, and a regency, consisting of the seven great officers of state, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, treasurer, president, privy seal, high admiral, and chief justice of the queen's bench, in conjunction with a certain number named by the king,* in virtue of an act of parliament, assumed the regency, and issued orders for proclaiming his majesty, GEORGE, king of Great Britain, France and

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George I.

Activity of
the whigs.

Regency
appointed.

* Of these, three were Scottish noblemen, the dukes of Argyle, Montrose, and Roxburgh.

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Intelli-
gence of
the queen's
death
reaches
Edinburgh.

Ireland, in the different capitals of the three kingdoms; and the first of the new dynasty, mounted the imperial throne without the smallest appearance of disturbance.*

II. Archibald, earl of Isla, as justice general of Scotland, and the lord provost of Edinburgh, were required to perform the ceremony, with all due solemnity, in the ancient seat of royalty. The express arrived on Wednesday the fourth of August at twelve o'clock at night, and its contents were instantly made known to the servants of the crown, who were ordered to be in attendance next morning at eight o'clock; at which time were assembled, besides the officers of state, the duke of Montrose, the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls of Rothes, Morton, Buchan, Lauderdale, Haddington, Leven, Hyndford, Hopeton, Roseberry, and the lords Belhaven, Elibank, Torphichen, Polworth, Balgony, general Wightman, and a considerable number of the principal gentry, officers of the army, and chief inhabitants of the city.

Proclama-
tion of
George's
right to the
throne gen-
erally by the
nobles, &c.
assembled.

III. The cavalcade then proceeded through the streets,—which were lined by the train bands—from the duke of Montrose's lodgings to the town council house, where they were received by the lord provost, magistrates, and council, the senators of the college of justice, the barons of exchequer, commissioners of the revenue, and a numerous assemblage of gentlemen. The proclamation, declaring “that in consequence of the decease of her majesty, the imperial crowns of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, were solely and rightfully come to the high and mighty prince George, elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, and with full voice and consent of tongue and heart, acknowledging all faith and constant obedience, with all hearty and humble affection, and beseech-

* The accession of the house of Hanover to the crown of Great Britain, and the rights were founded exactly upon that principle for which Buchanan contended so earnestly in his treatise *The True Rights*—George Louis, elector of Hanover, was the son of Sophia, daughter of Frederick, elector palatine and king of Bohemia, who married Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England and sixth of Scotland. Not setting aside the claims of the house of Savoy, descended from Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, daughter of Charles I.—the princess Sophia was the youngest daughter of the king of Bohemia, and numerous other heirs were then passed over, so that the parliament in settling the succession, viewed the person considered most fit from among the royal progeny, and not the nearest, or most direct line to the parent stem.

ing God, by whom kings reign, to bless the royal king George with long and happy years," was signed by all present, amounting to one hundred and twelve. About eleven o'clock the procession marched from the council chamber to the cross, below which a theatre had been erected for their accommodation. Mr. Henry Maule, deputy lord-lyon-king-at-arms, ushered by six trumpets, the heralds and pursuivants in their coats, by two and two, mounted the cross;* then followed the lord provost, the other magistrates, and town council in their robes, ushered by sixteen of the ordinary officers of the city in their livery-coats, with the sword and mace, borne by the proper officers, also bare-headed. The lord provost, with the sword and mace, went up to the cross, but the town council proceeded to the theatre, where they received Montrose and the rest of the nobility and gentry. When all were properly stationed, the high and mighty prince, George, elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg was, with sound of trumpet, proclaimed king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, by the lyon depute, the lord provost reading the words of the proclamation to him. A discharge of the great guns of the castle followed, then three volleys by the city guard, which were answered by the regulars encamped in St. Ann's yard, near the palace, and who had been stationed there on the first news of the queen's illness, to prevent disturbance; the ringing of bells, with all the usual demonstrations of joy, succeeded—huzzas and acclamations from an immense crowd, attracted by the novelty of the scene. His grace of Montrose, with his retinue, then ac-

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Published
at the cross

* The cross, which modern taste has removed, was an ancient structure of mixed architecture, partly Grecian and partly Gothic; the building was octagon, of sixteen feet diameter, about fifteen feet high, besides the pillar in the centre. At each angle there was an Ionic pillar, from the top of which a species of Gothic bastion projected, and between the columns there were modern arches. Upon the top of the arch fronting the Netherbow, the town's arms were cut in the shape of a medallion, in rude workmanship; over the other arches, heads also, in the shape of a medallion, were placed. The entry to this building was by a door fronting the Netherbow, which gave access to a stair in the inside, leading to a platform on the top of the building. From the platform rose a column consisting of one stone, upwards of twenty feet high, and fifteen inches diameter, spangled with thistles, and adorned with a Corinthian capital, upon the top of which was an unicorn. From the platform royal proclamations were published.—Arnot's History of Edinburgh, 8vo. p. 232.

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Public re-
joicings.

accompanied the lord provost and council to the town house, where they drank his majesty's health, the prince, the heir-apparent, and other loyal toasts; thence proceeding to the camp, they were regaled by the general in his tent, and repeated the same toasts under discharges of artillery and small arms; in the evening the town was illuminated, and another round of the castle concluded the public festivities of the day.

Measures
for preserv-
ing peace.

iv. Confounded at the sudden and surprising change, the jacobites durst only murmur their regrets in secret, and console themselves with the fallacious hope of better times; yet, in order to guard against the possibility of any disturbance, the garrison in the castle was increased. In place of the common wooden bridge before the gate, a drawbridge was substituted, and a temporary entrenchment thrown up; the troops also, stationed in the county towns, were brought to reinforce the camp in the capital, but no movement disturbed the tranquillity of the ancient kingdom, and had moderate conciliatory councils been followed by the party now in power, it is probable that in no quarter of the British dominions would the succession have been established with less trouble or more stability than in Scotland. But unhappily moderation in prosperity is still more rare than the virtues requisite for combating adverse fortune.* When the king was proclaimed at Glasgow, the mob rather rudely declared their approbation of the change by destroying the episcopalian meeting-house, but no other popular tumult took place; and this, though without much evidence, was said to have been done by the jacobites, to excite the compassion of the tories, as if they were about to be persecuted on account of their religion.

The king
proclaimed
at Glasgow
—proceed-
ings of the
mob.

Parliament.

v. Pursuant to the act that regulated the succession, on the afternoon of the day the queen died, parliament assembled, and on the fifth of August were formally addressed by the lord chancellor in name of the regency; in return, addresses were voted to his majesty on his accession, from both houses, and the civil list granted the same as to the

* Rae's History of the Rebellion, *et seq.* Account of the Succession of the House of Hanover, 1714, Tracts.

queen; they only remained together till they received the king's answer, informing them of his expectation to be speedily among them, and were then prorogued. All the foreign powers concurred in their assurances of supporting the king; and the chevalier de St. George, who had repaired to Versailles on learning the death of the queen, was informed that his residence in France would be dispensed with; his majesty, therefore, as soon as he had arranged the government of his German dominions, set out for England, accompanied by the electoral prince. They were received by the deputies of the states-general, with the most studied distinction; and on the fifth day arrived at the Hague, amid the loud acclamations of a vast concourse of people. While they remained they were treated with the respect due to great friendly allies; and, on the sixteenth day of September, embarked at Orange Polder, his majesty on board the royal yacht *Peregrine*, and the prince on board the *William and Mary*, and under convoy of the British and Dutch fleets, commanded by the earl of Berkley, sailed for England with a fair wind, and next day, at nine in the evening, arrived safely at the Hope; the day after, they sailed up the river, and, some miles above Gravesend, the king and prince went into a barge, and arrived at Greenwich about six in the evening. The duke of Northumberland, captain of the life guard, then in waiting, and the lord chancellor, at the head of the lords of the regency, received his majesty at his landing, accompanied by a crowd of nobility, who greeted his arrival—he walked to his house in the park. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for those who had particularly distinguished themselves in the cause of the succession, and here first exhibited his marked predilection for the whigs. On the twentieth of September, the king and his son, now created prince of Wales, made their entry into the city of London with great magnificence; above two hundred coaches, filled with nobility and gentry, each drawn by six horses, preceded the royal carriage, in which were his majesty, his royal highness, and the duke of Northumberland. At St. Margaret's hill, Southwark, he was met by the lord mayor, aldermen, recorder, sheriffs, and officers of the city, and addressed by sir Peter King, recorder, in

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Foreign
powers as-
sure the
king of sup-
port—pre-
tender or-
dered out
of France.The king
arrives at
Green-
wich.Enters
London.

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1714. a congratulating speech ; after which the splendid spectacle, favoured by one of the loveliest days of the season, and swelled by this accession, moved onward to St. James's, where, amid discharges of the park guns, and the enthusiastic shouts of the multitude, his majesty took possession of his palace.

Impolicy of his first measures. VI. Party spirit probably was never so inveterate in Britain as at the time of the king's arrival ; but however much his majesty might have been inclined to favour one of the factions, it was certainly neither politic nor magnanimous to render the other desperate ; there could not have been a fairer opportunity for a practical amnesty, and had this been announced, the mutual asperities of the opponents would have been gradually smoothed down, till they had become as manageable as modern parliamentary antagonists. The king took a different view of the subject, and decidedly excluded the tories from all hope of favour ; and treating them as friends of the pretender, drove them in desperation to adopt a side which they had only been suspected to favour. Before his arrival Bolingbroke had been dismissed, and now the duke of Ormond and the whole of the tribe were disbanded. The treasury was put in commission, and the earl of Halifax made first lord commissioner. The great seal was given to lord Cowper, the privy seal to the earl of Wharton, the earl of Sutherland was sent lord lieutenant to Ireland, the duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household, lord Townsend and Mr. Stanhope, secretaries of state ; the duke of Somerset, master of the horse ; Marlborough was restored to his former high station ; Mr. Pultney, secretary at war, and Mr. Walpole, leader of the house of commons. The Scottish high officers were thus distributed :—the duke of Argyle, commander in chief ; the duke of Montrose, secretary of state ; duke of Roxburgh, keeper of the great seal, in room of the earl of Findlater, and the marquis of Annandale, privy seal, *vice* the duke of Athol. The vindictive and implacable temper of his majesty's advisers did not however appear in its full strength till the meeting of parliament.

Change of ministry ; of Scottish officers of state.

VII. While the line of conduct which the new sovereign should adopt was unknown, the whigs and tories were equal-



JOHN ERSKINE,
EARL OF MARR.

Portrait by Sir James Ostry,

1715. Engraved by J. Smith.

ly assiduous in courting his favour, and among others the earl of Mar, sent him the following dutiful offer of his service, which he received before he reached England :—

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“ Sir,—Having the happiness to be your majesty’s subject, and also the honour of being one of your servants as one of your secretaries of state, I beg leave by this to kiss your majesty’s hand, and congratulate your majesty’s happy accession to the throne, which I would have done myself the honour of doing sooner, had I not hoped to have the honour of doing it personally ere now. I am afraid I may have had the misfortune of being misrepresented to your majesty, and my reason for thinking so is, because I was I believe the only one of the late queen’s servants, whom your ministers here did not visit, which I mentioned to Mr. Harley and the earl of Clarendon, when they went from home to wait on your majesty ; and your ministers carrying so to me was the occasion of my receiving such orders as deprived me of the honour and satisfaction of waiting on them, and being known to them. I suppose I had been misrepresented to them by some, who, upon account of party, or to ingratiate themselves by aspersing others, as our parties have too often occasion. But I hope your majesty will be so just as not to give credit to such misrepresentations. The part I acted in bringing about and making of the union, when the succession to the crown was settled for Scotland on your majesty’s family, when I had the honour to serve as secretary of state for the kingdom, doth, I hope, put my sincerity and faithfulness to your majesty out of dispute. My family had the honour, for a great tract of years, to be faithful servants to the crown, and have had the care of the king’s children—when kings of Scotland—intrusted to them. A predecessor of mine was honoured with the care of your majesty’s grandmother, when young ; and she was pleased to express some concern for our family, in letters which I still have under her own hand.

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Earl of
Mar’s letter to the
king.

“ I had the honour to serve her late majesty in one capacity or other ever since her accession to the crown. I was happy in a good mistress, and she was pleased to have some confidence in me, and regard for my service ; and since your majesty’s happy accession to the crown, I hope

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you will find that I have not been wanting in my duty in being instrumental in keeping things quiet and peaceable in the country to which I belong, and have some interest in. Your majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of my family have been to the crown, or as I have been to my late mistress the queen. And I beg your majesty may be so good as not to believe any misrepresentations of me, which nothing but party hatred, and the zeal for the interest of the crown, doth occasion; and I hope I may presume to lay claim to your royal favour and protection. As your accession to the crown hath been quiet and peaceable, may your majesty's reign be long prosperous, and that your people may soon have the happiness and satisfaction of your presence among them, is the earnest and fervent wishes of him who is, with the humblest duty and respect, Sir, your majesty's most faithful, most dutiful, and most obedient subject and servant—**MAR.**" Dated Whitehall, August 30, O. S. 1714.

Harsh proceedings in Scotland

VIII. Some foolish ebullitions of jacobite zeal in Scotland had attracted the notice of the regency, who ordered the duke of Gordon to abide in Edinburgh, the marquis of Huntly to remain at home, and lord Drummond to keep quiet in the castle of that ilk; M'Donald of Slait, and Campbell of Glanderule, were also secured and sent to the castle of Edinburgh; the duke of Athol was ordered to stay at his castle of Blair, and preserve the peace of the country, while a great hunting match projected in the south was expressly forbid, as hunting and horse-racing had so often been made pretexts for traitorous assemblings; but a more important measure, that Mar had effected, was rendered abortive by the neglect with which he was treated, and the supremacy of the opposite faction. He had procured an address to the king upon his accession, from upwards of

Address of the high-land chieftains.

one hundred of the chiefs and chieftains of the highlands, expressing their joy at that event, and their wishes for the prosperity of his family; "your majesty," said they, "has the blood of our ancient monarchs in your veins, and in your family; may that royal race ever continue to reign over us." "Our mountains, though undervalued by some are, nevertheless acknowledged to have in all times been

fruitful in producing gallant and hardy men, and such we hope shall never be wanting among us, who shall be ready to undergo all dangers in defence of your majesty and your royal posterity's only right to the crown." These expressions of loyalty were however represented as having been manufactured at St. Germain's, for the purpose of deceit, and the proffered offer of dutiful submission being treated with scorn, the subscribers were left to consider themselves absolved from the obligations of loyalty to a prince who despised them.

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Ill received.

IX. As the fears of the presbyterians had been uncommonly excited, and as the king, with justice, considered them the staunchest supporters of his crown, at the first council he held, he voluntarily required that the oath relative to the security of the church of Scotland should be tendered to him, and ordered a minute of the transaction to be entered on the council record, and a copy sent to the court of session, to be entered in the book of sederunt, and afterwards lodged in the public register of Scotland; after which he emitted the following declaration, which, like that of James II. on a similar occasion, was made public at the request of the lords of council, and is worthy of being contrasted with that famous production, [*vide* Vol. V. p. 105.] "Having in my answers to the addresses of both houses of parliament, fully expressed my resolution to defend the religion and civil right of all my subjects, there remains very little for me to say on the present occasion; yet being willing to omit no opportunity of giving all possible assurances to a people who have already deserved so well of me, I take this occasion also to express to you my firm purpose to do all that is in my power for supporting and maintaining the churches of England and Scotland, as they are severally by law established, which I am of opinion may be effectually done without the least impairing the toleration allowed by law to protestant dissenters, so agreeable to christian charity, and so necessary to the trade and riches of this kingdom. The good effects of making property secure are nowhere so clearly seen, and to so great a degree, as in this happy kingdom, and I assure you that there is not any among

The king takes the oath for securing the church of Scotland.

His declaration.

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1714. Corona- tion.	x. On the twenty-first of October the coronation took place, which was not only celebrated with splendour in the capital, but was a day of universal gladness throughout the lowlands of Scotland :* and among the various towns and villages in England, particularly where the dissenting interest was strong, addresses* of congratulation poured in from every quarter, and not even the forfeited James himself was more overloaded with this cheap species of loyalty. That the generality were sincere at the time, as far as such professions usually are, may be safely admitted, although a number who pressed to sign them soon after appeared in very different associations.
Addresses on the oc- casion.	xi. Select addresses from men of property, whose names are known, and by being published become pledged for their principles, are always highly important to a government ; but popular addresses of condolence, or congratulatory professions of attachment, and offers of life and fortune, where corporations follow their leaders, or where the responsibility of the promise is attenuated by its extension over a multitude of obscure individuals, like the shoutings of the crowd, are of very secondary moment. Among others conspicuous on this occasion were the convention of the royal burghs and the various synods and presbyteries of the church of Scotland ; and these last were valuable as the expressions of tried friends, whose adherence to the protestant succession was not only steady, but whose interest it was impossible to separate from it.†
Remarks.	

* At this ceremony the duke of Argyle bore the sceptre with the dove, the earl of Sutherland, one of the swords, no other Scottish nobleman appeared in the procession.

† Robethon, secretary to the elector, in October 1713, by command of his highness and his mother, alluding to the grievances of the church, in a letter to Carstairs, after thanking the assembly for their public appearance in favour of their family, adds—"A quoi elles reponderont de leur costé en foissant redresser les griefs de la nation Escossoise aussitot quelles en auront le puvoir. On ne doit pas croire que, par rapport a ces griefs, et mesme par rapport a la dissolution de l'union, les Escossois purroient obtenir d'avantage du pretend-ant que de leur Altesses dans la succession des quelles [outre le redressement de leurs griefs] ils trouveront la surté de leur religion loix biens et libertes."

xii. Besides, as a token of gratitude for early marks of favour the king had shown them, the very reverend the principal of Edinburgh college, Carstairs, with Messrs. Hart, Linning, and Ramsay, were appointed a deputation from the commission of the general assembly to wait upon his majesty. They arrived in London after the coronation was over, and the crowd of congratulators had dispersed, and were treated with the most marked attention by his majesty. The duke of Montrose introduced them, and Carstairs, in an elegant speech, delivered in French, expressed the deep and thankful sense the ministers of the church of Scotland had of the mercy of the God of Heaven, who had brought his majesty to his dominions in peace and safety, and placed that crown upon his royal head, to which he alone had a just and unquestionable right; he then adverted to the zeal the church had always shown for the house of Hanover, and their prudence in not allowing themselves to be provoked into any disloyalty to the late queen, even by all the injuries they had suffered, and which they knew their enemies above all things desired; and particularly noticed the remarkable proof of his majesty's kindness, in obliging himself, so seasonably, by oath, to maintain the presbyterian church government, doctrine, worship, and discipline of the church of Scotland, with all their legal rights and privileges; so that they had good ground to hope they should not only be preserved from all insults and encroachments upon their constitution in future, but also have a favourable hearing as to any just and reasonable representations of what was grievous to them, which at any time they might have occasion to lay before him. The king graciously replied, "I humbly join with you in your thankfulness to God for having blessed your remarkable firmness in so good a cause with the desired success. You may be sure of a suitable return on my part by my protecting you in the enjoyment of all your just rights and privileges." They were afterwards introduced to the prince and princess of Wales, who also expressed the sense they had of the zeal of the church of Scotland for the protestant succession in their family, and assured the commissioners of their countenance and favour.

xiii. At the revolution, the admission of men steeped to

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their graci-
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the rebel-
lion.

the very lips in crime, to the confidence and councils of the sovereign, occasioned a sad mixture in the measures of William. At the succession, the total and severe exclusion not only from the government, but from all expectation, of every one who had held any responsible station during the power of the tories, and the proscription of men whose conduct had the authority of their queen and the approval of parliament to plead, led to the rebellion which almost immediately followed. Resentment naturally united the tories, and the only road which they thought could lead to success was by raising the high church cry in England, and raising the highland clans in Scotland. The first was immediately adopted. When the second was resolved upon it is more difficult to say; but I am inclined to believe no serious intentions of open insurrection was entertained previously to the impeachment of Oxford.* The high church cry was evidently intended to influence the approaching elections upon the expected dissolution of parliament.

Pretender's
declaration.

xiv. Meanwhile the pretender issued a declaration, copies of which he transmitted by the French mail to the dukes of Marlborough, Argyle, and several other distinguished noblemen. It was dated at Plombiers, August 29, and printed in English, French and Latin. Though with less effect, yet in a similar strain with what we have witnessed in later years, he invoked all kings, princes, and potentates, to interfere in the cause of injured royalty, a cause essentially their own, and called upon his loving subjects to seek a lasting peace and happiness, which they could never expect to enjoy "till they settle the succession again in the rightful line, and recall us the immediate lawful heir, and the only born Englishman now left of the royal family." "This," he adds, "cer-

* What tended to irritate the grievances of the Scottish nobility was the very doubtful interference of the earl of Islay with some of the appointments of the late government. The chamberlain's court had been revived in the later years of the queen's reign, and sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, Mar's brother-in-law, and lord Haddo, son of the earl of Aberdeen, appointed commissioners with salaries of L.1000 each. Viscount Kilsyth, and the lyon king-at-arms, had also two grants for similar sums; but when these were presented after the queen's death, Islay interposed, and the regency ordered the payment to be stopped, by which pitiful saving four influential characters were alienated from the house of Hanover.

tainly being the true interest of Great Britain, we had reason to hope, that a wise people would not have lost so natural an occasion of recalling us as they have lately had ;” and then, as if no Dunkirk expedition had ever sailed, he proceeds, “since they could not but see, by all the steps we have hitherto made, that we had rather owe our restoration to the good will of our people, than involve them in a war though never so just !” The paragraph, however, which follows, made the most powerful impression at the time, but had a very different effect from what he intended. “Yet contrary to our expectations, upon the death of the princess our sister, of whose good intentions towards us we could not for some time past well doubt—and this was the reason we thus sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death—we found that our people, instead of taking this favourable opportunity of retrieving the honour and true interest of the country, by doing us and themselves justice, had immediately proclaimed to their king a foreign prince to our prejudice, contrary to the fundamental and incontestible laws of hereditary right.” This was considered as decisive of the intentions of the late queen, and the treason of the cabinet, and was used to raise the hatred of the people against the humbled faction.

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xv. In the proclamation [January 15, 1715] for summon-
ing a new parliament, the predominant party resorted to
what must be considered an unconstitutional interference on
the part of the crown, in denouncing the late ministry, and
directing the electors what kind of members they should
choose. “It having pleased God, by most remarkable
steps of his providence, to bring us safe to the crown of this
kingdom, notwithstanding the designs of evil men, who showed
themselves disaffected to our succession, and who have
since, with the utmost degree of malice, misrepresented our
firm resolutions and uniform endeavours to preserve and
defend our most excellent constitution, both in church and
state, and attempted by many false suggestions to render us
suspected to our people—we cannot omit on this occasion,
of first summoning our parliament of Great Britain, in justice
to ourselves, and that the miscarriages of others may

Proclama-
tion for
calling a
parliament,

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Unconsti-
tutional.

not be imputed to us at a time when false impressions may do the greatest and irrecoverable hurt before they can be cleared up, to signify to our whole kingdom that we were very much concerned, at our accession to the crown, to find the public affairs of our kingdom under the greatest difficulties, as well in respect of our trade, and interruption of our navigation, as of the great debts of our nation, which we were surprised to observe had been very much increased since the conclusion of the last war. We do not therefore doubt that if the ensuing elections should be made by our loving subjects with that safety and freedom which by law they are entitled to—and we are firmly resolved to maintain to them—they will send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of our kingdom, and the ease of our people for the future, and therein will have a particular regard to such as showed a firmness to the protestant succession when it was in danger.”—The earl of Strafford’s papers were at the same time seized, and Mr. Prior the poet, supposed to be implicated, was ordered home from Paris, where he had remained as envoy.

Whigs ge-
nerally
elected.

xvi. Throughout England, the whigs were almost generally successful in their tumultuary elections; in Scotland, the tories could only attempt to form a party among the nobles, and a letter was published, dissuading the peers from voting for the court candidates, a list of whom they contemptuously alleged Argyle had brought down in his pocket from London; but the letter made little impression, and sixteen were returned who all were, or professed to be, attached to the protestant succession.* With the commons the dissolution of the union was revived, nor with more success. The universal feeling of the counties and burghs was in favour of the protestant succession. In the north alone was there any appearance of a struggle. This happened at Inverness.

xvii. Mr. John Forbes of Culloden was the government

* These were the dukes of Roxburgh and Montrose, the marquises of Tweeddale, Lothian, and Annandale, the earls of Sutherland, Rothes, Buchan, Loudon, Orkney, Stair, Bute, Deloraine, and Lely, and the lords Ross and Belhaven.

candidate, against whom a violent opposition was raised by Mackenzie of Preston-Hall, a jacobite,* who being at the time in possession of the estate of Lovat, and claiming to be head of the clan Frazer, came, accompanied by Glengarry and a strong body of highlanders to force the Frazers to vote for him; but the influence of the infamous Simon of Beaufort, who again made his appearance upon the stage at this juncture, carried the day in favour of Culloden. This ruffian whom we left in the bastile, [Vol. V. p. 439.] had contrived to make his escape from France, and was at this time soliciting, through the earl of Islay, that remission which king William had refused him. During his absence the clan, who certainly evinced a very strong attachment to him notwithstanding his atrocities, rather than acknowledge another chief, had made a full resignation into the hands of the duke of Argyle, and now at his desire signed a dutiful address to the king, and supported the loyal candidate.

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Inverness.

xviii. When parliament assembled, March 17th, the apprehensions of the tories were realized; the royal speech, in terms similar to the proclamation, held up the late ministers to the execration of the nation, and the addresses of the two houses, voted by strong majorities, conveyed to the throne their approbation of the speech. His majesty thanked his loving subjects for the zeal they had shown in defence of the protestant succession against secret and open enemies, regretted that the unparalleled success of the late war had not been attended with a suitable conclusion; informed them that the pretender, who still resided at Lorrain, boasted of the assistance which he yet expected in Britain, to repair his former disappointments; the trade, he lamented, was greatly embarrassed, and the public debt surprisingly increased ever since the fatal cessation of arms. The branches of revenue, he informed the commons, formerly granted for the support of civil government, were so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the

Parliament.
The king's
speech.

* Prestonhall married the baroness of Lovat, eldest daughter of Hugh, tenth lord Lovat, and assumed the name of Frazer of Frazerdale. He had the life-rent of the estates, but the Frazers would not acknowledge him as their chief, and he forfeited the life-rent in the rebellion, 1715.

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attacked.****Boling-
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flee.****Boling-
broke re-
turns.**

funds which remained would be inadequate for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown. He declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government, and the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people the chief care of his life. "Those who assist me," said he in conclusion, "in carrying on these measures, I shall always esteem my best friends; and I doubt not but that I shall be able, with your assistance, to disappoint the designs of those who would deprive me of that blessing I value most—the affection of my people." The topics of reply in both houses were pretty much alike, only the commons were somewhat more explicit. With regard to the vengeance awaiting the late ministers, "it is with just resentment," say they, "we observe that the pretender still resides in Lorrain; and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your commons is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out these measures wherein he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." The ministerial members explained, in their speeches, the meaning of the address; Mr. secretary Stanhope "assured the house, that notwithstanding all the endeavours that had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by carrying away several papers from the secretary's office, yet the government had sufficient evidence left to prove the late ministers the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm." Bolingbroke and Ormond, who saw their cause evidently prejudged, whatever were their demerits, preferred fleeing to the continent to standing trial, and sought refuge in the court of the pretender; thus giving the stamp of authenticity in the opinion of the public to all the previous attachment of which they had been accused; they were both impeached and forfeited in absence. Bolingbroke, after a while, tired of the listless idle masquerade, made his peace with government, and returned; Ormond, indignant at the treatment he had received, refused submission, and continued till death to lin-

ger among the chevalier's mimic scenes of royalty. Oxford, conscious that for all his ministerial conduct, he had the authority of his late royal mistress, and the approbation of parliament, determined to remain. A change of ministry saved him from attainder, and the reign of George from a gross inroad upon the constitutional security of public men.

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XIX. Equally zealous for the Hanoverian succession, the first general assembly of the church of Scotland, which sat in this reign, met, as in good old times, during the session of parliament. The earl of Rothes, his majesty's commissioner, brought them as affectionate a letter as they could have desired, and which their steady attachment to the Hanoverian succession had well merited.

General
assembly.

"Right reverend and well-beloved," began the royal epistle, "we greet you well : We are so well satisfied with the proofs the church of Scotland have given of their steady adherence to the protestant succession in our family, the loyalty and affection they have shown to our person and government, and their constant zeal for the protestant interest, that we very willingly countenance with our authority this first assembly of our reign. We cheerfully embrace this opportunity of assuring you, that we will inviolably maintain the presbyterian church of Scotland, her rights and privileges, as we engaged to do upon our accession to the crown, and will protect her from any illegal insults and encroachments being made upon her of what kind soever." He then proceeds in the usual style, recommending the planting vacant churches with learned and pious ministers, unanimity among themselves, and concludes with expressions of the most complete confidence in their conduct. In their answer, the venerable court disclaimed any merit in the conduct they had pursued, as being that to which both their duty and interest bound them; and amid their grateful acknowledgments put upon the record, a sentiment whose tenor it is devoutly to be wished had been carefully followed up by that and every succeeding assembly. "We are deeply sensible of the necessity of a holy and well qualified ministry for advancing the great ends of the gospel of our Redeemer; and that profane churchmen are one of the

The king's
letter.

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greatest plagues that either a church or civil society can have; and we shall not be wanting in using our utmost endeavours to answer that your majesty can expect of us in our present circumstances as to this matter. This sentiment they immediately followed up by approving the procedure of the synod of Aberdeen against Mr. James and Mr. John Maitland, for not praying for king George *nomi-*
natim, and not keeping the thanksgiving for his majesty's happy accession, and deposing them *simpliciter* from the office of the ministry.

Act against
prelatical
preachers,

and sepa-
ratists.

xx. They then had their attention directed to the cases of intruders, which were very numerous, particularly in the north, owing to the general and fond expectation of the episcopalians, that their cause would soon become predominant. An act was likewise passed prohibiting prelatical preachers, and some who profess to be presbyterians, but separate from the church, to exercise church discipline, which was perhaps not more than was to be expected from a legalised establishment; but it was followed by one not altogether so defensible, entitled, "an act for prosecuting some, who professing to be presbyterians, do separate from this church; and an appointment concerning papists and episcopal intruders." The former part of the act was levelled against those who were striving for the purity and strictness of covenanted principle, carried to probably an unnecessary length; but they were conscientious men, correct in their morals, and sound in their doctrine, only troublesome through over-scrupulousness. Yet the assembly instructed their commission, if need be, to apply to the civil government for suppressing their disorders, by which were evidently meant—their freely preaching to the people upon the points of dissent. The zeal of the venerable body to secure manses, glebes, and churches, against papists and episcopalians, was perfectly natural, although it was not altogether fair to mix it up with the case of their presbyterian brethren. A memorial upon the grievances of patronage and toleration was laid before this assembly, but nothing was done in the business, and as matters turned out, it was perhaps a blessing that it was so; for had any thing been

done, it is likely it would have thrown more power into the hands of the churchmen, which for their own sakes, setting aside the lieges, it is as well they are without.

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xxi. In his speech before the assembly rose, the moderator briefly mentioned the grievances of the church, and the confidence they had in his majesty's readiness to redress them; but the machinations of the jacobites were what chiefly attracted their attention, and alarmed their minds, and therefore he concluded his address to the commissioner, by assuring him, "that it was the fixed purpose of the church, from a deep sense of gratitude to God, and of their duty to his majesty, to have it for their constant concern to give a steady example of firm and unmoved loyalty to his majesty, and of their utter aversion to all attempts that have the least tendency to shake the throne of those nations that is filled by his sacred person so happily, so rightly, and with so great glory to his subjects, and such universal satisfaction, not only to protestants abroad, but to all sincere lovers of the valuable rights of mankind; and that they are deeply affected that there should be any of his majesty's protestant subjects so blinded with unaccountable prejudices as to favour a popish pretender, who, they heartily wish, may be sensible of their great mistake, and of the lamentable confusions that must attend their succeeding in their wicked designs."*

Moderator
professes
their at-
tachment
to the king.

xxii. Meanwhile the jacobites, encouraged by the tories, committed the most furious outrages in England, by mobbing, and raising the ultra cry of the church in danger, as fiercely as in the hottest days of the Sacheverel mania, and in particular vented their spleen against every thing that had the appearance of presbyterian. In numerous instances their chapels were destroyed, themselves abused, and every species of contumely heaped upon them as enemies to church and disloyal to the state; for these disgraceful scenes Ox-

Outrages
of the jaco-
bites in
England

* The general assembly [1709] having ordered a collection to be made for Mr. John James Caesar, minister of the Calvinist German congregation, London, for building a church, and raising a fund to maintain the ministers, Nicol Spence, agent for the church, presented to this meeting the amount of the proceeds, which, to the praise of the liberality of our forefathers, amounted to no less a sum than six hundred and forty-six pounds, five shillings and sixpence.

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originate
the riot act.

ford was pre-eminently distinguished, and the birth-day of the pretender was signalised by superior outrage, which it required the vigorous arm of power to repress, and originated the strong but salutary measure of the riot act.

Their situation in
Scotland.

XXIII. In wealthy well regulated countries, where the generality of the people feel themselves individually comfortable and protected, they may safely be allowed to vapour and make a noise about the public grievances:—it is only when public misconduct presses hard upon private enjoyment that a people are apt to rise against even a vicious government. The hardships of the majority of the tories and jacobites in England were imaginary, and therefore easily evaporated over a flowing bowl, in a jacobite song or seditious toast:—it was different in the highlands of Scotland from the state of society; and among the lowland Scots there was scarcely a jacobite who was not suffering real and absolute deprivation of one species or another; their preparations were not so noisy as their southern friends, but they were more determined. So early as the month of February, they had considerably advanced in the north,* and ammunition, military stores, and secret agents had arrived in the western isles, accompanied and preceded by the usual reports of the pretender himself being upon the point of following, with a powerful auxiliary force; but the regular troops in Scotland were not increased, only the few regiments scattered over the country were collected and encamped on Leith links.

Celebration of the
king's birth
day prohibited at
Dundee.

XXIV. King George's birth-day [May 28th] was celebrated throughout the ancient kingdom with every demonstration of joy; nor did the jacobites attempt any interruption except at Dundee, where the magistrates, the day before, forbade by proclamation, under a penalty of forty pounds Scots, the inhabitants from discovering any symptoms of rejoicing; but the burgers, determined to support the character of the town, yet evade the fine, marched out beyond the magistrates' jurisdiction, and drew up in arms at the house of Didhope, where they drank his majesty's health, and disappointment to his enemies, with many other loyal toasts,

* Culloden Papers, p. 37.

each accompanied by a volley ; and having thus performed the honours of the day, returned without the smallest disorder, to the great mortification of their jacobite magistrates, who, however, endeavoured to console themselves next day, by celebrating the anniversary of the restoration of king Charles the Second, with great solemnity ; and some of them more zealous than the rest, on the 10th of June, went to the cross, and drank publicly the health of the pretender, by the name of king James the eighth. Only one instance of outrage is mentioned, which was committed on an unfortunate gauger at Crieff—then, as after, a smuggling district—whom having soundly drubbed, they cropt off an ear, telling him, they had “ marked him for Hanover.”

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Tumults.

xxv. In the south, in Dumfries-shire, and the districts around, the gentlemen attached to the exiled family, in the hope of some speedy movement in their favour, were busily employed in buying up all the serviceable horses, and procuring cavalry accoutrements ; while, throughout the whole of the country, the suspicious activity of the known jacobites and doubtful characters, excited strong alarm in the friends of government, which was strengthened by the seizure of various packages of arms covertly conveying to the highlands. Nor was the pretender inactive ; his correspondence was extended among the tories in England, many of whom, in despair at the severity of the new administration, lent themselves to the jacobites, who, highly inspirited by this accession, sent the most exaggerated accounts of the universal feeling of the nation having reverted to its natural channel in favour of the hereditary prince, to the chevalier, who communicated them to the court of France, and received in return, secret assurances of assistance ; and his agents were reported to have collected immense sums in Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and France, under the immediate auspices of the pope, for the furtherance of this holy expedition, which was to restore the British isles to a devoted son of the church.*

Prepara-
tions in the
south, &c.

create
alarm.

Pretender's
schemes

* In the Annals of George I. it is said the agents of the pretender complained, after the failure of the expedition, “ that those entrusted in Scotland had spent twelve millions [of francs ?] in that expedition, and done nothing but ruin their friends ;”—an exaggeration as ridiculous as the account of the preparations at

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discovered
to govern-
ment.The rebel-
lion an-
nounced to
parliament.Their
resolutions.

xxvi. But at this time the earl of Stair, a nobleman not more distinguished in the field than in the cabinet, was British ambassador at the court of Versailles,* and by his uncommon ability, contrived to discover and give his court warning of every projected scheme against them, before they were almost shaped into form. Of these projects he had early sent notice to England, and ere the rebellion had burst forth in Scotland, the king, from the communications he had received from abroad, found himself warranted in announcing its existence. Accordingly, when giving his assent to the riot act on the 20th of July, he, after thanking parliament for their care to preserve the public tranquillity, informed them "that he was sorry to find such a spirit of rebellion had discovered itself as to leave no room to doubt but these disorders were set on foot and encouraged by persons disaffected to government, in expectation of being supported from abroad; and in these circumstances he did not doubt but that they would so far consult their own safety, as not to leave the nation under a rebellion actually begun at home, and threatened with an invasion from abroad, in a defenceless condition." This communication was answered by the common assurances of support, and a request that a fleet might be equipped sufficient to guard the British coasts from invasion, and the land forces augmented so as to render it ineffectual, should any armament have the good fortune to escape at sea. The habeas corpus act, and the Scottish act against wrongous imprisonment, were suspended, and one hundred thousand pounds voted for seizing the pretender dead or alive, in case

Havre de Grace for the invasion, all which were overrated at the time for political purposes, and cannot now be accurately corrected.—Rae's Hist. pp. 187, 222. I quote indiscriminately from the Annals of George I., the Complete Hist. of the Rebellion, Tindal, or Rae's History of the Rebellion, which two last are mostly transcripts from the two first from Patten.

* The earl was remarkable for that essential quality in a diplomatist, the power of distinguishing not only the characters of those whose conduct he was sent to watch as a privileged spy, but also that of the instruments he found it necessary to employ, where a man is so apt to be misled by personal friendship, or the recommendation of friends. With much judgment he singled out Colonel Gardiner, then a very young man, as a confidential messenger.—Dodridge's Life of Gardiner.

of his attempting to land in Britain; and in an act passed for encouraging loyalty in Scotland, loyal vassals holding lands of any superior guilty of high treason, by corresponding with or supporting the pretender, were to be invested with the said lands in fee and heritage for ever; and in like manner, if the superior should continue loyal, and the vassal commit treason, his lands were to return into the hands of the superior, and be consolidated with the superiority; tenants were to enjoy their possessions two years rent free; all entails and settlements of estates executed in favour of children, or others, since the 1st of August 1714, with intent to avoid the penalties of law, were, upon the devisers being convicted of high treason, to become null and void; and government were authorized to summon all suspected persons to Edinburgh, or wherever it should be judged expedient, and exact bail from them for their good behaviour.

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1715.
Measures
to defeat it.

xxvii. Government, thus strengthened, took immediate steps for putting the nation in a state of defence. The fleet was ordered to rendezvous in the Downs, under admiral sir George Byng; general Earl governor of Portsmouth was ordered to repair to his post to prevent a surprise; a camp was formed in Hyde Park under general Cadogan; the militia of Middlesex was called out, and the trainbands ordered to hold themselves in readiness. Thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry, were raised, and two British regiments which had been left on the Continent by the duke of Ormond were recalled. Application at the same time was made to the Dutch for six thousand troops, and the squadron stipulated for in the late treaty. But while these vigorous preparations were going forward in England, Scotland was left strangely neglected, and the zeal of the presbyterians was rather repressed than encouraged by government; yet notwithstanding they displayed an ardour in the cause which was eventually of the highest importance.

Prepara-
tions in
England.

Scotland
neglected.

xxviii. Upon the first news of the intended invasion, the few regular troops that were in Edinburgh were encamped in St. Ann's yards.* The trainbands were put in requisition.

Edinburgh
arms.

* At that period, in time of peace, the regular soldiers were billeted on the inhabitants, and seldom exercised in bodies; but when they "went into camp," upon any alarm, they were frequently drilled and trained to act together.

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1715.

Volunteer
associations in de-
fence of li-
berty and
religion

tion, and the city-guard reinforced ; four hundred men were also ordered to be levied at the expense of the good town, to be commanded by officers appointed by the lord provost and magistrates, under whose direction they were to act for the defence of the city. The noblest expression, however, of their patriotism, was the formation of two voluntary associations in defence of that religion and liberty for which their fathers had so strenuously contended, the overthrow of which must have been the consequence of any second "restoration." The first consisted of "men of quality and substance," who were not only willing to adventure their lives, but to sacrifice their property in the cause ; the other consisted of those who, unable to support themselves, could merely render personal service—their bond of association was the same. It expressed their deep sense of the goodness of Almighty God, in bringing their only rightful and lawful sovereign king George to the peaceable possession of the imperial crown, under whose administration they enjoyed the invaluable blessings of religion and liberty preserved to themselves, and the comfortable prospect of transmitting them to their posterity ; narrated as evident the existence of a design being on foot, of an invasion from abroad in favour of the pretender, while his friends and abettors at home were preparing to involve the nations in blood and confusion, and wreath the yoke of popery and slavery about their necks ; and they thus conclude the preamble—"Being convinced that it is our duty, as good protestant subjects, to contribute our endeavours for preventing these malicious and fatal attempts, we do, conform to the laudable practice in former times of imminent danger, hereby mutually promise, and solemnly engage and oblige ourselves to stand by and assist one another to the utmost of our power in the support and defence of his majesty king George, our only rightful sovereign, and of the protestant succession now happily established, against all open and secret enemies, for the preservation and security of our holy religion, civil liberties, and most excellent constitution both in church and state."

circulate a
bond and
address.

xxix. Copies of this bond were forwarded to all parts of the country, accompanied by an animated circular, reminding the people of the unparalleled cruelties they had expe-

rienced when a popish faction had the ascendant ; of the remarkable deliverance God had wrought for them, in breaking the yoke of their arbitrary and tyrannical government by the great king William in the glorious revolution ; of the signal interposition of Heaven in defeating the last attempt, and in bringing his present majesty [king George I.] to the quiet and peaceable possession of the throne ; and concluding, in the manner of the olden time, with the scriptural exhortation of the days of the covenant, " Let us be of good courage, and play the man for our people and the cities of our God, and let the Lord do as seemeth him good."

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through the
country.

xxx. The effects these produced were great, and promised to have awakened among the mass of the presbyterians a spirit of high daring and unanimous concert similar to the spirit of their fathers. The subscriptions of the wealthy in Edinburgh and Glasgow were quick and liberal, and " the honest men," who had neither silver nor gold, came cheerfully forward in crowds to offer themselves ; but it being suggested by some over-cautious friend or insidious enemy, that collecting money in this manner for a public purpose, was invading the privileges of the house of commons ;* in order to obviate this objection, addresses were sent from the two chief cities to his majesty, with tenders of service. Polite answers were returned, thanking the subscribers for their offers, and praising their loyalty, but informing them that his majesty deemed the measures government had taken for the security and defence of the ancient kingdom sufficient for that purpose, and therefore declined putting his loving subjects to any unnecessary trouble or expense.

Their offer
of service
refused by
the king,

xxxI. Although this repulse prevented a general association throughout the country, and a show of force and of loyalty which might probably have deterred the highlanders from rising, yet a number of gentlemen who viewed his majesty's replies as emanating from a spirit of jealousy on the part of his English advisers, or a dread lest the Scottish lowland population should again feel their own strength, did

does not
stop their
prepara-
tions.

* In our own day a private committee at Lloyd's voted thanks and rewards to officers, both civil and military—a much more serious encroachment on the constitution.

BOOK not desist from their preparations to meet the coming
XXV. storm. In the capital, upwards of four hundred of associ-
1715. ated volunteers were trained in the large hall of the college;
and in the west country, ever true to the principles of the
whigs, the enlistment was carried to a wider extent, and of-
ten attended with the happiest consequences. Dumfries,
Galloway, and Kirkcudbright, were also extremely active;
the friends of liberty and the constitution in these quarters
being surrounded with violent jacobites, the descendants of
the persecutors, and the pretender being expected to attempt
a landing on that coast.*

xxxii. Already, ere these preparations were completed,

* About the end of July 1715, major James Aikman was sent hither from Edinburgh, to see what length our preparations were come, and to further them all he could. And upon his return from Galloway, where he reviewed some brave men; on the tenth of August he reviewed such of the fencible men in the upper parts of Nithsdale as were provided with arms, at a general rendezvous on Margery muir, accompanied by sir Thomas Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, Mr. Gordon of Earlston, Mr. James Nimmo from Edinburgh, and some others. After which, the major, with the aforesaid gentlemen and Mr. John Pollock, minister of Glencairn, had a meeting at Closeburn to concert what measures were proper to be taken in view of the present danger, and it was unanimously agreed, 1st, That each parish be modelled into companies, and proper officers chosen for that effect. 2d, That each parish exercise twice or thrice in the week. 3d, That upon the first advice of the pretender's landing, each parish should meet by themselves, in some convenient place appointed for that effect, then to concert what is proper to be done either with horse or foot; and it was earnestly desired they should bring their best arms and ammunition with them to that place. 4th, That upon the first notice of the pretender's arrival at loch Ryan, Kirkcudbright, upon the borders, or in the frith of Leith, Sanquhar should be the place of public rendezvous for the western shires. 5th, That, upon the enemies landing in any of these places, all the horses and cattle should be driven from the coasts into the country, and that a body of our horsemen should wait on to hinder them plundering the country and seizing of horses if possible. 6th, That there be a party of light horse or foot in each parish, to join with such in neighbouring parishes, to hinder the jacobites in the country from joining with the French, to interrupt their communications, and to harass their parties. And in order to this, that all roads leading to the enemy should be stopped, and persons travelling towards them in arms, secured. 7th, That all boats upon the western coast should be secured, to prevent the jacobites going to the French fleet upon their first appearance, their carrying provisions to them, or assisting them in their landing; and, lastly, that our friends in every particular district fall upon ways and means to make the aforesaid particulars effectual
Rae, pp. 184-5.

the signal for revolt was given. Mar, when he found all his offers of service were rejected, and perceived the unrelenting animosity with which the whigs sought vengeance on their political opponents, entered into a closer communication with the pretender and with the English jacobites; and having received a sum of money and instructions from abroad,* he early in August left London in disguise, accompanied by major general Hamilton, colonel Hay, and two servants, and proceeded for Newcastle on board a collier. Having arrived there after a passage of two or three days, he hired a vessel from one Spence, and sailed for Scotland. About the 14th, he landed at Ely in Fifeshire, whence he went to Crail, where he was met by sir Alexander Erskine, lord Lyon, and others of his friends, to whom he made known the object of his mission. The seventeenth they spent at Kinnoul, and on the eighteenth passed the river Tay on their way to the north, with a retinue of about forty horse; next day he sent notice of his arrival to all the jacobites in the country, with instructions to meet him at Bræ-mar in Aberdeenshire, where he arrived on the twentieth of the same month.

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Mar forms
a connexion
with the
pretender.

Leaves
London in
disguise.

Arrives at
Bræ-mar.

XXXIII. What previous correspondence the earl had had with Scotland is uncertain, as none of the documents which could throw light upon the subject have yet been discovered. I apprehend, however, that except with the highlands, it was not very extensive till after he was actually in the field. On the 6th of August his friends in Edinburgh were informed of his intended expedition, but even then they deemed it necessary to conceal it, except from a very few; nor could that zealous and tried friend of the Stuarts, Lockhart of Carnwath, obtain any certain intelligence on the subject.† Captain Straiton, and Hall the priest, seem to have

* He is said to have received one hundred thousand pounds sterling; but this I apprehend is greatly overrated, for, as it must have been conveyed to Scotland in specie, I cannot imagine how so large a sum could have escaped the vigilance of government or their spies.

† From Lockhart's commentaries it would appear that the jacobites were split into two parties even then; the remnant of the Hamiltonian party, and the Athol party, who viewed each other with suspicion, and occasioned both

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1715.

Nobles as-
semble.

He urges
them to
rise.

been the agents chiefly intrusted in the capital. So soon, however, as it was ascertained that Mar was about to leave London, captain John Dalziel, a half-pay officer, who, in prospect of being employed for the pretender, had thrown up his commission, was sent with the news to his brother, the earl of Carnwath, then at Elliot. Expresses were likewise sent to the earl of Nithsdale, the viscount Kenmure, and others of the party in that quarter, who immediately assembled and proceeded for Lothian under the pretence of going to a hunting match in the north. This was the cloak under which the earl of Mar collected the chiefs of his party at Bræ-mar on the twenty-sixth, and where a great number of the first noblemen and gentlemen of the country attended:—the marquises of Huntly and Tullibardine, the earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, and Linlithgow; viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvy, and Nairn; with many of the chieftains, Glengarry, Glenderule, Auldbair, and Auchterhouse; and two generals, Hamilton and Gordon.*

xxxiv. When the diversion was over, at the entertainment that followed, after the guests were warmed with highland hospitality, the earl addressed them in a formal speech:—he began by expressing his deep sorrow for the active part he had taken in promoting the union; but now that he saw his error, he would as strenuously exert himself to free them from that “cursed” treaty by which they were delivered bound into the hands of the English, whose power to enslave them still farther was unfortunately too great, while their design to exercise it was every day more visible; particularly since the accession of the prince of Hanover to the throne, who, without regard either to their welfare or religion, had extended the government to a set of men regardless of the constitution either of church or state, provided they could secure his particular interest. They had already

uncertainty and delay in the first operations of the rebels, vol. i. p. 468. Patten, in his history, insinuates also something of suspicions and dissensions, p. 150.

* Patten says that the number who attended Mar at Kirkmichael did not exceed sixty, but this is evidently a mistake, as by the earl's letter to “Jocke,” he had from him alone received one hundred men the day before.

begun to make infringements on the liberties of both ; but numbers were resolved to resist these innovations, and for the preservation of their liberty and property, were determined to place upon the throne of his ancestors the chevalier de St. George, who had the only undoubted right to the crown, who would hear their grievances and redress their wrongs. He then invited them to take arms for their sovereign, James the eighth, whose standard he meant to erect, and for whom he was determined to hazard his life. Thousands, he said, were engaged in covenant to establish him in his right, and depose the usurper ; a general rising in England would immediately take place, and they might confidently expect powerful assistance from France, from whence their king already had had large supplies. He showed them likewise letters he had received from the chevalier, promising to come among them in person, and throw himself upon the valour and fidelity of his Scottish subjects, and in the meantime assuring them that arms, ammunition, and military stores, with skilful officers and engineers, should be sent them as soon as they could inform him at what part they should land. Nor should they want for the sinews of war ; he had money for their present occasions, and he could insure them of regular supplies to defray the expense of their levies and pay their troops ; so that no gentleman should be at any expense in subsisting their men, and the country would be troubled with no burden. At the conclusion, he produced the pretender's commission, appointing him lieutenant-general of all his forces, and director of the war.* The earl's address, delivered in an animated manner, met the excited feelings of his auditors, who swore enthusiastically to support his lordship in the glorious enterprise, and endeavour to induce as many of their friends as they could to enlist under the same banner ; and they separated to meet again

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1715.

Produces
his com-
mission.

* It has been affirmed that Mar had not at that time received the pretender's commission, and that upon this occasion he merely manœuvred. I am inclined to believe this was the case, and that he did not get any commission till he got what he calls his new commission at Perth in October, by Ogilvie of Boyne. Collection of Original papers, &c. 433. Rae's Hist. Authentic Letters relating to the Rebellion, 1765.

BOOK when their circumstances should enable them to proclaim
XXV. their design.

1715.

Raises the
standard of
the Stu-
arts.

xxxv. Mar did not allow them to remain long at home, but in a few days summoned a general meeting at Aboyne, to concert finally respecting their appearance in arms; and on the sixth of September one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, attended by a few followers on horseback, he planted the fatal standard of the house of Stuart at Castleton, Bræ-mar.* At Moulin the highlanders first began to come in, and by the time they reached Logierait, the small band amounted to a thousand. After a short stay they pitched their head quarters at Dunkeld, about fourteen miles from Perth, where they received an accession of two thousand clansmen, fourteen hundred Atholmen, and five hundred from Breadalbane.

Rebel pro-
specta
darken.

xxxvi. It was remarked, that when the standard of the first Charles was unfurled, on the commencement of the civil war, it was prostrated by the storm; and it has been noticed, that when the ensign of his grandson was set up, the ball on the top fell off, and the unlucky omen in both cases proved truly prophetic. But the superstitious minds who were startled at these very doubtful portents, neglected the more intelligible warnings which they were receiving from the political aspect of the times and the state of the country. At this crisis Louis the Fourteenth, whose ambition had ravaged Europe, and whose bigotry had desolated his own country, died in the midst of his mistresses, flatterers, and priests, not only with calmness, but even exulting in the service he had done the church, and bequeathing pious instructions to his grandsons.† His death occa-

Another
meeting.

* The standard was blue, having on one side the Scottish arms wrought in gold, on the other the thistle and ancient motto, *nemo me impune lacessit*, and underneath, "no union." The pendants of white ribbon were inscribed, the one "for our wronged king and oppressed country," and the other "for our lives and liberties."

† The news of Louis' death arrived in Scotland in the latter end of August; and while the people were rejoiced at the death of the tyrant, they were astonished that such an enemy and persecutor of the righteous should die in peace. Colonel Blackadder in his diary, Aug. 24, expresses the general sense of the presbyterians, "People thought, and I thought myself, that he would not go

sioned another meeting of the rebel chiefs, where it was debated whether they should desist from their enterprise, and wait till the pretender arrived with his promised assistance, or proceed. The majority, unfortunately for themselves, depending upon the expected general insurrection in England, determined to go forward.

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1715.
They determine to proceed.

xxxvii. In consequence, Mar assumed the title of lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, and on the same day [September 9th] on which he proclaimed the pretender at Kirkmichael, he published a declaration, summoning all his majesty's faithful and loving subjects, and lovers of their country, with all possible speed, in their best arms and accoutrements, to join the king's host,* which he dispatched the same evening to the bailie of Kildrummy, with the following curious epistle, equally characteristic of the man and of the times, calculated to exhibit the beauties of the feudal system, and the zeal of at least one portion of the highlanders for the house of Stuart. "Jocke—Ye was in the right not to come with the 100 men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing when all the highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring lowlands expecting us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years? And now when it is come, and the king and country's cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you inclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to my vassals; if they give ready obedience it will make some amends; and if not, ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to

Mar proclaims the pretender.

His letter to the bailie of Kildrummy.

off the world without some remarkable judgment; and yet he died in peace, and without any horror, as we hear, but with composure and great presence of mind. God's ways are not as ours. We measure infinite wisdom by our own foolish and limited understandings."

* From the trials at Liverpool of some of the rebels taken at Preston, it appears that the fiery cross had also been sent round.

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1715. save them, were I willing, from being treated as enemies by those who are ready soon to join me : and they may depend on it, that I will be the first to propose and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them ; and they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best accoutrements, on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this, is not only as ye shall be answerable to me, but to your king and country. Your assured friend and servant, **MAR.** Dated at Invercauld, Sept. 9, at night, 1715, and addressed to John Forbes of Increrau, bailie of Kildrummy."

Attempt to
surprise
Edinburgh
castle

xxxviii. A more severe disappointment than even the negligence or coldness of Increrau, was announced almost at the same moment in the failure of an attempt, on the 8th of September, to surprise the castle of Edinburgh. While the clans were gathering at the north, "ninety choice men," picked out for the enterprise, all gentlemen, and about one half highlanders, under the direction of lord Drummond, had engaged in it; and the scheme was seemingly so well laid, that nothing but the baleful influence of the Stuart star could have defeated it. Mr. Arthur, at one time an ensign in the castle, and afterwards in the Scottish-Guards, had succeeded in seducing a serjeant Ainslie with the promise of a lieutenant's commission, and some private sentinels by small pecuniary bribes, who undertook to admit the conspirators, by pulling up their scaling ladders made of ropes, with lines let down for the purpose, and fastening them to a large log of wood, and to anchors within the walls. When all was arranged, and twelve o'clock at night appointed as the hour, Mr. Arthur was so certain of success, that in the fulness of his heart he imparted the scheme to his brother, a physician in the city, and also engaged in the jacobite cause. The magnitude and suddenness of the revolution about to take place, rendered this gentleman so unusually

thoughtful and melancholy during the day, that his lady's curiosity was awakened, and she gave him no rest till she got the secret, which she—being attached to the opposite side—immediately communicated to sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, the lord justice-clerk. His lordship instantly sent a message to lieutenant-colonel Stuart, deputy governor of the castle, who with difficulty obtained admission, it being near eleven o'clock, and the gates shut. The governor received the information very coolly, and having doubled the guards, and ordered the officers to make diligent rounds, went to bed. The garrison, however, were upon the alert; and as a lieutenant Lindsay was going his rounds near the sally port, he discovered that the traitors had already affixed one ladder, upon which several of the assailants had mounted. He immediately unloosed the rope, and all who were upon it were precipitated to the bottom. The lord justice-clerk had also desired the provost to send out the city-guard to patrol around the castle at the appointed hour, who, arriving on the spot shortly after the ladder fell, found a captain M'Lean, formerly an officer of king James' lying on the ground, whose thigh bone had been broken by the fall; only three other prisoners were taken, Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh, and Lesly, a page to the duchess of Gordon. Ainslie was hanged and the governor displaced. Had this plot succeeded, three rounds of the castle were to have announced it to all friendly to the cause, and numbers who were hesitating might have favoured the captors as the most promising party. Its failure had an opposite effect.

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1715.
Detected,

and defeat-
ed.

xxxix. However untoward the commencement, Mar was now too deeply engaged to recede; from Kirkmichael he proceeded to Moulin, increasing as he went along, and thence to Dunkeld, about fourteen miles from Perth, where the rebels fixed their head quarters, and about the same time issued their manifesto, which they had procured to be printed by Robert Freebairn, king's printer. This document, which is speciously drawn up, contains every argument adapted to the prejudices of the day, that could be urged in favour of the forfeited family, and against the succession of

Mar arrives
at Dunkeld.

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1715.
Manifesto
published
by the re-
bels.

the house of Hanover, and is one of those few papers it would be improper to abridge or omit.

“Manifesto by the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted right of their lawful sovereign, James VIII., by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. and for relieving this his ancient kingdom from the oppressions and grievances it lies under.

“His majesty’s right of blood to the crowns of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned by the least circumstance or lawful authority. By the laws of God, by the ancient constitutions, and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his majesty the duty of loyal subjects: Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful king; the laws of the land secure our religion and other interests: And his majesty, giving up himself to the support of his protestant subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns, religious and civil, in our own hands. Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered, and sunk amid the various shocks of unstable faction, while in the searching out new expedients pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops.

“The late unhappy union which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his majesty’s subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them. And it appears by experience, so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us and our good neighbours and fellow subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us and hurt them; nor can any way be found out to relieve us, and restore our ancient independent constitution, but by the restoring our rightful and natural king, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope that the parties who chiefly contributed to

bring us into bondage will at any time endeavour to work our relief; since it is known how strenuously they opposed, in two late instances, the efforts that were made by all Scotchmen by themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English towards so desirable an end, as they will not venture openly to disown the dissolution of the crowns to be. Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars, and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line. The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments, are now treated as of no value or force; and past services to the crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion.

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1715.
Continued.

"A packed up assembly, who call themselves a British parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanly murdered their own and our sovereign, by promising a great sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthy patriots of England, for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace to these realms:—they have broken in upon the sacred laws of both countries, by which the liberty of our persons were secured:—they have empowered a foreign prince—who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language—to make an absolute conquest, if not timely prevented, of the three kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary forces at home, but also of calling in foreign troops ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be ever hopeful of its being otherwise, in the way it is at present, for some generations to come. And the sad consequences of these unexampled proceedings have really been so fatal to great numbers of our kinsmen, friends, and fellow-subjects of both kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their country, houses, wives, and children, or give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims, to be sacrificed at the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-

BOOK
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1715.
Continued.

heated men of a restless faction whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithstanding their long and remarkable good services, have been treated since the peace with neglect and contempt, and particularly in Holland ; and it's not now the officers long service, merit, and blood they have lost, but money and favour, by which they can obtain justice in their preferments: so that it's evident the safety of his majesty's person and independency of his kingdoms call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

“ The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace and quiet of us and our posterity, and our duty to his majesty and his commands, are the powerful motives which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means of putting an end to so dreadful a prospect, as, by our present situation we have before our eyes: And with faithful hearts, true to our only rightful king, our country and our neighbours, we earnestly beseech and expect, as his majesty commands, the assistance of all our true fellow-subjects to second this our first attempt; declaring hereby our sincere intentions, that we will promote and concur in all lawful means for settling a lasting peace to these lands, under the auspicious government of our native born rightful sovereign, the direction of our own domestic councils, and the protection of our native forces and troops. That we will in the same manner concur and endeavour to have our laws, liberties, and properties secured by the parliaments of both kingdoms; that by the wisdom of such parliaments, we will endeavour to have such laws enacted as shall give absolute security to us and future ages for the protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies.

“ Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his majesty's judgment, as not to hope that in due time, good example and conversation with our learned divines will remove those prejudices, which we

know his education in a popish country has not rivetted in his royal discerning mind : and we are sure, as justice is a virtue in all religions and professions, so the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours. That as the king is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is past, so he will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow-subjects, who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the same friendly manner that we design to live with them. That we will use our endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home on the same footing and establishment of pay, as those of England. That we will sincerely and heartily go into such measures as shall maintain effectually, and establish a right form and lasting union betwixt his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of the kingdom of England.

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XXV.
1715.
Continued.

“ The peace of the nations being thus settled, and we freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons : and will concur in such laws and methods as shall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and at the same time will support the public credit in all its points. And we hereby faithfully promise and engage, that every officer who joins with us in our king and country's cause, shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station, and the number of men he brings off with him to us. And each foot soldier so joining us, shall have twenty shillings sterling, and each trooper or dragoon who brings horse and accoutrements along with him twelve pounds sterling, gratuity, besides their pay. And in general, we shall concur with all our fellow-subjects in such measures as shall make us flourish at home and be formidable abroad, under our rightful sovereign and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental constitution ; undisturbed by a pretender's interest and council from abroad, or a restless faction at home. In so honourable, so good and just a cause we do not doubt of the assistance, direction and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often succoured

BOOK the royal family of Stuarts and our country from sinking
XXV. under oppression.*

1715. XL. At Dunkeld, they were joined by the marquis of
The rebels Tullibardine, Campbell of Glenderule, and Campbell of
enter Glenlyon, with upwards of four thousand men, when, hear-
Perth. ing that the earl of Rothes and the loyal gentlemen of Fife
were advancing to take possession of the important city of
Perth, they now resolved to anticipate him, and despatched
Mr. John Hay, brother of the earl of Kinnoul, who entered
that place on the 18th September with two hundred
horse. In a few days they were supported by two thou-
sand men under general Hamilton, and on the 28th the
earl himself advanced with three thousand more; the mar-
quis of Huntly, the earl of Seaforth, and the earl Marischal
Increase of quickly joined them; so that in a short time the rebel army
their army. amounted to at least twelve thousand men.

Despat- XLI. The possession of Perth, beside the eclat it gave to
ches from the pre- the rebel chief, was of immense importance; it cut off all
tender. communication between the loyalists of the north and those
of the south, and gave him the command of some of the fer-
tilest districts in the country. On the same day the earl
entered Perth, Mr. James Murray, second son to the vis-
count Stormont, arrived at Edinburgh from France with des-
patches from the pretender, which, on his arrival in the rebel
camp, gave additional cause for rejoicing. He brought the
usual promises of speedy and powerful assistance from
France, and of the pretender's resolution to come to them
in person; but the former was stopped by the duke of Or-
leans, now regent, and the chevalier came too late to be of
any service, had he even been qualified for such an exigence.
Mr. Murray, besides, brought a patent creating the earl of
Mar a duke, and he produced a commission appointing him-
self secretary of state for Scotland.

XLII. About the same time the earl of Sutherland, who
was hastening to his own shire, to raise the most northern
clans for the king, touched at Leith on his passage, and or-
dered some arms and ammunition from Edinburgh castle to
be sent after him. These stores were accordingly put on

* Patten, p. 41, *et seq.*

board a ship at the port, but the wind proving contrary, according to the navigation of the times, the master of the vessel cast anchor off Burntisland, and went ashore to see his wife and family. Mar soon heard of the circumstance, and immediately despatched from Perth four hundred horsemen, with as many foot soldiers mounted behind them, who arrived at Burntisland about midnight, and pressing all the boats in the harbour, boarded the vessel, and seized three hundred and six complete stand of arms. In another ship they found about twenty or thirty, and in the town one hundred, all which they carried off and returned to Perth without interruption.

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1715.
Rebels
seize arms,
&c. at
Burntisland.

XLIII. The rebels were now at the summit of their fortune; all the eastern coast of Scotland from Burntisland to the Murray Firth was in their possession, and on the west the whole Hebrides were in their interest, and the whole of the continent, part of Argyleshire alone excepted. But the counties of Caithness, Strathnaver, and Sutherland remained loyal. Nor did they neglect to improve the advantage which the possession of so large a tract of country gave them in levying money and raising recruits.

State of the
insurrection.

XLIV. Mar now began to prepare for marching southward, but his movements were retarded by two circumstances;—the earl of Sutherland was in his rear, ready to take advantage of his absence, and recover for the king those districts where loyalty had only been overawed by the presence of the army; and he had received no distinct accounts of the motions of his friends either in England or on the borders.

XLV. To meet so formidable an insurrection, the preparations of government would have been totally inadequate, had they not been seconded by the general and hearty concurrence of the people. In the latter end of August, a camp was formed in the park of Stirling, to secure that important pass; but all the forces which major general Wightman could muster did not much exceed fifteen hundred men. On the 14th September, Argyle, appointed commander-in-chief, arrived in Edinburgh, and after ordering about thirty cart load of arms and ammunition to be carried to Stirling and Glasgow, proceeded to the camp to review the army, if what would not complete two modern regiments, may be so

Preparations to meet it.

Argyle
commander-in-chief.

BOOK
XXV.

1715.
Desires
Glasgow to
forward a
force to
Stirling,

called. Previous to his leaving the capital, his grace, aware of the weakness of the royal force, wrote a pressing letter to the magistrates of Glasgow, "praying that they would forthwith send five or six hundred men to Stirling, with such officers as they might think fit to entrust them to. This," he adds, "will be of infinite service to his majesty and your country, and will not fail of being acknowledged as such. I must further inform you, that by all the accounts I receive from different parts of the kingdom, the highlanders are actually gathering together; so that it will be very highly for his majesty's service, that all the well affected men that are armed about your country should hold themselves in readiness to march, and even begin to assemble. I should think your town would be the properest place for them to join, but I must submit to the gentlemen of the country who are better judges."

Which is
speedily
done.

XLVI. Zealous in the cause, the city instantly obeyed the summons, and by the 20th of September, between six and seven hundred men, in three battalions, had, under the command of the lord provost, John Archibald, reached Stirling, where they were immediately committed to the care of colonel Blackadder, afterwards deputy-governor of the castle, for the purpose of being properly drilled.* Upon the arrival of the first battalion, the duke wrote a second pressing letter, desiring the magistrates, with the greatest despatch, to inform all his majesty's friends in the west country, that he thought it would be absolutely necessary for his majesty's service, that all the fencible men should draw together at Glasgow, and be ready to march as soon as he should acquaint them his majesty's service required it. This request was also readily complied with, and expresses despatched every where to the friends of government in the west, conveying his grace's advice and directions. The call was immediately answered, and in a few days great numbers of well armed and accoutred fencibles arrived at Glasgow from all quarters. Kilmarnock came in first.† One of those

* Life of Blackadder, p. 462. Rae's Hist. p. 224, *et seq.*

† Upon the first rumours of rebellion, Kyle and Cunningham stood forward, on which occasion Rae says—" 'Tis not to be forgot, that the earl of Kilmarnock appeared here at the head of about five hundred of his own men, well ap-

alarms so common in the seat of war of the advance of the enemy reached that town on the night of the 16th, and by sun rise on the 19th of September, two hundred and twenty men had marched, armed and accoutred, who reached Glasgow that same evening. Next day the earl followed with one hundred and thirty, who immediately entered upon duty, which they performed till the 1st of October, when orders were received from the commander-in-chief, for all the volunteers to march towards the highlands and garrison the houses of Drumkill, Gartartan, and Cardross, in order to protect the country from Rob Roy and the thievish clan of the Macgregors, who, taking advantage of the turbulence of the times, were exercising their vocation in that quarter.* The house of Gartartan lying farthest in the highlands, was assigned to Kilmarnock, Drumkill to the Ayr, and Cardross to the Kilwinning and Stevenston volunteers.

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XXV.
1715.

Volunteers
sent to gar-
rison dif-
ferent pla-
ces in the
highlands.

XLVII. For greater security, the three garrisons marched out together escorted by the earl of Kilmarnock, the master of Ross, with several gentlemen, amounting to about fifty or sixty horse. On the first night they arrived at Drymen, about eighteen miles from Glasgow, where they found very bad entertainment, the place being very malignant and disaffected—while the Macgregors in the vicinity, about six hundred strong, obliged them to place strong guards, and lie upon their arms during the night. Next day, the party destined for Gartartan, accompanied by the earl of Kilmar-

pointed and expert in the exercise of their arms, who made the handsomest appearance of any that were there; and that which added very much unto it was the early blossoms of the royal principle and education of my lord Boyd; who though but eleven years of age, appeared in arms with the earl his father, and gracefully behaved himself, to the admiration of all the beholders." Hist. of the Rebellion, 203. Thirty years after, this same blossom suffered on Tower Hill for the cause which his interesting boyhood had been brought forward to oppose.

* Argyle had Rob under his especial protection, in consequence of his enmity at the family of Montrose, whose lands he constantly plundered—the feud between the families not yet being extinguished. It is said the latter once reproached Argyle in the house of peers with protecting the robber Rob Roy, which accusation Argyle adroitly parried, by jocularly answering, that if he protected the robber, Montrose supported him. Stewart's Sketches, App. 24.

BOOK nock and twelve horse, took possession of their garrison.
 XXV. Gartartan—situated within the shire of Perth, about a quar-
 1715. ter of a mile from the river Forth—protected the only pass
 by which the rebels could penetrate into the west or south,
 the fords being guarded by the regular troops; but the
 house was slight, and the neighbourhood of the Macgregors
 rendered it neither pleasant nor safe. Being surrounded
 by the disaffected, their situation was as costly as it was
 dangerous; the demi-savages, who scarcely knew how to
 charge a stranger in peaceable times sufficiently high for the
 necessaries he required,* exacted from those they esteemed
 their enemies double rates for all the provisions they brought.
 Here they remained till relieved by a party of the Stirling-
 shire militia. The town of Greenock, animated by a spi-
 rited address from lady Greenock, furnished eighty-four
 men, and the villages around increased the number to one
 hundred and thirty-two, besides those who remained at
 home to guard the passage and prevent the rebels, especial-
 ly the dreaded Rob Roy, from crossing the river and plun-
 dering the country.

Exertions
 of the town
 of Green-
 ock;

XLVIII. At the same time that the west was displaying this
 gallant spirit, the loyalists of the south were not behind; Ar-
 gyle had written from Edinburgh to the magistrates of Dum-
 fries, and Ferguson of Craigdarroch, in absence of the lord
 lieutenant, urging them to repair to the camp at Stirling
 with whatever number of well armed men they could possi-
 bly muster. It being in the midst of harvest, and the har-
 vest that year very late, the countrymen could not leave
 their homes—a fortunate circumstance, as it afterwards
 turned out—yet Craigdarroch procured about sixty men,
 well armed and accoutred, with whom he set off for Stirling,
 accompanied by several gentlemen of the county, and two
 ministers: he was quickly ordered home himself, as affairs be-
 gan to look loursing in the south; his men, however, re-
 mained and did duty in Stirling castle along with the regu-
 lar troops. The magistrates of Dumfries proposed also to
 send a hundred men to Stirling, but ere they were ready,
 the situation of the country rendered it impossible for them

of the
 south and
 east.

* Letters from the North, &c.

to leave it. The duke of Douglas too had three hundred men, when the scarcity of provisions at Stirling obliged the commander-in-chief to stop their march till the hour of actual danger. His grace, however, attended by Douglas of Cavers, sir James Carmichael, and sir James Lockhart of Falside, the laird of Lamington, and several other gentlemen, proceeded to the camp. The lord Polwarth, with the characteristic zeal of his family, raised 400 Berwickshire militia and marched for the camp, but for the same reason, was desired to stop at Linlithgow till further orders.

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XXV
1715.

XLIX. Nor were the friends of government less active in suppressing the treasonable attempts of the rebels throughout the country: at the town of Kinross, when a party, trusting to their superiority in that district, were proceeding to proclaim the pretender, the earl of Rothes made a dash among them with a squad of the Scots Greys, and quickly dispersed them; and seizing sir Thomas Bruce, carried him prisoner to Stirling. The earl of Islay, in his judicial capacity in Edinburgh, was equally vigilant in seizing the suspected; and not long before had had the good fortune to baffle an attempt made by about two hundred armed jacobites, to seize the town-guard and put the city in confusion, by arresting Burnet of Carlops and some others of the ring-leaders at the place of rendezvous, but a few hours before the plot was to be put in execution. Afterwards he was sent to Argyle to assemble the vassals of his brother the duke, prevent the rising of the rebels in the west highlands, and secure the town of Inverary.

Disasters of
the rebels
at Kinross

at Edinburgh.

L. To encourage the nobility and gentry, and legally to empower them to raise men, and take quarters, the commander-in-chief published the following order. "John duke of Argyle, general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North Britain, to the lords lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and in their absence to the well-affected heritors of the western and southern shires in Scotland; and in particular to the justices of peace, magistrates of burghs, and other judges and officers civil and military:—Whereas great numbers of well affected noblemen, gentlemen, and others in the southern and western shires of Scotland, being

Order for
assembling
a force at
Glasgow.

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1715.

Reinforce-
ments
brought
from
Ireland.Jealousy
among the
jacobite
chiefs.

in readiness to march to such places as they shall be appointed, may be desirous to have a particular order for that effect: these are, therefore, in his majesty's name and by his authority, requiring, ordering, and authorizing the lords' lieutenants, lieutenant-deputies, or in their absence all well-affected heritors, and each of them in the western and southern shires aforesaid, to march forth with their fencible men, with their best arms, and what ammunition they have, and with forty days provisions, towards Glasgow, to quarter there, or in the adjacent towns and villages on the north side of the river Clyde, in order to be ready to assist in the opposing and extinguishing the rebellion now raised against our laws, our liberties, and the protestant religion. Given at our camp at Stirling, 2d October 1715. ARGYLE." His grace, at the same time, made a representation to government of the wretched state of the army, and solicited supplies, but the ministry, alarmed at the rising in England, were afraid to part with any of their forces; they, however, ordered a regiment of dragoons and two regiments of foot to be drafted from Ireland, which fortunately joined the duke before any engagement took place.

LI. About this time, the rebels formed a project which, had it been properly executed, would have placed the king's army in a very critical situation; but their discordant sentiments and want of intelligence and co-operation, lost them the best opportunity they ever had for obtaining the mastery of the kingdom of Scotland. The jacobites in the Lothians were prepared to rise; but a mutual jealousy appears to have existed among their leaders, which prevented their communicating cordially with each other. Lockhart, who was their chief counsellor, appears always to have been viewed with suspicion by captain Straiton, who acted as Mar's confidential agent, but never frankly gave any information to the laird of Carnwarth. He, in his intercourse with the other jacobite gentlemen, had advised that there should be no movement except in one of two cases;—either when the king—i. e. the pretender—should arrive among them, or when Mar should have crossed the Forth with his army. Straiton in vain endeavoured to persuade him to set an example; but he wisely kept on the re-

serve, and said that though he would endeavour as much as in him lay, to assist those who chose to take arms, he did not think it politic himself, unless in one of the alternatives he had mentioned.

BOC
XX
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LII. Such was the state of matters in the Lothians when Mar formed the design alluded to, of transporting a body of troops across the Firth in face of the English men-of-war, to endeavour to rouse the jacobites in Edinburgh and the neighbouring shires, while he sent a commission to lord Kenmure to raise those of the southern counties, and with these troops combined, to fall on the rear of Argyle, while he attacked him in front.* The clan Mackintosh, who had always adhered to the revolution settlement, were, in an evil hour, persuaded by brigadier Mackintosh of Borlam, to change sides, and embrace the cause of the pretender. On the 5th of October, the chief, with five hundred of his men, well armed, arrived at Perth, and as the brigadier was an old experienced officer, who had served with much reputation abroad, and his regiment the best in the army, he was pitched upon to carry the earl's design into execution; the regiments selected to support him were those of Mar, Strathmore, Nairne, Drummond, and lord Charles Murray, forming a party of about two thousand five hundred men; they were escorted to the sea-coast by a body of cavalry, under sir John Erskine of Ava, the master of Sinclair, and sir James Sharp, grandson to the archbishop.

Mar se
Mackir
toah wi
party to
Lothian

LIII. Argyle, having been apprized of the rebels' intention, ordered all the boats that might be useful to the rebels to be brought to Leith, and despatched three frigates and three customhouse cutters to the coast of Fife, to burn or bring away all the small craft they could find; but a number had been hauled ashore and were beyond their reach, which the rebel party immediately put in requisition. The ships of war, on learning the march of the party, weighed anchor, and stood over to intercept them on their passage; but by marching and counter-marching, Borlam contrived to amuse them till night came on.

Argyle
tempts
prevent

* Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 490. Mar's Letter. Patten's Hist. of the Rebellion, p. 76, *et seq.*

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XXV.

1714.

Argyle
summons
it,

a trumpet, and summoned the rebels to surrender, accompanied with a threat, that if one of his men were killed in the assault, he would afterwards give them no quarter. The laird of Kinackin undauntedly replied, "As to surrendering, they laughed at it, his assaults they were ready for, quarter they would neither ask nor give, and if he thought he was able to force them, he might try his hand!"

LVII. Having no battering train, and the rebels being so strongly secured, his grace perceived that any attack upon the citadel, which he well knew would have been defended with the desperation of despair, could only issue in an unnecessary waste of men, whom, in his present circumstances, he could very ill spare, retired in the evening to Edinburgh.* The rebels seeing their hopes, with regard to their Lothian friends, entirely disappointed, and dreading that they might be regularly besieged, likewise withdrew during the night; after despatching a boat to Mar, detailing their progress, and desiring instructions.†

LVIII. About nine o'clock, at ebb-tide, they silently marched off, by the head of the pier across the sands, eastward, and took possession of Seaton-house, a strong old castle about seven miles from Edinburgh, belonging to the earl of Winton. They left in the citadel forty of their companions—the same number they had released—who had made rather free with the customhouse brandy, and in their march lost some few stragglers who were unable to keep up with the main body, and were taken by a detachment under colonel Debourgay. A night march sometimes produces mistakes even with the best disciplined troops; but among the half trained highlanders, it was productive of no little con-

Rebels
evacuate it.

* Of the volunteers Rae relates with great *naïveté*—"It must be truly owned that some of the volunteers were very forward for an attack; but when they were told that the post of honour, viz. to attack first, was their just right as volunteers, it made them heartily approve of the duke's measures in deferring the enterprise." Hist. p. 263.

† As soon as the boat went off they discharged one of their cannon after her to make the men-of-war imagine her an enemy to the rebels. Nor did that stratagem fail, but fully answered the design; the boat escaped unpursued, and returned to them again, with letters from the earl of Mar and new orders, about three hours before they left Seaton-house.—Patten, pp. 14, 15. Rae's Hist. 161.

fusion. When they approached Musselburgh, a band of the townsmen mounted, fired a few shots upon their front, which, although they took no effect, occasioned great disorder, and made the mountaineers, from that time, treat all men on horseback as enemies—a conduct that was attended with fatal consequences to one of their best friends; Mr. Malloch of Mutree-Shields, who was advancing to join them, was challenged by a highlander in Gaelic, and being unable to reply in the same language, was shot dead on the spot; the brigadier, however, took his gold, sixty guineas, and left him lying on the road, about a mile beyond Musselburgh. The main body, on another occasion, supposing the advance an enemy, fired upon them, and killed a sergeant and a private before the mistake was discovered. At two o'clock in the morning they arrived at Seaton-house, where they were joined by some of their friends, who having crossed the Firth farther east, had not landed so soon, nor been able to come up with them on their march to Leith.

BOOK
XXV.

1715.

March to
Seaton-
house.

LIX. Argyle no sooner learned that the rebels had taken possession of Seaton-house, than he prepared to dislodge them; he sent off an express to Stirling for four gunners and two bombardiers, and ordered two pieces of cannon and two mortars from Edinburgh castle. But Mar, by a manoeuvre, interrupted his preparations, and forced him to leave the garrison at Seaton-house, to their own discretion. He made a demonstration as if he meant to pass the Forth either at Stirling or at the bridge of Doon, and put his army in motion for this purpose. During the night three successive expresses from general Whetham announced the alarming intelligence to Argyle, that the rebels, ten thousand strong, were in full march for Stirling, and that their advance, consisting of four thousand men, were expected that night at Dumblane. Leaving, therefore, one hundred dragoons, and one hundred and fifty foot, under the command of general Wightman and colonel Ker, together with the militia and gentlemen volunteers, to protect the city of Edinburgh, and watch the house of Seaton, he posted for Stirling with two hundred dragoons, and fifty foot, where he arrived on the seventeenth about eight o'clock at night; but Mar, when he learned his return, having obtained one ob-

Argyle's
intention to
dislodge
them pre-
vented by
a feint of
Mar's.

BOOK
XXV.

1715.

They for-
tify Seaton
house.

ject, did not think proper to attempt the more important and decisive step of crossing the river. Although nearly double the number of Argyle, he waited the arrival of several of the clans who were upon their march, but who, from the want of information, had been wandering among the hills in uncertainty.*

lx. Relieved from the dread of Argyle, the highlanders at Seaton-house began to fortify the place on purpose to establish a magazine, and secure themselves till an army should collect from the country round, and from the borders.† A detachment of dragoons and volunteers marched that same evening, to keep them on the alert; but they had no sooner appeared at Prestonpans, than a party of the highlanders marched out of the castle and formed, when the others turned to the right-about and retired; nor did the rebels think it expedient to pursue. On Monday, lord Torphichen, with two hundred dragoons, and the earl of Rothes, with three

* At this period Mar seems to have had high expectations. It is evident from his letters that he expected the forces from England to join Kenmure and the brigadier in Scotland, and thus place Argyle between two fires, which, had it been done quickly, or had he possessed the smallest degree of energy, there is not the least doubt but Scotland, for the time, would have been overrun. Writing to general Gordon (October 8th) he says, "I have ordered two thousand men to cross the water from Burntisland to Leith,"—"Our friends in the south are to be together, both of Scots and English, on Monday next, to a goodly number; and if it please God to give this detachment a safe passage, we shall have our enemies in a horse-net."—Orig. Letters. But the march of the English to Newcastle, and of lord Kenmure afterwards to Preston, entirely disconcerted the project.—ib. Afterwards, when he heard of Borlame's failure at Edinburgh, and could get no intelligence from his friends—so much so that he begged a newspaper to be transmitted him, that he might learn something of their motions—he seems to have begun to sink. His letter to Forrester [October 21st] breathes a spirit of despondency throughout. "I have now wrote to lord Kenmure, but it is ten to one if it comes to his hands. I know not what he is doing, where he is, or what way he intends to dispose of his people; whether he is to march into England, or towards Stirling to wait my passing Forth; and in the ignorance I am in of your affairs, besouth the river, I scarce know what to advise him. If you be in need of his assistance in England, I doubt not but you have called him there; but if not, certainly his being in the rear of the enemy when I pass Forth, or now that the duke of Argyle is reinforced, should he march towards me before I am, would be of great service.—Patten, p. 80, 81.

I am apt to suppose that Mar had been deceived with regard to the numbers of the royal army, from his total want of information.

† Patten, p. 19.

hundred gentlemen volunteers, marched against them ; but, satisfied with a reconnoitre and the exchange of a few shots, they also returned without bloodshed.

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LXI. While the highlanders remained here their foraging parties were wonderfully successful. Naturally expert at "lifting," they brought in droves of black cattle and sheep, with great abundance of oat-meal and other provisions. But no earthly happiness is of long duration ; and from this terrestrial paradise—as it must have been to the savages—they were obliged to remove. An order from the earl of Mar for their marching towards England, and an express from Mr. Forster, general of the English, inviting them to meet him at Kelso or Coldstream, together with two messengers from lord Kenmure, forced them unwillingly to leave the land of Goshen and march for the borders.

Receive orders to proceed towards England.

LXII. These various insurrectional movements, although connected, proceeded upon no regular well arranged plan. The week before Mackintosh crossed the firth, lord Kenmure, who had got a commission from Mar to command in the south, had a meeting in Edinburgh with Lockhart of Carnwath and the other jacobite gentlemen in that quarter, when the rendezvouses for the different districts were settled, and the plan of procedure announced ; those near Edinburgh were to meet at Biggar, those of the south counties at Moffat, whence they were to march to Dumfries to procure money, arms, and ammunition, and then to proceed to Glasgow to meet the disaffected clans, and act as circumstances should direct.* Having retired to their different stations, the lord justice-clerk, who had received information of their proceedings, instantly despatched an express to Dumfries, with a letter for Mr. Robert Corbet the provost, of the following purport : *Edinburgh, Oct. 8, 1715.* SIR,—Having good information that there is a design of rising in rebellion in the southern parts, against his majesty and the government, I send the express to advise you thereof, that you may be upon your guard ; for by what I can rely upon, their first attempt is to be suddenly upon your town. I heartily wish you may,

Rendezvouses appointed in the south.

Provost of Dumfries informed of an intended attack.

* Lockhart Papers, vol. i. p. 493.

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escape their intended visit. I am, &c. AD. COCKBURN. The gathering of the jacobites in small bodies, and the assembling of large parties at the houses of the gentry, had already created suspicion, which this letter fully confirmed. On its being communicated to the magistrates, as there was a rendezvous that day of the fencible men of the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright at the Leaths-Moor, it was instantly resolved that a deputation should proceed to the place, and request the gentlemen to repair to the town that night with a competent number of armed men, but when they arrived at the spot they only found the deputy-lieutenants, and some of the officers, for the greater part of the men had been dismissed. So soon, however, as the nature of the justice-clerk's despatch was known, expresses were sent to every quarter to summon the whole fencibles of the district to attend at Dumfries next day; in the meanwhile the deputy and about fifty other gentlemen accompanied the magistrates on their return to the town that night.

Prepara-
tions to re-
sist it.

LXIII. By a fortunate coincidence, on the same day there happened to be a meeting of the provincial synod; and the ministers of the neighbourhood, as soon as it broke up, went each to his respective parish, whence they returned in the morning with their fencible parishioners armed; expresses were likewise sent to the loyal gentlemen in the adjacent country, and next day the town was filled with volunteers from the several parishes of Nithsdale and Galloway. Animated by the same spirit, the men flocked in from all parts of the south and west, from Kirkcudbright and Sanquhar, and where the distance was great, the foot pressed the country horses into the service, to accelerate their progress. This rapid assemblage rendered abortive a scheme of the rebels, who, in order to prevent the assembling of the Dumfriesshire fencibles on the twelfth, the day on which they expected to be masters of the town, sent round their emissaries with forged orders to the men, saying, that the meeting was not to be till the thirteenth, by which time they expected their meeting would be of little avail.

LXIV. On the evening before the intended attack, [Thursday the eleventh] lord Kenmure and the earl of Carnwath, who were at a gentleman's house in the vicinity waiting the

arrival of their men, having heard of some arms which sir William Johnston of Westerhall had lodged in Brado-Chapel, about half a mile from Lochmaben, for the use of his own militia, early next morning broke into the chapel and carried them off. Having thus obtained arms, and being joined by several of their friends in that quarter, they proceeded to Moffat, the appointed rendezvous, to meet the earl of Winton and the Lothian rebels.

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Rebels
seize arms
in Brado-
chapel.

LXV. But notwithstanding the vigorous preparations going forward, and the commotion throughout the whole country, the rebels at Moffat remained in profound ignorance of their extent, and still hoped to take Dumfries by surprise; on the forenoon of the twelfth, they left Moffat and took the road for Dumfries, and about two o'clock were within a mile and a half of the town, where they were met by the disagreeable intelligence that the place was full of armed men ready and eager to give them a warm reception. Calling a halt upon this information, they held a consultation whether to proceed or retire; but as they only mustered one hundred and fifty-three horsemen, they deemed it more expedient to wait till their numbers should be increased, and struck off to Lochmaben, carrying with them Mr. Patterson, one of the bailies, Mr. Hunter, "chirurgion," and Mr. Johnston, postmaster, who had been sent out to reconnoitre, but unluckily stumbled in among the enemy. They were however well treated, and released upon some suspected jacobites, whom the magistrates of Dumfries had imprisoned, being set at liberty.*

Proceed to
Lochma-
ben.

LXVI. As soon as the rebels had appeared upon the heights, all the avenues to the town were barricaded, and intrenchments thrown up, the guards reinforced, and every measure

* When the rebels were coming down upon Lochmaben, the towns-folk put their cattle into a fold to make room for their horses, but in the night the beasts began to turn rebellious themselves, broke down the fold, and ran wild through the town. A little before day-break, one of them by some accident had got into a poor man's "kail yard," and seemed determined to make his quarters good, when the owner found himself under the necessity of bringing his dog to his assistance. Calling loudly Help! Help! [the dog's name] the sentry supposing it was a party from Dumfries instantly gave the alarm, and the whole rebel army turned out in battle array against the man, the dog, and the cow, to the great amusement of the natives.—Kae's Hist. p. 254.

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adopted for the most strenuous resistance ; when they understood that the rebels hesitated, the fencibles were eager for an encounter, and were enraged because neither allowed to pursue them in their retreat, nor attempt surprising them in their quarters. Next morning Lovat, who was then on his way to the north,* offered to lead them ; but the marquis of Annandale, with more prudence, restrained them from a rash attack upon brave and resolute men in desperate circumstances, which, from their inexperience and want of officers, might have been attended with the most disastrous consequences both to themselves and to the cause.

To Eccles-
fechan, &c.

LXVII. From Lochmaben the rebels marched on the Friday to Ecclesfechan, where they were joined by sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell with a small party of horse. On Saturday they marched to Langholm, their numbers increased to about one hundred and eighty, whence they proceeded to Hawick on Sabbath the sixteenth, where they proclaimed the pretender. On the seventeenth they marched from Hawick to Jedburgh, and there also proclaimed their king, and had intended to proceed to Kelso ; but hearing that it was put in a state of defence, they altered their route, and entered England to meet the Northumberland insurgents, of whose proceedings it is now necessary to give a sketch.

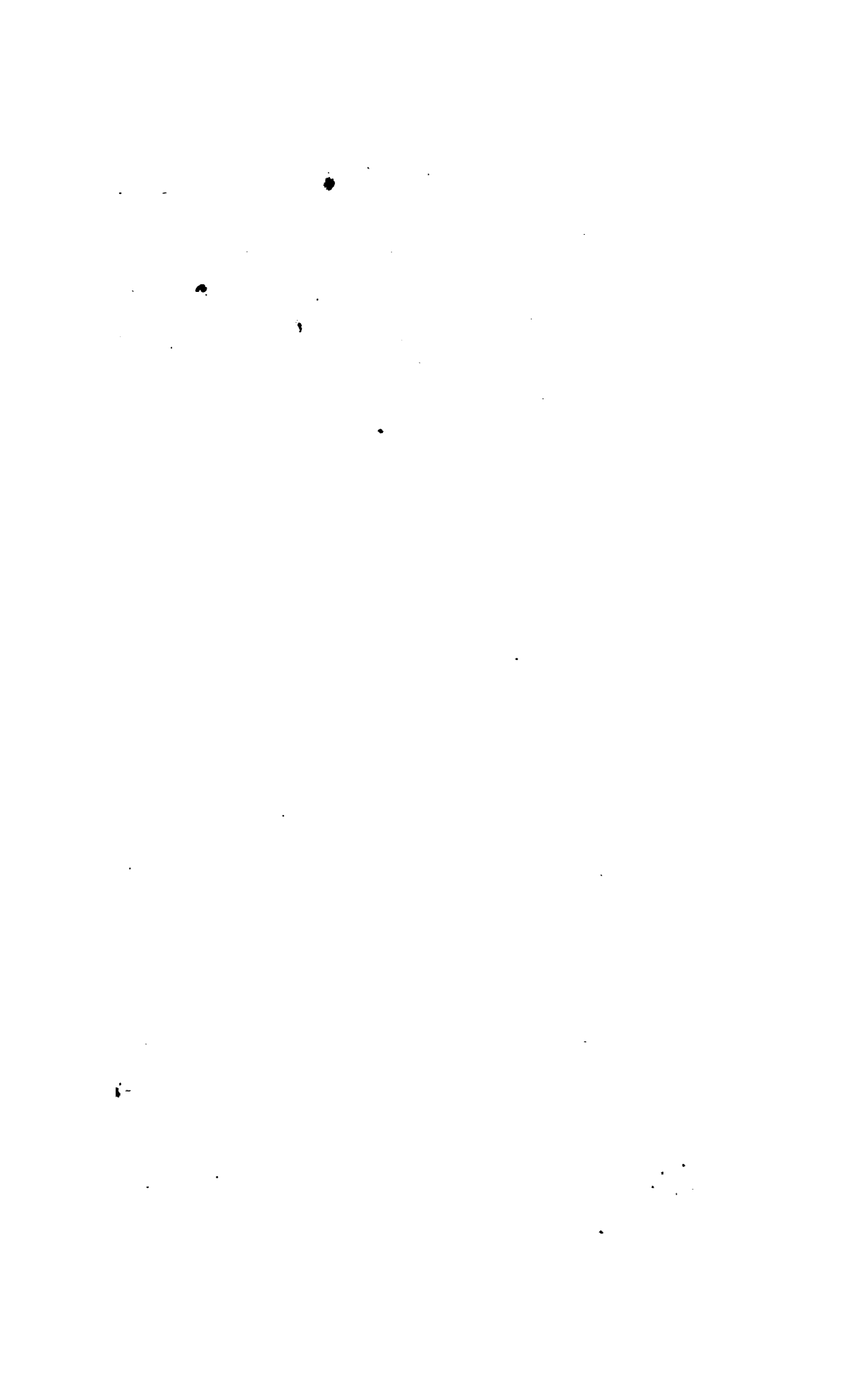
Enter
England.

LXVIII. I have not been able to trace in all the proceedings of the Scottish or English rebels the least appearance of any well-digested preconceived conspiracy. Patten says that the design originated in London, whence a correspondence was settled with all the disaffected throughout Britain ;

* Simon Fraser lord Lovat, who had now obtained his pardon, arrived at Dumfries in the midst of the bustle, on his way to the north to raise his clan. Being unknown, he was arrested ; nor did he obtain his liberty till the marquis of Annandale, the lord-lieutenant, was assured of his loyalty. The marquis, who had been pursued up the Tweed by the earl of Winton's troops, when coming to examine Lovat, required an escort from his own house of Lockwood to Dumfries. Intimation was accordingly given for all townsmen and strangers who were provided with horses to appear in the street armed, at the beat of drum. Accordingly, about one o'clock in the morning, the alarm was beat, and a considerable body drew up in the streets, which were illuminated, who proceeded to his lordship's mansion, and brought him safely to the town. From the 13th of October till the 20th, all the windows of the houses that looked to the street were regularly illuminated the whole night as at any public rejoicing. —Rae, p. 251.

THE TOWER OF
THE BISHOP OF
BATH





but if it was so, they had kept the correspondence a profound secret from the various sections of the rebels, who acted as so many distinct bodies, without communication either with each other or with the capital. The insurrection in Northumberland evidently was urged on by the rigour of government, and it remains a doubt with me whether, if lenient measures had been adopted, there would ever have been any rebellion at all. That jacobite emissaries went through the country, admits of no doubt,* but their occupation was to carry false intelligence and exaggerated reports, and these, with the noisy blustering of the high tories, led many to imagine there was a grand design arranged for a general rising; nor was it till the unfortunate trial was made that they found their mistake.† The immediate cause of an appeal to arms was the issuing of warrants from the secretary of state's office, in the latter end of September, against the earl of Derwentwater, lord Widdrington, Mr. Forster, and some of the leading jacobites. Hearing that messengers were at Durham to apprehend them, a full meeting of the party assembled; when the dread of being carried to London and imprisoned, and the uncertainty of what might be the consequences of separate examinations, led them to the fatal determination of appearing for their king—so they styled the chevalier—as the only method for securing themselves.

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Immediate
cause of
the rising
in Eng-
land.

* The chief of these emissaries were colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Nicolas Wogan, Charles Wogan, and a Mr. Talbot, Irish, and papists; Mr. Clifton, brother to sir Gowan Clifton, and Mr. Beaumont, brother to sir Gowan Beaumont, high churchmen; and Mr. Buxton, clergyman. It is more than probable that these people assumed to themselves a character and delegation which they did not possess.

† "Indeed that [the high church] party, who are never right hearty for the cause till they are mellow, as they call it, over a bottle or two, now began to show us their blind side, and that it is their just character that they do not care for venturing their carcasses any farther than the town. There indeed, with their high church and Ormond, they would make men believe, who do not know them, that they would encounter the greatest opposition in the world; but after having consulted their pillows, and the fumes a little evaporated, it is to be observed of them that they generally become mighty tame, and are apt to look before they leap; and with the snail, if you touch their houses, they hide their heads, shrink back, and pull in their horns. I have heard Mr. Forster say he was blustered into this business by such people as these."—Patten, *op.* 93-4.

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Its pro-
gress.

LXIX. Pursuant to this resolution, on the 6th of October they met at a place called Green-rig, in Northumberland. Mr. Thomas Forster, who had been member of parliament for the county, came first, with about twenty followers, but immediately removed to the top of a hill called the Waterfalls, from whence they could better discover any that came either to join or oppose them. They had not remained long in this situation, when they descried the earl of Derwentwater, with his friends and servants, well mounted and armed, who, collecting by the way, brought several other gentlemen along with him; yet, when the whole were mustered, they did not amount to more than sixty, the greater part however, gentlemen. Mr. Forster, although totally unacquainted with military affairs, being the only protestant chief among them, was named general, under whose direction they marched to Plainfield, on the river Coquett, and thence to Rothbury, a small market town. On Friday the 7th, with increasing numbers, they entered Warkworth, celebrated in legendary lore; and next day lord Widdrington joined them with thirty horse.

The pre-
tender pro-
claimed at
Wark-
worth.Rebels first
attempts.

LXX. On Sabbath, Forster sent Mr. Buxton to Mr. Ion, the parson of the parish, with orders to pray for the pretender as king, and for Mary as queen-mother, and to omit the names of king George and the prince and princess of Wales, which Mr. Ion declining, Buxton took possession of the pulpit, read prayers, and preached a sermon that gave mighty encouragement to his hearers, he being a man of a handsome appearance and insinuating eloquence. Here they first solemnly proclaimed the pretender by sound of trumpet; but it must have been rather discouraging to his followers, that the general himself, when performing the ceremony, did so in disguise. On Monday the tenth, they marched for Morpeth, increasing as they proceeded. At Felton Bridge they were joined by seventy horse, partly Scottish, from the borders, and on entering the town, they were three hundred strong, all mounted; the numerous offers of infantry service they were unable to accept for want of arms, but they expected soon to receive a supply from France, and from the surprisal of Newcastle. To facilitate the first, Mr. Lancelot Errington, a shipmaster belonging

to Newcastle, with a few companions, at the desire of Forster, seized the small fort upon Holy Island, but being unsupported, next day a party from the garrison of Berwick recovered the place, and carried away the captors prisoners. The other was not more fortunate. Mr. Ion had carried to Newcastle accounts of the rising, and the public authorities soon put the town in a posture to bid defiance to any attack from without, and secured all suspicious characters to preserve it from any danger from within.

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1715.

Unsuccessful.

LXXI. Forster, disappointed in this main object, after advancing to a heath adjoining Dilston, the seat of lord Derwentwater, returned to Hexham, whence, upon a report that general Carpenter was advancing to attack him, by a forced march he hurried his troops that same night [the nineteenth,] to Rothbury; there they effected a junction with lord Kenmure, and the whole marched for Wooler. All Friday they rested, and were joined by the Rev. Robert Patten, who acted as their chaplain, and was afterwards their historian; and here they received accounts of the advance of the highlanders from Seaton-House. Decamping from Wooler, they took the route for Kelso, and crossing the river Tweed, at that time swollen, deep, and rapid, they entered the town about one o'clock, [Saturday 21st,] where they were presently cheered by the old brigadier's stately stepping in at the head of his troops to the sound of the bag-pipe.

March for
Scotland.

LXXII. These last, early on the morning of the seventeenth, left their garrison, and arrived that night at Longformachus, about seventeen miles distant; in passing Hermiston-House, the seat of a Doctor Sinclair, M'Intosh proposed to burn it, in revenge for his having killed the son of Hepburn of Keith, —an amiable, and promising youth—while attempting to make his escape from a party the Doctor had brought to search his father's house for arms, and arrest the inmates; his officers, however, dissuaded him from fire-raising, which might have been attended with mischievous consequences to themselves, and he was content with ordering his highlanders to plunder it of every thing valuable,—a service they performed with wonderful alacrity.

Retrospective view of
Borlame's
progress.

LXXIII. As soon as major-general Wightman received no-
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1715.

The whole
effect a
junction at
Kelso.

Proclaim
the preten-
der.

tice of their departure from Seaton, he set out with a detachment of eighty dragoons, fifty militia, and some volunteers, to hang upon their rear and harass them on the march, but he returned in the evening to Edinburgh without having done any thing except picking up a few stragglers. A number, however, deserted, who were detained prisoners till the rebellion was put down. Dunse was the next halting-place of the highlanders, there they proclaimed the pretender, collected all the public money, and next day bent their steps towards Kelso, which was abandoned at their approach. Kenmure, who was already there, when apprized of their advance, marched out with the Scottish horse as far as Ednam Bridge, to compliment them and escort them to the town, which they reached about three o'clock of the afternoon, extremely fatigued with their long marches, and drenched with the rain, which had poured in torrents; when the whole were assembled they formed a body of fourteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse.*

LXXIV. Next day [Sabbath] lord Kenmure, who had the chief command in Scotland, ordered Mr. Patten to preach in the great church of Kelso, where Mr. Baxter read prayers; he declaimed accordingly upon hereditary succession from Deut. xxi. 17. "The right of the first-born is his." In the afternoon Mr. Irvine, a Scottish non-juring clergyman, formerly chaplain to viscount Dundee, exhorted them to be zealous and steady in the service of their king, in an unlucky sermon, the same he had formerly preached a few days before the battle of Killiecrankie. The following morning the highlanders were drawn up in the churchyard, and marched to the cross with colours flying, drum beating, and bag-pipes playing, where they formed a circle, the lords and gentlemen in the centre, and the pretender was proclaimed with the sounding of trumpets, under the style and title of James VIII., by Seaton of Barnes, created by his master earl of Dunfermline. After which the manifesto of the northern rebels was read, and was received by

* The Southerns halted on the moor before they entered Kelso, when they appointed their officers, and "to each troop they assigned two captains, being the only way they had to oblige so many gentlemen."—Patten, p. 39.

the people with loud acclamations of no union ! no malt ! no salt-tax ! Having finished this ceremonial, the highlanders remained quiet in their quarters till the twenty-seventh, nor were guilty of any acts of hostility towards the inhabitants, only they uplifted the customs and excise, and made a general search for arms, of which they procured but few, the gentlemen and fencibles, when they evacuated the place, having carried the whole they could collect with them.

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1715.

LXXV. The delay of the rebels in this place gave general Carpenter, who was sent down to pursue them, time to advance, and allowed him leisurely to observe all their motions. On the twenty-seventh he was at Wooler, and intended to approach Kelso next day, which occasioned lord Kenmure to call a council of war for considering the plan of operations they ought to pursue ; lord Winton and Mac-kintosh earnestly pressed the original design to march to the west, taking Dumfries and Glasgow in their way, and opening a communication with the earl of Mar, then either to cross the Forth some miles above Stirling, or fall upon the duke of Argyle's rear while he attacked his grace in front :—evidently the most natural plan, as they had not the courage to adopt the safer as well as more soldier-like proposal of passing the Tweed and attacking the king's troops, who were fewer in number, equally or even more raw than the rawest among themselves ; “ not above one thousand men, of whom two regiments of dragoons were newly raised and had never seen service, besides being extremely fatigued.”* But the English strongly opposed both propositions, they insisted upon marching for Lancaster, and the council separated without coming to any determination. The army, however, immediately broke up for Jedburgh, where they remained two nights. At which place, as they were some marches a-head of Carpenter, the English gentlemen urged the cowardly project of giving him the slip by crossing the mountains and passing into England. But the highlanders resisted ; and no argument could persuade them to violate the border, whereupon the army turned off to Hawick. The mountaineers, however, still supposing that the march for

General
Carpenter
arrives at
Wooler.

Rebels hold
a council
of war—

* Patten, p. 65.

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XXV.1715.
Highland-
ers mutiny.

England was intended, showed strong symptoms of mutiny, and separating themselves from the main body, retired to the top of a rising ground in Hawick muir, where they rested on their arms, and declared, "that they would fight if they would lead them to an enemy, but that they would not go to England." Upon this dispute, the horse surrounded the foot, in order to force them to march south, when the highlanders, putting their firelocks upon cock, said, "If they were to be sacrificed, they would choose to have it done in their own country;" nor would they allow any one to approach them except the earl of Winton, who encouraged them in their resolution, and assured them, if they marched to England, they would either be cut to pieces, or sold for slaves to the plantations. After two hours dispute, the affair was compromised, by the mountaineers agreeing to keep with the army as long as it remained in Scotland, but to leave it as soon as it entered England.

Trick at-
tempted to
be practis-
ed upon
them.Rebels re-
solve ano-
ther at-
tempt on
Dumfries.

LXXVI. The highlanders being that portion of the army in which the greater confidence could be placed, they always had the guard, and did all the duty; but a party of the gentlemen cavalry, wishing to try their vigilance, on the night after they arrived at Hawick, patrolled in their front at midnight; the advanced guard, however, was on the alert, and an alarm was immediately given; in an instant the whole were under arms, and the night being clear, the moon walking in her splendour through a cloudless sky, they formed in order of battle, with not less correctness than promptitude, when the horsemen announced themselves as friends, but did not venture to tell that the whole was a practical joke. Next morning they marched to Langholm, and pushed forward a strong detachment of horse to Ecclesfechan, with orders to block up Dumfries till the main body should arrive to attack it. But Dumfries was too well prepared—the town had been fortified under the direction of some half-pay officers sent by Argyle; two thousand volunteers were in arms ready and eager for the fight, and all the adjacent country was warned to their support.

LXXVII. Among the rest, an express was sent to Mr. John Hepburn, the minister at Orr, who had collected a band of dissenters, well armed, at Kirkmahoe, inviting him to come

and assist in defence of the place ; Mr. Hepburn obeyed the summons, and came with all expedition to Corberry Hill, at the end of the bridge, but with what intent it is not easy to guess, for when the provost intreated him to enter the town he put into his hands an unsigned paper, asserting, "that they [his followers] had not freedom in their consciences to fight in defence of the constitution of church and state, as established since the sinful union," and containing the terms upon which they would accede to the proposal ; these were so extravagant, that the provost returned home and left them where they were, and where they continued till the danger was over, being abundantly supplied by the inhabitants with every necessary, which they made no scruple to accept.*

LXXVIII. Early in the morning of Monday, the last day of October, the party at Ecclesfechan had mounted, and were in advance, when an express reached them, sent from some of their friends, with an account of the state of Dumfries, and the disposition of the inhabitants, on which they halted and forwarded the letter to the general. The main body too, having been put in motion, the messenger met them upon the road, which occasioned another consultation about their mode of procedure ; the Scots were for adhering to their plan, and attacking Dumfries ; they urged "that Dumfries might be easily taken, there being no regular force in it ; that their being masters of it would be of singular advantage to the cause. It being a very rich place, situate upon the mouth of a navigable river on the Irish sea, they might promptly receive succour from France and from Ireland, no men-of-war being in these seas at that time ; that there they might furnish themselves with arms, money, and ammunition, and open a passage to Glasgow, one of the best towns in Scotland, and so join the highland clans from the west, or for England also if they should think fit. Besides, a great many country gentlemen, on such an appearance, would come in to them, so that they might soon form a considerable army. They were also assured, that in this town there were a great many arms in the tolbooth, ready for all occasions, in good order, and a good quantity of pow-

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1715.
Conduct of
Hepburn,
minister of
Orr.

Rebels in-
formed of
the prepa-
rations to
receive
them—
hold a
council.

Scots pro-
pose to
attack the
town.

* Rae's History, p. 276.

- BOOK XXV.**
1715.
Dissen-
sions.
- der up in the Tron steeple, all which would be their own. That the duke of Argyle was in no condition to hurt them, but, on the contrary, would scarce think himself safe in Stirling, his troops being not above two thousand men, for he had not been reinforced by the regiments from Ireland, nor the Dutch from England." The English gentlemen, on the other hand, strenuously insisted upon entering England; "they asserted that the whole country was ripe for revolt; that they had letters from their friends in Lancashire, inviting them thither, and assuring them that in that county alone twenty thousand men would join them upon their first appearance."
- The Eng-**
lish prevail.
- LXXIX.** Unhappily for themselves the urgency of the English leaders prevailed, and a despatch was sent to Ecclesfechan ordering the detachment there to join the main body at Langton in Cumberland; but the highlanders again became restive, and refused to stir, choosing rather, they said, to surrender themselves prisoners, than go forward to certain destruction. A few with their leaders were, by large promises and money to the men, prevailed upon to continue; but about five hundred remained immoveable, upon whom
- Highland-**
ers restive.
- neither fair promises nor any other argument had the least effect; who, marking their route through the moors, took the way homeward, but provisions being scarce they were obliged to separate into small parties, and were almost the whole of them made prisoners and kept in safety till the rebellion came to a close. The main body marched on to England to meet their fate; the earl of Winton, who had also separated from the army, declaring that they were taking the way to ruin themselves, from a principle of false honour, afterwards joined the enterprise and shared in their destruction. General Carpenter, who was purposing to march to the relief of Dumfries, and whose men had been mounted through the exertions of Douglas of Cavers and other gentlemen of the county, when he heard that the rebels had desisted from that design, after resting his fatigued troops a few days, returned to Newcastle.
- The main**
body pro-
ceeds.
- LXXX.** While these movements were going forward in the south, the opponents in the west and the north were not inactive; Lord Islay arrived at Inverary on the 6th of Oc-
- Move-**
ments in
north and
west.

tober, as did Macdonald and Clanronald at Strathphillen in Perthshire, with seven hundred men, where Glengarry was, who had been joined by three hundred Macgregors and Glencomen, all under the command of major-general Alex. Gordon.* The Macgregors, who had risen about the end of September, had seized the boats upon Lochlomond, and kept the whole district in alarm, as it was never known at what part they might land; the loyalists therefore determined, if possible, to gain possession of the craft. For this purpose they procured from the men of war three long boats and four pinnaces, with four pateraroes, two gunners, and one hundred seamen under the command of captains Field and Parker, and four lieutenants; and being joined by three boats from Dumbarton, the whole were drawn up the Leven by horses to the mouth of the loch, where a hundred and twenty Paisley volunteers, and a number of the country gentlemen, with their retainers, marched along the north-west side of the road. At night they arrived at Luss, where they were joined by sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, and James Grant of Pluscarden, his son-in-law, followed by forty or fifty stately fellows in their short hose and belted plaids, armed, each of them, with a well fixed gun on his shoulder, a strong handsome target with a sharp pointed steel of above half an ell in length screwed into the navel of it, on his left arm, a sturdy claymore by his side, and a pistol or two, with a dirk and knife, in his belt." Here the company rested, and next morning, after a diligent search, they found the boats drawn up a considerable way on the land. Such as were not damaged they launched into the Loch, such as were they hewed in pieces, and returned without obstruction; the mountain echoes, which till then had probably never been disturbed by artillery, repeated with a thundering noise the discharges of the pateraroes, and multiplied the sounds so tremendously, that the Macgregors, who conceived some vast army was at their heels, ran panic-struck to the rest of the rebels at Strathphillen, who were augmented by Stuart of Appin, sir John M'Lean, M'Dugal of Lime and their

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Rebels
seize the
boats on
Lochlo-
mond.Leave
them on
the banks.

* Campbell's Life of John duke of Argyle, p. 180.

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 Appear before Inverary—join Mar.

followers, with some Breadalbane men, amounting thousand four hundred men, commanded by general Gordon. This force appeared before Inverary, but lord Loudoun had put it in a respectable posture of defence, and a fruitless parley, they thought it most expedient to retreat, and join the army under Mar,* to whose movements it was now necessary to advert.

Skirmish at Castle-Campbell.

LXXXI. After his return from Dunblane, he quartered a few days at Auchterarder, then returned to Perth, and issued an order for levying an assessment of twerlings sterling on those who joined the pretender's standard, and forty on those who did not, upon some parts of the shires of Fife, Clackmannan, Kinross, and Perth; and on the twenty-third of October, ordered a party of two hundred foot, and one hundred horse to Dunfermline, to catch the rebels. As they were passing Castle Campbell, notice was given to Argyle, who immediately despatched a detachment of dragoons under the hon. colonel Cathcart, who caught the mauraders about five o'clock next morning, killed and wounded several, and made seventeen prisoners, which were brought to the camp at Stirling that same evening, the rebels themselves losing a man. To prevent the effects of Marquisdoun's requisition, Argyle published a counter order, forbidding the rebels to pay cess to the rebels upon the pain of high treason, and Mar retorted by prohibiting any person from enlisting in the service of the elector of Brunswick under a similar penalty. The regiments drafted from Ireland having arrived, Argyle, still straitened for provisions, and

* The royalists at Inverary, as well as the rebels at Lochmaben, were subjected to false alarms. A small body of horse from Kintyre had joined the men were quartered in the town, and the horses put to grass on the side of the small river that runs by the town. One night the animals, from their quarters, took a longing to return home. In their march they were obliged to keep along the shore, and cross the river at the lower end of the town, the noise of their feet at a distance put the garrison in the utmost consternation, never doubting but it was an enemy. The horses were upon the fire, and advanced every minute nearer. Terror sat on every countenance, and the darkness of the night increased as well as concealed. Immediate orders were given to arms. But a few minutes put an end to their panic; for some of the horses passing the river were found to be without riders, and the whole was covered to be only a plot among the Kintyre horse to desert.—*Crawford's John, duke of Argyle, p. 180.*

them to remain in Glasgow, and with some detachments at Kilsyth and Falkirk, to intercept the returning rebels. Mar, who had despatched messengers to the pretender, colonel Hay, and Dr. Abercrombie—author of the *Martial Achievements of the Scots*—to urge his speedy appearance, resolved to remain in his station till they came back; and to prevent a surprise, began to fortify Perth and the Bridge of Earn. As an interlude, he brought to Perth Fairbairn the king's printer, who now preferred being printer to the pretender, and employed him to amuse his followers with accounts of victories that were never gained, and risings which, like Irish legacies, were "glorious expectations."

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Mar fortifies Perth.

LXXXII. But the country was now worn out, and he had been joined by all the troops he had any reason to expect, excepting those who could join him on a march. He therefore at last resolved to cross the Forth; but with an effective force of twelve thousand men, well armed and furnished with artillery, and opposed by not more than a third of that number, he proposed to accomplish by stratagem what a man of the weakest military talents would have done by annihilating his enemy. The duke of Argyle, who had obtained high reputation under Marlborough, had acted with consummate prudence, considering the very small means he possessed; he not only had kept Mar on the other side of the Forth, but had effectually prevented him from having any communication with the south; he had intercepted his despatches, and what was still more important, he had intelligence of every movement his opponent made, and was acquainted even with the resolutions of his secret councils. Mar intended, by three false attacks—one at Stirling Bridge, another at the Abbey Ford, a mile below, and the last at Drip-Coble, a mile and a half above it—to divert the attention of Argyle, while he, with the main body of the army, crossed the fords of the Forth; but Argyle, apprized of the plan, resolved to anticipate him, for which purpose he called in all his detachments, and concentrated the whole of his forces at Stirling, amounting to not much above three thousand men, and determined to possess himself of the rising ground above Dunblane, keeping the road from

Resolves to cross the Forth.

Able conduct of Argyle.

Mar's plan.

Argyle's measures to defeat it.

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The battle
—the left
of the re-
bels defeat-
ed.

make a motion towards the king's army, Argyle sent general Wightman immediately back to put the troops in order, and soon after directed him to march to the top of a hill again the enemy. The muir, which the preceding night had been impassable and guarded the duke's right, had been frozen during the night, and afforded a firm road for the enemy whose lines being so much more extended, they pointed their march to take him in flank.* His grace therefore changed his order of battle, ordered his troops to stretch the right in two lines, and, coming upon the left of the rebels in the act of drawing up, charged them with such impetuosity that, although they made a vigorous resistance they were broken through and forced to quit the field. The duke pursued eagerly as far as the river Allan; but his flight was not so disorderly as to prevent their rallying several times, and attempting to re-form, which occasioned several pretty smart skirmishes between the muir and the river. Wightman, who commanded the foot, was by this means relieved from the enemy; and the duke, who believed that he had broken their main strength, sent him orders to pursue.

The left of
the royal
army also
broken.

LXXXVI. But while the rebel left was defeated, their right was triumphant; and had they had a general who knew how to profit by his own good fortune, the victory had been complete. Before the left of the king's army was formed, Major at the head of the clans, made a most furious and unexpected attack; and in less than fifteen minutes, the whole was thrown into entire irremediable confusion. General Wightman himself galloped into Stirling with the fugitives, and announced, to the utter dismay of the inhabitants, that all was lost.† Wightman, whenever he was apprized of the fate of their left wing, slackened his march, and kept his foot together in order to receive the enemy in the best manner he could if they happened to attack, which he every moment expected, without the least hope of being able to

* Colonel Harrison's account of the victory.

† The statement in the text is taken from the official despatch, which is confirmed by Major's. General Wightman, in his account, says, that the enemy was checked. I prefer the former authorities, being two to one.

‡ Colonel Blackadder's Diary, Nov. 13.

repulse them.* He also sent pressing messages after Argyle, to inform him of the disaster, who instantly returned, and was struck with astonishment at seeing a victorious army in their rear of at least three times their number. He however assumed a resolute attitude, and, facing to the right about, marched toward the enemy, who, to the number of four thousand, were ranged on the top of Kippendavie.† There his grace posted his troops at the bottom of the hill, having the protection of some earth-walls, and ditches; and, as the evening drew on, inclined with the right towards the town of Dunblane. "The enemy," says general Wightman, in his account of the battle, "behaved like civil gentlemen, and let us do what we pleased, so that we passed the bridge of Dunblane, posted ourselves very securely, and lay on our arms all night." Mar retired with his army to Ardoch at night, and thence to Perth. Argyle, upon the Monday, sent a party of dragoons to the field of battle, and brought off the wounded, whom he carried to Stirling, where, not having strength sufficient to follow the enemy, he returned with his army. As tokens of victory, he displayed fourteen of the enemy's colours and standards, among which was conspicuous the royal standard, the *restoration*; he had also six pieces of the enemies' cannon, and four of their waggon, with a number of prisoners, among whom were viscount Strathallan and several gentlemen of rank. The number of the rebels killed and wounded in the engagement is variously stated, but what seems nearest the truth, is the

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Argyle again
faces the enemy.The royal
army re-
tires to
Dunblane
— Mar to
Perth.Argyle's
tokens of
victory.

* In his despatch of Nov. 14th, he says, "if they [the rebels] had either had courage or conduct, they might have entirely destroyed my body of foot, but it pleased God to the contrary;" he, however, pays a high compliment to the inferior officers,—“I never saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable.”

† The Macgregors, upon this occasion, kept aloof, Rob Roy being under too many obligations to Argyle to enter into any engagement against him. "There was another thing very observable in that day's service," says Patten, "that one Robert Roy Macgregor, *alias* Campbell, a noted gentleman in former times for bravery, resolution, and courage, was, with his men and followers, within a very little distance from the earl of Mar's army. When he was desired by a gentleman of his own to go and assist his friends, he replied, 'If they could not do it without me they should not do it with me.'"—Hist. of the late Rebellion, p. 213.

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Loss on
both sides.

medium—six hundred; among the former were the Strathmore, Clanronald, and some other persons of distinction; the earl of Panmure, Drummond of Logie, and M'Lean were among the latter. The loss on the king's troops was not much inferior in killed, and prisoners; they allowed six hundred and ten without any great breach of charity, we may safely say was not the maximum. Among the killed were colonels and captain Armstrong, aid-de-camp to the Argyle. Lord Forfar, who acted as brigadier, through the knee and wounded in fourteen different places and died on the 8th December; among the wounded recovered were, the earl of Hay, who received a wound on the side; general Evans, a cut in the head; colonel Hay, shot through the body; and Charles Cockburn, shot through the lord justice-clerk, through the arm.*

Mar claims
the victory.

LXXXVII. Mar also claimed the victory, "Had our second line," said he, in a letter to colonel Balfour, "haved as our right and the rest of our first line destroyed had been complete, but another day is coming. Happily for his country that day never came; the opportunity which his imbecility allowed to slip, no more, but he caused thanksgiving sermons to be read in the church of Perth, the town illuminated, bells rung, every mark of public rejoicing to be exhibited; his opponent was assiduously improving the advantage so unexpectedly acquired, and his friends in the north the south were agonizing under the pangs of sorrow at his defeat."

M'Intosh
proclaims
the pre-
tender at
Inverness.

LXXXVIII. At the commencement of the rebellion M'Intosh surprised Inverness, where he proclaimed the pretender and left a garrison in it under M'Kenzie when he went south. In his progress to join Mar he entered the house of Culloden, he stopped and investigated what arms and ammunition were with

Heroism of
Mrs. For-
bes of Cul-
loden.

Forbes being at London, his lady, a daughter of Gordon of Gordonstoun's, heroically replied, "I will

* Duke of Argyle's despatches.—Gazette. General Wightman's account of the victory, and the earl of Mar's account of the battle, printed

husband had left her the keys of that house, with the custody of what was in it, and she would deliver them to none but himself," and prepared for a vigorous resistance. M'Intosh, when he found he could make no impression on the place, nor terrify its fair defender, turned his plundering banditti loose upon the tenants; unable to assist them herself, she despatched her chamberlain to colonel Munro of Fowlish, who, without a moment's delay, put himself at the head of two hundred men, for her relief; but at the water of Common he found Seaforth with fifteen hundred men ready to dispute the passage, yet he did not desist from his attempt to rescue the lady, till he learned that that nobleman had promised M'Intosh should retire.

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LXXXIX. In the end of the month Seaforth sent a message to sir Robert Munro, who had been for a long while blind, "That he was now designed to execute what he had so long determined, to set king James upon the throne; the matter being now so ripe, as it would be effectuated without stroke of sword," and demanded his arms. Sir Robert replied, "What arms he had were for the use and service of king George, whom he would defend while his blood was warm;" and retaining a strong garrison for the defence of his house, sent the rest of the clan to the bridge of Alness, where the colonel his son had rendezvoused four hundred men. The day following he was joined by lady Ross of Balnagowan's chamberlain, with one hundred and eighty of her tenants, and on the 6th of October the earl of Sutherland and the lords Strathnaver and Reay came to the camp, attended by three hundred of the earl's and three hundred of lord Reay's men, forming altogether a body of twelve hundred, with which they never doubted but they would be able to defend their country, and prevent Seaforth from aiding Mar. But Seaforth had now been reinforced from the isles by sir Donald M'Donald with about seven hundred of his own clan, and a number of the M'Craws, M'Innans, and others he had picked up by the way, which increased his force to about three thousand. Having resolved to attack Sutherland, the earl retreated to his own county before a strong detachment which Duncan Forbes, afterwards lord president, had despatched under captain Grant, to his support,

Seaforth demands sir R. Munro to deliver his arms—his reply.

Preparations to resist Seaforth;

who marches to Perth.

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could reach him; and Seaforth advanced to Perth, along with M'Kenzie of Frazerdale, who had prevailed upon three hundred of the Frazers to follow him.

xc. No sooner had the departure of the rebel chiefs left the communication free between the loyalists, than Sutherland called a meeting of the deputy-lieutenants of the shires in his lieutenancy,* at which it was agreed to send Gordon of Ardoch to London to represent the state of the country,† which he did so successfully, that he returned within a month with a thousand stand of arms; and it was also resolved that a plan which had been projected for the recovery of Inverness by lord Lovat—now returned to take possession of his estates—and Culloden, in conjunction with Duncan Forbes and Rose of Kilravock, should be immediately carried into execution. The Moray gentlemen, Lovat and the Grants, were to attack on the south, the earl of Sutherland, lord Reay, the Munroes and Rosses on the north side of the town, and those who could not furnish men were to find provisions. But before Sutherland or Reay, owing to the distance, could bring up their retainers, Lovat, captain Grant, and the deputy-lieutenants of Moray, had invested the town.‡ Their first attempt at a surprisal through the private passages being defeated by the rashness of captain Rose, the brother of Kilravock—who was killed when too incautiously pressing on the enemy—the besiegers proposed to surround the town and attack from several points at once, for which purpose Lovat took post at the west end of the bridge, captain George Grant on the south side at the entry to Castle Street, and the Moray lieutenants at the east port.

Loyalists
invest In-
verness—
defeated in
their first
attack.

Evacuated
by the re-
bels.

xcI. Sir John M'Kenzie, who perceived their intentions before they had got their arrangements completed, knowing that he was in no situation to offer any effectual resistance, withdrew with his garrison across the Firth, and left the place open to the enemy without a stroke. Colonel Mun-

* He was lord lieutenant of the shires of Caithness, Cromarty, Elgin or Moray, Inverness, Nairne, Ross, Sutherland, and Orkney.

† Culloden Papers, Introd. p. 12.

‡ The deputy lieutenants of Moray were, Kilravock, Lethem, Brodie, sir Archibald Campbell, and Dunphail.

ro, who arrived with a hundred and twenty men a few hours after the place was entered, by virtue of his military rank, took possession of the castle as governor; Lovat's men, the Grants, and the levy from Moray quartering and keeping guard in the town. Soon after, the earl of Sutherland also came with some artillery he had procured from a ship in the firth, which, as they were not needed for the siege, he planted on the castle. To support the garrison, his lordship levied contributions from the lands of the Mackenzies, who, although they had not gone to Mar themselves, had sent their followers. Lovat, Kilravock, and sir Archibald Campbell, made a similar excursion through Moray and Nairne.

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Contributions levied by the loyalists.

xcii. The spirited conduct of Munro, and the formation of the camp at Alness, had detained Seaforth a considerable time from joining the rebels in the south, and may be said to have been one of the chief causes of Mar's failure, as he would not venture to cross the Forth without him. The late proceedings recalled him to the defence of his country, and he was forced to leave the camp at Perth, which was still farther weakened by the departure of the Frazers in a body, at the call of their chief. When he arrived about the 1st of December, he concerted with Huntly an attack upon Inverness, but the earl of Sutherland having notice of the confederacy, determined to reduce the earl of Seaforth before he could receive assistance from the Gordons, and instantly advanced against him with a force of upwards of fifteen hundred men, as far as Gilchrist moor. Seaforth, who, after the battle, could only muster about twelve hundred, made his submission to government, owned king George as his rightful sovereign, and promised to deliver up his arms when required. Sutherland then returned to Inverness, where, in a few days, he received likewise the submission of the marquis of Huntly.

Seaforth returns to the north.

Submits to government.

Huntly also submits.

xciii. Upon the same day that the northern rebels were defeated at Dunblane, the southern rebellion was extinguished at Preston. Lancashire has been the trap which, from the days of the "malignant engagement," to the last rebellion, 1745, has always ensnared and ruined the Scots.

Proceedings of the rebels in England.

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Forster appointed general by the pretender.

Disperse the *posse comitatus*.

The army diminishes.

Delusive prospects.

Thither the combined forces bent their steps.* The first place they entered on the English side was Brampton, a small market town, where Forster opened his commission sent him by the earl of Mar, to act as general in England; and from this time the remaining highlanders, who still followed reluctantly, had sixpence a-day allowed them to prevent their mutiny or desertion. At Penrith they expected to have met with friends, but as they drew near they were informed that lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle were waiting their arrival with the *posse comitatus* to the amount of fourteen thousand men. This undisciplined rabble, however, as soon as their scouts brought them notice that they had drawn up on a common, and were advancing in battle array, dispersed in confusion, shifting each for himself, leaving a considerable booty of horses and arms, and what would have been of more consequence, had the rebels been headed by a man of talents, a spirit of high exultation among the enemy, while they carried with them terror and alarm, which they spread over the whole country. At Penrith they rested to refresh themselves, and seize, as their custom was, the public money. Their next march was to Appleby, but there not being any appearance of the country wishing to favour them, some of the English began to desert, and when they reached Kirby-Lonsdale, they found their numbers rather diminished than increased.

xciv. On their march to Lancaster, however, they were gladdened with intelligence brought by Charles, second brother to lord Widdrington, that the whole gentlemen of the shire were cheerful and zealous, that the pretender had been proclaimed at Manchester, where the citizens had provided arms for a troop of fifty men, besides volunteers, and that their prospects were never more flattering. The highlanders, who had always complained "that the promises of numbers joining" had uniformly come to nothing, gave three huzzas, took courage, and went on. When they ap-

* The rebels were accompanied by a facetious fellow of the name of Guin, who went into all the churches on their way, and scratched out from the prayer books the name of king George, so neatly, and inserted the name of king James VIII. so much resembling print, that the trick could scarcely be perceived. Patten, p. 87.

proached Lancaster, the infamous colonel Charteris, who had a seat in the neighbourhood, proposed to blow up the bridge over the Loyne, which the inhabitants resisted as an unnecessary waste, alleging that the river was passable at fords at low water, both for horse and foot; but a quantity of gunpowder, which the merchants had on sale, was thrown into a "draw-well" in the market place. The rebels then entered without opposition, and found comfortable quarters; for the people, although not remarkably forward, were yet not altogether unfavourable. In the evening a foraging party paid a visit to Charteris's villa, where they regaled themselves with a few bottles of his wine and strong beer, which the colonel, to ingratiate himself with government, magnified into the most horrid excesses; but had his own countrymen been allowed to take vengeance on a wretch they detested as a disgrace to the nation, they would have purified with fire that den of all abominations.

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Enter Lan-
caster.

xcv. At Lancaster they continued two days, when they seized some arms which were in the custom-house, and some claret and brandy; and besides confiscating the public money, they appropriated a sum shipped for a Mr. Hexam, a London merchant and member of parliament, the ship on board which it was not having left the harbour. They also increased their train by six pieces of cannon. Here Buxton, the Derbyshire clergyman left them, being sent off to his own country to bring intelligence respecting the disposition of the gentlemen in that quarter; his place was instantly supplied by William Paul, of St. John's College, Cambridge.* During their stay, their numbers considerably increased, chiefly however with papists, which disgusted their Scottish friends, who expected to have been supported by all the high church party.

Seize the
public mo-
ney, &c.

xcvi. Having received all the addition they could expect in that quarter, they moved from Lancaster to Preston with

Advance to
Preston.

* "He came boldly up to Mr. Forster, as he was at dinner with Mr. Patten, at the recorder of Lancaster's house. He entered the room in a blue coat, with a long wig, and a sword, and Mr. John Cotton of Cambridgeshire, with him; they let him know who they were, and in a flourishing way made a tender of their services for the cause, which Mr. Forster accepting, they withdrew." —Patten, p. 92. Paul was afterwards hanged at Tyburn.

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the intention of afterwards taking possession of Warrington Bridge and the town of Manchester, where they had strong assurances of numbers being ready to swell their ranks ; and by this they hoped to have commanded the wealthy sea-port of Liverpool, and the means of supporting their army or insuring their retreat. Two troops of Stanhope's dragoons and part of a regiment of militia having retired to Wigan, at their approach, their confidence increased, and they were led to imagine the king's forces would not dare to look them in the face. The pretender was of course proclaimed at Preston, and they were joined by a considerable number of influential gentlemen, with their tenants, servants, and attendants, still all papists. By the same fatality which accompanied them throughout, they remained in Preston two days without attempting any thing, utterly ignorant of the positions, movements, or numbers of the royal force which was gathering around them.

Proclaim
the pre-
tender—
joined only
by papists.

Fatal delay.

Liverpool
fortified.

Advance of
the royal
army.

Forster's
injudicious
conduct.

xcvii. Whether by rapid motions they might have panic struck the country, and attained their object, it is useless to conjecture ; their delays gave the inhabitants of Liverpool time to render their city impregnable to any force they could have brought against it. A third part of the approaches were laid under water, and in the avenues which could not be inundated, intrenchments were thrown up bristled with seventy pieces of cannon, while the ships rode in the offing, at such a distance from the shore, that the rebels could not have availed themselves of them even if they had got the town. But now when they attempted it, the arrival of generals Wills and Carpenter had effectually blocked up every road, and on Saturday the 11th, after Forster had given orders for the whole army to march to Manchester, to his indescribable amazement, he heard that general Wills, who commanded in Cheshire, was advancing from Wigan to attack him. Preston is situate on a gentle elevation above the Ribble, and the only access from the south was then across a bridge, the river not being fordable for a considerable way above or below it. Here a hundred choice stout well armed men of M^cIntosh's battalion were stationed, under lieutenant-colonel John Farquharson of Invercale, an excellent and brave officer, who would willingly have defended

the pass to the last, and allowed the rest time to have got out of the place—the only chance left them for escape—but Forster withdrew him, and he entered cheerlessly, to augment the number of victims in the town.

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xcviii. Wills, leaving a regiment of dragoons at Manchester to prevent the disaffected from rising, advanced with five others and a regiment of foot. Finding the bridge, where he anticipated a stout resistance, entirely deserted, he suspected a stratagem; but proceeding cautiously, he was astonished to find that no advantage had been taken of the hedges, lanes, or inclosures, and began to suspect that the enemy had retreated on the Scottish side; but when assured that the whole were collected within the town, he instantly perceived the extent of their blunder, and made his arrangements to avail himself of the folly of their leaders. Occupying the inclosures which Forster had neglected, he disposed his troops in such a manner as that he might either attack the town if he chose, or cut them to pieces if they should sally or attempt to retreat. The rebels, who had without an effort given up every tenable position, applied themselves vigorously to barricade the streets, in each of which were placed two pieces of cannon, and the soldiers were posted in the houses, whence they could annoy the enemy without much danger to themselves. The gentlemen volunteers were stationed in the churchyard under the command of the earl of Derwentwater—who particularly distinguished himself, labouring in the trenches stripped to the waistcoat—viscount Kenmure, and the earls of Winton and Nithsdale. General Forster formed four main barriers; the first a little below the church, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, supported by the gentlemen volunteers; the second at the end of a lane leading to the fields, commanded by lord Charles Murray, the third near a windmill under the direction of colonel Mackintosh, and the last in the street leading to Liverpool, under major Millar and Mr. Douglas.

Wills takes
advantage
of it.

Prepara-
tions for
defending
the town.

xcix. Wills, after reconnoitering, directed two attacks to be made on the opposite entrances of the town, the one in the avenue that led to Wigan, the other on that which lay towards Lancaster. For the first he selected the Cameronian

Attack

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Carpenter
refuses to
grant any
terms.

of which Forster was nominally general, having, together with lord Widdrington and some of the other English gentlemen, prevailed upon Forster to consent to treat, offered his services to manage the capitulation. Pretending intimate acquaintance with some of the king's officers he flattered them with obtaining favourable articles, but the general would listen to no conditions; "rebels," he told him, "could expect no other terms than to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion," and when the colonel intreated for some more propitious reply, the only answer was, "They must submit to the king's mercy; and if they laid down their arms and submitted prisoners at discretion, he would prevent his soldiers from cutting them in pieces till he had further orders, and that he would give them but an hour to consider it." This negotiator being obliged to return with so hopeless a message, captain Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwath, before the hour expired, attempted a separate agreement for the Scots; but Carpenter was inflexible, nor would he so much as give them the smallest hopes of mercy.

An unfor-
tunate ac-
cident.

CII. When the time was expired, and firing had recommenced, colonel Cotton, with a dragoon and a drum beating a chamade, came to the head-quarters of the rebel commanders to receive their final answer; and sent forward the drum to announce the truce at some houses, where the king's soldiers continued firing, but the poor fellow was shot dead in the act, whether accidentally by his own party or not is uncertain; the vanquished, however, as in all doubtful cases, had to bear the blame, and he was reported to have been killed by some of the rebels who were opposed to the sur-
render.

Dispute be-
tween the
English and
Scots as to
a surrender.

The disputes between the English who were willing, and the Scottish rebels who were averse to an unconditional surrender, ran high, and the colonel was sent back to his general, with a request that he would grant them a cessation of arms till seven o'clock next morning, in order to adjust their differences, and promising that they would then yield to necessity, and submit without reserve. This Carpenter acceded to, provided they threw up no more entrenchments in the streets, nor suffered any of the people to escape, and that they sent the chiefs of the English and

Carpenter
accedes to
a delay, on
receiving
hostages.

Scottish as hostages :—colonel Cotton, who returned with this answer, carried back the earl of Derwentwater and brigadier M'Intosh.

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CIII. When the capitulation was announced to the common soldiers, who had not the smallest suspicion of any such negotiations being in progress, their rage was unbounded, and had Forster or Oxburgh appeared in the streets during their first transports, they would have torn them in pieces. As it was, Forster had a narrow escape ; lord C. Murray aimed at him in his own chamber, and had not Patten, who was present, struck up the pistol, he had never carried the capitulation into effect. The streets were a scene of tumult and confusion, one was shot dead and several wounded, only for mentioning a surrender. By seven o'clock, however, next morning, when their fury had settled in sullen despondency, Forster acquainted general Wills that they were ready to give up at discretion. Rage of the soldiers at the capitulation.

CIV. M'Intosh, who was standing by when the message was delivered, said, "he would not answer that the Scots would surrender in that manner, for they were people of desperate fortunes, and that he had been a soldier himself, and knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion." "Then," said Wills, "go to your people again, and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be, I will not spare one man of you." The old brigadier apparently accepted the offer, and went back, but returned in haste, and said, lord Kenmure and the other noblemen would surrender, as did the English ; the bloody alternative, which resolute men in desperate circumstances would have preferred, presented no attractions for them ; who, destitute of the energy which such an enterprise required, had not made up their minds to dare the worst. Having foolishly ventured from a privacy which perhaps they might have adorned, unfitted, either by talents or experience, for the situations they so presumptuously assumed, they were entangled in the fatalities of a devoted house, and after a complicated series of misfortunes and blunders, expiated their rashness and folly in exile or on the scaffold. Scottish noblemen agree to surrender.

CV. Every idea of resistance being abandoned, colonel Cotton.

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Town taken possession of.

ton was sent in to take possession of the town and disarm the rebels. The generals followed with all the pomp of military triumph, Carpenter and Wills at the head of those on the Lancaster side, and brigadier Honeywood from the opposite, both meeting at the market-place where the highlanders were drawn up under arms. The nobility, gentlemen, and officers were first carried to the several inns, and placed in different rooms, with sentinels over them, then the common men laid down their arms, and were put into the church under a sufficient guard. When all were disarmed and secured, general Carpenter sent off the troops he had brought, to Wigan to refresh themselves, and on the fifteenth took his own departure, leaving the care of the prisoners to general Wills.

Number of the troops that surrendered. cvi. Although the rebels in Preston amounted to four thousand at the time the town was invested, the number of prisoners taken were only one thousand four hundred and ninety-seven, including seven noblemen, a number of gentlemen, officers, and two clergymen, Mr. Patten and Mr. Irving. Of these four hundred and seventy-nine were English, among whom were Forster the general, the earl of Derwentwater and his brother, lord Widdrington and two brothers, and Edward Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk, besides sixty-two gentlemen of family. One thousand and twenty-two were Scottish men, and of these, one hundred and forty-three were noblemen, officers, and gentlemen, including the earls of Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wigton, viscount Kenmure, lord Nairn and the master of Nairn, Basil Hamilton, nephew to the duke, and James Dalziel, uncle to the earl of Carnwath; the others were gentlemen of property, not a few of whom were the descendants of the most violent persecutors; nor could even some of themselves avoid remarking when in Newgate, that there appeared in their punishment something very like retributive justice.*

Loss on both sides. cvii. The total loss in the different attacks was as follows:—the king's troops had fifty-six killed, and ninety wounded, among whom were brigadiers Honeywood and Dormer, and majors Bland and Lawson, slightly, lord Forrester three

* Patten's Hist. p. 134.

wounds, captain Ogilvy, son of lord Ogilvy, had a bullet lodged in his side, major Preston was shot through the body, and died in the hands of the rebels; in all one hundred and fifty-six. Of the rebels, there were only seventeen killed, and twenty-five wounded.* Their prisoners, however, suffered for this disparity; the common men were disposed of chiefly by the hands of the executioners, or sold as slaves to the plantations; the higher ranks were sent to London, and entered the capital pinioned like the lowest and vilest of criminals, amid the execrations of the mob, numbers of whom marched before them, beating upon warming-pans, and exclaiming, "no warming-pan bastards!" The noblemen were, with some of the most distinguished gentlemen, conveyed to the Tower; Forster, M'Intosh, and about seventy more, were lodged for trial in Newgate, sixty in the Marshalsea, and seventy-two in the Fleet. The process with the half-pay officers was shorter. Lord Charles Murray, younger son of the duke of Athol, major Nairn, captain Philip Lockhart, brother to Lockhart of Carnwath, captain John Shaftoe, ensign Erskine and ensign Dalziel,† who came under this description, were tried by a court-martial as deserters, and condemned to be shot; they pled in bar of judgment, that their half-pay was a reward for services done in the reign of queen Anne, that they had never been officers under king George, having taken out no new commissions, and therefore not liable to a court-martial; but the objection was overruled, and they were, with the exception of Dalziel, who had thrown up his commission before he engaged in the rebellion, condemned to be shot; and although, when their sentence was under the consideration of the privy council, the lord chancellor declared he did not think them amenable to martial law, and was supported in his opinion by the duke of Marlborough, yet the sentence was carried into execution against

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Disposal of
the prisoners.

Half-pay
officers tried
by a
court-martial.

Sentenced
to be shot.

* Among the wounded, was captain Peter Farquharson of Rocheby, "a gentleman of an invincible spirit and almost inimitable bravery, being shot through the bone of his leg, he was brought to the White Bull to have it amputated; when he entered he took a glass of brandy and said, 'Come lads, here is our master's health; though I can do no more I wish you good success.' His leg was cut off by an unskilful butcher rather than a surgeon, and he presently died." Patten, p. 104.

† Patten says he was a captain.

BOOK XXV. four, lord Charles Murray alone, through the interest of friends, being reprieved.*

1715.

Reflec-
tions.

CVIII. Thus the hopes of the English jacobites were extinguished; and the whole details of this ill-conducted, baleful expedition might have taught the admirers of the house of Stuart, and of hereditary right, how little reliance was to be placed upon the blustering of the tories; how entirely desperate was their cause, and what a miserable minority they were who espoused it. From this consummation, we might naturally have supposed, that in such an interest the Scots would not again have been easily deceived, but the experience of their fathers is lost upon the multitude; and not thirty years elapsed before they were deluded by similar professions, and led on to ruin in the same direction.

Dutch
troops ar-
rive in
England.

Sent to
Scotland

CIX. To add to the misfortunes or mischances of the rebels, on the 16th of this unlucky month, three thousand of the Dutch auxiliaries landed at Deptford, and with a body of troops from the north of England, which the suppression of the rebellion in that quarter enabled the government to spare, marched directly for Scotland to reinforce the duke of Argyle; the other three thousand who had proceeded northward, were dispersed in a storm, five of the vessels lost, and the rest forced to put into Harwich, Yarmouth, and other harbours on the English coast, where the troops upon disembarking, also immediately received orders to proceed to the scene of action. Government being now determined to crush the rebellion in the north as quickly as possible, general Cadogan was despatched to assist Argyle, followed by brigadier Petit with six engineers; and a fine train of artillery was shipped from the Tower, which was however never needed.

Mar's 'nac-
tivity,

CX. Highlanders, even at this day, when well disciplined, inherit so much of the ancient spirit of the Gaël, that they are always most formidable in an assault; but then [1715] an inactive campaign to them was destruction. Mar, who ought to have known this feature in the highland character—to the proper management of which Montrose and Dundee

* Lockhart's Papers, vol. i. p. 496. State trials.—Lord Winton's Complete Hist. of the late Rebellion, p. 85. Patten's Hist. p. 99, *et seq.*

owed all their success—instead of putting forth his strength in the field, and by the rapidity of his movements, overwhelming his adversary, whose numbers were so unequal, reposed on his laurels in Perth, and allowed his men to brood over what—notwithstanding all his assertions—his irresolute timidity must have convinced them was a real defeat; nor could he conceal from them the disasters of Preston and of Inverness, which appear to have paralyzed what little energy he had, and sunk his followers so deep in despondency, that they proposed capitulating. To prevent them doing so separately, he was forced to send proposals to Argyle: Argyle transmitted these proposals to court, but the answer returned was to pursue the rebels with undiminished activity. Apprized of the preparations of government, Mar continued to fortify the town, and establish a magazine; the whole country was assessed for meal, blankets, and coals, as if he had intended to defend the place to the last; but he had already resolved to abandon it on the approach of the enemy, although he calculated that the severity of the season would for a while retard their movements.*

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1715.
Despondency of
his troops.

His offer to
capitulate
refused.

cx1. About the same time—the beginning of December—that the Dutch and English reinforcements for Argyle began to arrive, M'Donald of Keppoch joined Mar, whose ranks thinned by the loss of Seaforth, Huntly, and the Frazers. were daily melting away by desertion;—the clansmen preferring the indolence of their mountains to the weariness of garrison-duty, where there were no prospects either of glory or plunder. At the same date, a striking symptom of decline displayed itself among the rebels in Burntisland. Argyle had sent orders to the commodore on the Leith station to cannonade that port, which he did for upwards of an hour with one vessel, when the garrison, imagining that this was preparatory to a descent by the Dutch or Swiss, precipitately quitted the place, leaving behind them six pieces of cannon, some small arms, and a considerable quantity of salt beef, oatmeal, butter, cheese, and other provisions. This dread of the foreign forces extended to some

Joined by
Keppoch.

Burntisland cannonaded—the rebels leave it.

* Mar's Journal, printed at Paris, and reprinted as an appendix to Patten's Hist. and in Tindal.

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1715.

Fife freed
from them.

other petty garrisons in Fife, all of which were deserted with equal precipitation; the places abandoned were immediately entered by the king's troops. Argyle, when informed of their success, ordered three battalions of the Dutch to cross at Queensferry, and quarter at Inverkeithing and the neighbourhood, under the direction of colonel Cathcart, who was stationed at Dunfermline with a respectable detachment. Fife being thus freed from the rebels, the earl of Rothes began to raise the militia, and the ministers who had fled to avoid being carried to Perth, returned to their charges.

Arrival of
the pretender.

CXII. Difficulties were now daily accumulating around the unfortunate Mar; the king's forces were increasing, while his own were diminishing, the whole power of government was now directed against him, while his resources were exhausted, and he already appeared to have been meditating flight, when the arrival of the pretender gave a temporary excitation to his spirits. He expected that all who had gone home would return to their colours, and that those who before had declined appearing for an absent prince, would now, as they had promised, rise when he was come among them; but the most cheering circumstance was, the belief that he was the precursor of what they were greatly distressed for, money, arms, and ammunition;*—but in all he was miserably disappointed.

He lands
at Peter-
head.

CXIII. The chevalier had several times gone on board vessels laden with military stores for his service; but not daring to venture when his embarkation was known, he went privately to Dunkirk with the marquis of Tinemouth, son to the duke of Berwick, lieutenant Cameron, and a few others, and obtained a passage in a small vessel, formerly a privateer, laden with brandy, which sailed ostensibly for Norway, but steered direct for Peterhead; where, after a voyage of seven days, he landed on the twenty-second December, and the vessel, without stopping, returned to carry to France the news of his safe arrival. Lieutenant Cameron was instantly

* Mar says, in his journal, "at this time they had not three hundred pound weight of gun powder for the whole army." "Some gold was sent to us in lingo, but the ship was stranded, and the gold lost." *Mar's Journal ut supra*, p. 157.

sent off express to the earl of Mar with the agreeable intelligence ; and on the twenty-sixth, his lordship, accompanied by the earl Marischal, general Hamilton, and about thirty " persons of quality," with a guard of horse, set out to attend him. They met at Feteresso* on the twenty-seventh, where the pretender discovered himself, he and his attendants having hitherto travelled *incognito* as sea-officers ; and the chiefs had the honour of kissing his hand, and proclaiming him king at the gate of the house.

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1715.

Mar meets
and pro-
claims him
at Feter-
esso.

cxiv. Immediately after, general Hamilton was despatched to France as his envoy, to announce officially his reception in his ancient kingdom, and solicit instant supplies; meanwhile his ephemeral majesty was seized with an aguish distemper which detained him some days, but he employed his valetudinary hours in receiving addresses from the episcopalian clergy of the diocess, and the legal magistrates of the burgh of Aberdeen. The nature of the clerical address will be easily comprehended from a few sentences : after professions of thankfulness to God for the great mercy of his majesty's safe and happy arrival, and prayers that the blinded eyes of his prejudiced enemies might be opened, it proceeds—" Almighty God has been pleased to train up your majesty, from your infancy, in the school of the Cross, in which the divine grace inspires the mind with true wisdom and virtue, and guards it against those false blandishments by which prosperity corrupts the heart ; and as this school has sent forth the most illustrious princes, as Moses, Joseph, and David, so we hope the same infinitely wise and good God designs to make your majesty not only a blessing to your own kingdoms, and a true father of them, but also a great instrument of the general peace and good of mankind. Your princely virtues are such, that in the esteem of the best judges you are worthy to wear a crown, though you had not been born to it ; which makes us confident that it will be your majesty's care to make your subjects a happy people, and so to secure them in their religion, liberties, and property, as to leave no just ground of distrust, and to unite us all in true

Address of
the clergy
of the dio-
cess of
Aberdeen.

* A seat of the earl Marischal's, which Montrose had burned when fighting for Charles I. and which was destined to be forfeited in the cause of his grandson.

BOOK XXV. Christianity according to the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the practice of the primitive Christians !”

1715. The loyal production of the civic rulers being short I shall insert it entire.

Of the magistrates of the town.

“ To the king’s most excellent majesty—we your ever loyal and dutiful subjects, the magistrates, town council, and others, your majesty’s loyal subjects, citizens of Aberdeen, do heartily congratulate your arrival to this your native hereditary kingdom. Heaven very often enhances our blessings by disappointments ; and your majesty’s safe arrival after such a train of difficulties, and so many attempts, makes us not doubt but that God is propitious to your just cause. As your majesty’s arrival was seasonable, so it was surprising. We were happy and we knew it not. We had the blessing we wished for, yet insensible till now that your majesty has been pleased to let us know that we are the happiest, and, so we shall always endeavour to be the most loyal of—May it please your majesty,” &c.

His answer.

cxv. To both the chevalier shortly answered, that he was sensible of their zeal and loyalty, wished for opportunities to give the clergy marks of his favour, and desired the burghesses to assure themselves of his protection ; as a mark of his satisfaction, he was graciously pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on provost Bannerman, who presented the address. Having recovered, he left Feteresso, January the second, and taking Brechin, Kinnaird, and Glamis in his road, resting at each a night, on Friday, about eleven o’clock in the forenoon, he made his public entry into Dundee, with a retinue of three hundred gentlemen and guards upon horseback, the earl of Mar riding on his right, and earl Marischal on his left. At the request of his friends, he exhibited himself for about an hour in the market-place, and gratified all who chose or could get near, with a kiss of the royal paw. He then dismounted, and dined at Stuart of Garntully’s, whence, on Saturday, he went to Castle-Lion, a seat of the earl of Strathmore, where he also dined. That night he slept at sir David Triplin’s, and took possession of the palace of Scoone on Sabbath, January the eighth. But his intolerable bigotry would not admit of any religious service being performed by protestants, not even by his devoted

He arrives at Dundee.

At Scoone.

non-juring episcopalians ; the halls rung with the “ Pater Nosters” of father Innes, while Leslie himself, whom he had created a bishop, was not so much as allowed to say grace. BOOK
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cxvi. Monday the ninth, he made his public entry into Perth, reviewed some of the troops, with whose appearance he was highly delighted, and admired much the highland garb, which he had never seen before. In the evening he returned to the ancient residence of Scottish royalty, and named his council. Imitating his father, he opened it in a speech, of which, however, the tone was somewhat different:—“I am now,” said he, “on your repeated invitation, come among you. No other argument need be used of the great confidence I place in your loyalty and fidelity to me, which I entirely rely on. I believe you are already convinced of my good intentions to restore the ancient laws and liberty of the kingdom. If not, I am still ready to confirm to you the assurance of doing all that I can to give you satisfaction therein. The great discouragements which presented were not sufficient to deter me from coming to put myself at the head of my faithful subjects who were in arms for me ; and whatsoever shall ensue, I shall leave them no room for complaint that I have not done the utmost they could expect from me. Let those who forget their duty, and are negligent of their own good, be answerable for the worst that may happen. For me it will be no new thing if I am unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has been a series of misfortunes, and I am prepared—if it so please God—to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours. The preparations which are making against us will, I hope, quicken your resolution, and convince others from whom I have assurances, that it is now no time to dispute what they have to do. If otherwise, they shall by their remissness, be unmindful of their own safety ; I shall take it as my greatest comfort that I have acquitted myself of whatever can be expected from me. I recommend to you what is necessary to be done in the present conjuncture, and, next to God, rely on your counsel and resolution.” The character of the man imparts a character to his speeches ; what, in the mouth of a brave and energetic though unfortunate prince, would be the lan-

Enters
Perth.

His speech
to his coun-
cil.

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First acts
of his go-
vernment.His aver-
sion to the
coronation
oath.Argyle's
prepara-
tions for
the siege
of Perth.

guage of pious resignation, when spoken by an indolent priest-ridden pretender, comes under a very different denomination.

cxvii. His first acts of government were the issuing six idle proclamations:—for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; for praying for him in churches; for the currency of foreign coins; for summoning a meeting of the convention of estates; for all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his standard; and for his coronation, which he fixed to take place on the twenty-third of January. Excepting the two first, which were partially carried into effect where the rebel troops lay, these proclamations, like some of his great grandfather's, were more the objects of ridicule than of obedience; the last gave rise to discussions which divided his petty cabinet and alienated his best friends;* he showed an invincible reluctance to comply with the usual form of the coronation oath—obliging the sovereign to maintain the established religion,—and the ceremony was in consequence delayed till the advance of Argyle set “his majesty's” conscience at rest upon the subject.

cxviii. Strengthened by the reinforcements from England and Holland, Argyle was now as superior to his opponent in number as in discipline and equipment; but as Mar had assiduously fortified Perth, and was daily casting up new entrenchments, the duke—after waiting for the artillery and stores from London, which lay wind-bound in the Thames, and seeing no prospect of its speedy arrival from the continuance of the storm—sent fifteen hundred draught horses and five hundred men, to procure a battering train from the garrison of Berwick, which, with what he obtained from Edinburgh castle, and what he had before, made a formidable show of twenty-four pieces of cannon, four mortars, and two howitzers; waggons also were prepared for carrying fourteen days provisions for the troops. The winter having been uncommonly severe, and the snow lying deep on the ground, pioneers were likewise procured, and the

* The episcopal ladies in particular, were highly displeased; they had believed that he was either a protestant, or nearly one, and had excited their husbands to take arms upon this supposition, but when they found him so untractable, their zeal cooled mightily.—Rae's Hist. p. 360.

country people employed to clear the roads and cut a passage for the army.

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CXIX. All the preparations for the siege were, however, superfluous, the rebels had already resolved on retreating; but on purpose to keep up the delusion among friends as well as foes, that they intended to defend Perth to the last, the pretender issued the following order, useless as barbarous:—"James R. Whereas it is absolutely necessary for our service and the public safety, that the enemy should be as much incommoded as possible, especially upon their march towards us, if they should attempt any thing against us or our forces; and seeing this can by no means be better effected than by destroying all the corn and forage which may serve to support them on their march, and burning the houses and villages which may be necessary for quartering the enemy, which, nevertheless, it is our meaning should only be done in case of absolute necessity, concerning which we have given our full instructions to James Graham, younger of Braco. These are, therefore, ordering and requiring you, how soon this order shall be put into your hands by the said James Graham, forthwith, with the garrison under your command, to burn and destroy the village of Auchterarder, and all the houses, corn, and forage whatsoever, within the said town, so as they may be rendered entirely useless to the enemy: For doing whereof this shall be to you, and all you employ in the execution hereof, a sufficient warrant. Given at our court of Scoon, this seventeenth day of January, in the fifteenth year of our reign 1715-16; signed, by his majesty's command, MAB, and addressed to colonel Patrick Graham, or the commanding officer for the time of our garrison of Tullibardine."

Pretender's barbarous proclamation.

CXX. Notwithstanding the duke had received artillery, his march was retarded by the want of artillery men, till the arrival of colonel Borgard with the English train, who, leaving his guns at Leith, joined the army at Stirling with his gunners and engineers, on the twenty-ninth. His grace had previously, after holding a council of war, sent out a strong detachment of horse and foot, under general Cadogan, to take post at Dunblane, with instructions to push forward his

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1716.
Carried in-
to effect.

Argyle ar-
rives at
Auchter-
arder.

Mar calls a
council of
war.

advance to Doune, two miles nearer Perth.* On the twenty-fourth the commander-in-chief and the lieutenant-general, with a numerous escort, inspected the roads as far as Auchterarder, which so alarmed the rebels, that their smaller garrisons retired in consternation behind the river Earn, and Mar ordered out three thousand highlanders from those of Braco and Tullibardine, who, pursuant to the inhuman orders of the seventeenth, committed to the flames the villages of Auchterarder, Crief, Blackfoord, Dunning, and Muthil,—an inhuman policy which inflicted wanton misery upon the inhabitants, and turned the aged and helpless to wander starving and houseless on the heath, without retarding the king's army, part of whom only suffered the inconvenience of bivouacking for a night. The moment Argyle was joined by the artillery corps, he left Stirling, and on the thirtieth the army rested for the night among the smoking ruins of Auchterarder.

cxxi. Although Mar and some of the chiefs had determined on retreating, they had not communicated their intentions to the officers in general; but as it became necessary, upon the advance of the king's army, to take immediate steps, a council was summoned *pro forma* to deliberate. The highlanders, as at Preston, were eager for fighting, and their arguments were the same:—that they could never expect to meet the enemy to greater advantage, who every day as they rolled on, like the snow from the mountains, would accumulate strength, while they themselves were rapidly melting away. Mar, who now felt his total incompetence for the task he had undertaken, strongly insisted upon a retreat, not for the purpose of fighting, but of reserving themselves

* Coxce, in his *Life of the duke of Marlborough* has inserted some letters of general Cadogan's, which appear at variance with the statement in the text, in which the general claims the whole merit of the campaign to himself; he represents Argyle as tardy and anxious to invent excuses for inaction—a conduct he certainly did not evince at the battle of Sheriff-muir, when, with four thousand, he hastened to meet ten—but it ought to be recollected that Argyle and Marlborough were decided opponents, and Cadogan was an élève of the latter, who at that time was captain-general in England, and had an extent of military patronage which Argyle did not possess; the subsequent unmerited disgrace of Argyle, which that party effected, renders all their previous communications liable to suspicion.

for some more favourable opportunity. Nor did he conceal their desperate situation; "his great expectation," he said, "had been from the duke of Ormond landing in England, as had been concerted between his grace and himself, but their designs had been betrayed, and when the duke landed he found his friends so discouraged, that it was impossible to rouse them. He was therefore obliged to return to France, where preparations were making to enable him to make a descent with such power as would protect all loyal subjects; but in the meantime this had left the whole power of England free to fall upon Scotland, and stopped the succour they expected from abroad." These arguments weighed little with the clans; a strong debate ensued, in which the mountain chiefs warmly urged to measure swords with the enemy, till Mar and some of his counsellors, who were now convinced the better part of valour was discretion, adjourned the council till next morning; but within a few hours he assembled a select number, and prevailed upon them to agree that it was more expedient to retire than to fight; the men were told that they were only falling back upon Aberdeen, where they expected supplies, and next morning they abandoned Perth. James, at once disrobed of his unthroned majesty, wept like a child, and as he followed his flying adherents, upbraided them with having deceived him, "for instead of bringing him to a crown, they had brought him to his grave."

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1716.

Delibera-
tions.

Abandons
Perth.

CXXII. A party of Argyleshire men, under Campbell of Fanab, and Campbell of Lawers, who had been stationed by the duke in the earl of Breadalbane's lands, to prevent the disaffected there from joining the rebels—an important service which they effectively performed—were now ordered with a party of his own highlanders to meet the army at Perth, where his grace arrived with the horse about one o'clock in the morning of the first of February; he immediately sent them forward as an advance to Dundee, which they entered only a few hours after the rebels had left it.*

Argyle pur-
sues.

* It is strange to observe how party spirit can misrepresent the most laudable actions of an opponent; general Cadogan thus represents a conduct which it is difficult to conceive how he could avoid praising, "since the rebels leaving Perth, he [Argyle] has sent for five or six hundred of his Argyleshire men, who go before the army a day's march, to take possession of the towns the

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The troops
finally
disperse.

bel army; the main body of which outmarching the king's troops sent to intercept them, took a westerly route through Strathspey and Strathdon to the hills of Badenoch, where they separated:—the foot dispersing among the mountains on this side the Lochy, and the horse proceeding to dismiss in Lochaber.

Numbers
reach two
French
frigates.

cxxvi. Learning, however, that two French frigates rode in the Pentland Frith, waiting their directions, lord Duffus, sir George Sinclair, general Eckline, and about one hundred and sixty gentlemen, made a sally from the hills, and crossing the shire of Moray to near Burgh-head, they seized some small boats at the village, but finding them unfit to carry so many across that dangerous passage, they put into Dunbeath, where they hired two large barques, in which sixty of them got to one frigate, the others pressed a coasting vessel, and by this means they were all safely shipped. The frigates, to avoid danger, steered directly for the Bal-

Are landed
at Gotten-
burgh—en-
ter the
Swedish
service.

tic, and landed the whole at Gottenburgh, where a majority entered into the king of Sweden's service, who was then preparing for his expedition to Norway, and was enraged against the king of England, who, as elector of Hanover, had ungenerously taken advantage of his misfortunes, and, under the pretext of mediation, had swindled him out of Bremen and Verden.* Lord Duffus going to Hamburgh, was demanded by the British envoy, and delivered up by the senate. A number of the chiefs, however, had not been able to accompany their friends, and continued lurking among the hills or in the islands; the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Marischal, Southesk, Linlithgow, and Seaforth, who had again taken arms, fled to the north; lord Tinemouth and sir Donald Macdonald went over to the Hebrides, whence they afterwards procured the means of transport to France.

Tullibar-
dine, &c.
get to
France.Argyle's
moderation
not agree-
able to the
govern-
ment.

cxxvii. Argyle took up his quarters in Aberdeen two days after the rebels left it, having reduced Dunnottar castle in his way. With a moderation which does not appear to have been agreeable to the government, he spared the vanquished, and after the heads of the conspiracy had escaped,

* Hist. de Charles XII. Campbell's Life of John, duke of Argyle, p. 256.

he did not pursue, with merciless rigour, their deluded retainers; yet he provided for the security of the country, by distributing the troops in such a manner as to prevent the disaffected from again re-assembling, had they shown any inclination. He garrisoned Aberdeen, Inverness, Glasgow, Perth, Dunkeld, Dundee, and Montrose, and strengthened Fort William,* Dunbarton, and Edinburgh; while brigadier Grant and lord Lovat placed their own men in the earl of Seaforth's house at Brahan, Chisholm's at Erchles, and M'Intosh's at Borlam.

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Secures the
country.

ccxvii. Seeing the campaign brought to so successful a close, his grace returned to Edinburgh, to assist at the election of a peer, in the room of the marquis of Tweeddale, who had died a short time before, and left Cadogan in command. He was magnificently entertained the day after his arrival by the public authorities, who were deeply sensible of the high service he had done both to the capital and the kingdom; and on the sixth of March he set out for London. But his calumniators, Marlborough's spies, had been before him; yet he was graciously received at court, nor had any intimation of the low intrigues that were forming against him.

His recep-
tion at
Edinburgh.

at court.

ccxviii. About the end of February, general Cadogan visited Inverness, resolving to pass through the hills, and effectually put down the clans who still remained in arms. He also despatched colonel Cholmondely to Lewis, where brigadier Campbell of Ormundel, an old soldier lately arrived from Muscovy, was at the head of a considerable number of Seaforth's men; the island was reduced without a skirmish, and Campbell himself made prisoner.† Another par-

Lewis and
Skye re-
duced.

* The garrison of Inverlochy or Fort William was a grievous eye-sore to the rebels in the neighbourhood, who durst not march south under the risk of having their lands laid waste in their absence. Lochiel's men, and the M'Leans and M'Donalds, attempted to surprise it before they proceeded to Inverary, and carried a covered way and two redoubts sword in hand; but the main body being on the alert, they withdrew for Argyleshire, having taken a lieutenant, a serjeant, and twenty-five men. Rae's Hist. p. 223.

† The sturdy old brigadier, who wished to show face, had determined to wait in battle array for the enemy, but the Hebrideans being of a different mind, forsook him on their approach. Enraged at such pusillanimity, when his men fled he refused to accompany them, but remained fixed to the spot where he had

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Vessels
with stores
arrive at
the isles.

ty under colonel Clayton, was sent to the isle of Skye in quest of sir Donald M'Donald; he easily induced the inhabitants to lay down their arms, but sir Donald himself took refuge in France.

cxxix. When all was over, three ships arrived at the isles with military stores, but the chiefs were not disposed to risk the remainder of their men against a regular force, and they departed without unloading. Two of them, carrying off seventy gentlemen who were under hiding, fortunately reached a French port; the third, which had fifty chests of small arms and one hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder on board, was captured by the Lively near the island Ouest.

Arms par-
tially de-
livered up.

cxxx. An order was soon after sent from court to the general, for him to cause be read in every parish church a proclamation, "requiring the rebels to surrender themselves, assuring such of the common people as had been in the rebellion, that, upon delivering up their arms to his majesty's forces, they should have liberty to return home in safety and at the same time certifying those who stood out and kept their arms by them, and were found resisting the authority of the government, that they should be reduced with rigour." Throughout the lowlands, the common people general complied with the requisition, delivered up the weapons, and were allowed to return to their regular occupations without annoyance; some of the highland clans however refusing to submit, detachments of troops were sent among them forcibly to take away their arms; but government allowing the militia of the county also to be employed in the service, the measure was but very partially carried into effect. Yet a general appearance of submission was produced, and Cadogan, who congratulated himself upon his effective proceedings, leaving the command of the army to general Skene, departed for London, and the Dutch auxiliaries, with their general Vanderbek, were sent home.* Thus terminated

End of the
rebellion.

drawn them up; and disdaining to turn his back to an enemy, was actually taken standing alone in a charging posture. Rae's Hist. p. 373.

* The only action in which the Dutchmen were engaged, was in the beginning of January, when the earl of Rothes, with a company of volunteers and Dutch, attempted to possess themselves of the palace of Falkland. The

nated a rebellion, begun without concert, carried on without energy, and concluded without honour.

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CXXXI. It remains now only to give some account of the fate of the leaders, and the humbler crowd of prisoners. Parliament met in the month of January, when the king, to quicken the proceedings against the rebels, informed them he had reason to believe that the pretender was actually in Scotland; and at the same time promised that he would give up all the estates that should become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, in order to defray the extraordinary expense which it had occasioned. The commons, in return, declared, that they thought themselves obliged in justice to their injured country, to prosecute in the most rigorous and impartial manner, the authors of these destructive counsels which had drawn down such mischiefs upon the nation:—a declaration they speedily followed up [Jan. 9.] by expelling Forster from the house, and impeaching the earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Winton; and lords Widdrington, Kenmure, and Nairn. The day following, they were brought to the bar of the house of lords, where the articles of impeachment were read, and they were ordered to answer on the sixteenth, but the time being considered too short, at their own request it was extended to the nineteenth, and in the case of the earl of Winton, to the twenty-third; in the interim, the marquis of Tullibardine, the earls of Mar and Linlithgow, and lord John Drummond were attainted.

Proceedings of parliament against the rebels.

CXXXII. At the expiration of the time, their lordships again appeared before the bar of the upper house, and severally pleaded guilty to the charge, only alleging their inconsiderate rashness in extenuation of their guilt, and February the ninth was appointed as the day for their receiving sentence. On the twenty-first, his majesty, in giving his assent for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus, announced the fact, that the pretender was actually in Scotland, exercising all the functions of royalty, a cir-

Peers plead guilty.

rels, who had got intelligence of their design, threw a body of men into the place, and sent another to surround his lordship in a village not far distant. The earl, however, and the volunteers contrived by some means to escape, but the Dutch were made prisoners. Campbell's Life of the Duke of Argyle, p. 246.

BOOK XXV.
1716. cumstance fatal to the hopes of the unfortunate noblemen in the Tower. When brought up to receive sentence, they repeated the same plea, humbly implored his majesty's pardon, and expressed their reliance upon his mercy, in the hope of which they had surrendered; they besought the intercession of the peers and commons, promising to the end of their lives to evince, by their dutiful obedience, the gratitude they should ever entertain for the royal clemency.

Sentenced. The chancellor Cowper, who presided as lord high steward, after an affecting and impressive speech, exhibiting their guilt in involving the realm in so much bloodshed without consideration, as an aggravation of their crime of rebellion, pronounced upon them the usual doom of traitors; but intimated, that in the case of persons of their rank the most ignominious and revolting part of the punishment was usually dispensed with.

**Solicita-
tions in
their fa-
vour,**

CXXXIII. Great interest and numerous solicitations were made with the court and the members of parliament, in behalf of the condemned nobles. On the thirteenth, the countess of Nithsdale, and lady Nairn, having concealed themselves behind a window curtain in one of the rooms of St. James' palace, watched an opportunity, as the king was passing through the chamber, to throw themselves at his feet, and implore his mercy. This abrupt and irregular application—for they were not introduced—surprised and irritated his majesty, and was altogether ineffectual, as was a more respectful application from the countess of Derwentwater, who, attended by her sister, and accompanied by the duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, and several other ladies of the first rank, was introduced into the king's bed-chamber by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans, where she humbly implored the royal clemency for her husband. On the twenty-second, the house of lords, induced by petitions from the noblemen themselves, and the earnest solicitation of their ladies, presented an address to the king, requesting a reprieve, to which his reply was equally discouraging, "That on this, and on all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of his crown and the safety of his people."

**refused by
the king.**

CXXXIV. Next day warrants were signed for the execution

of the earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and viscount Kenmure, on the morrow ; but Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn, were respited till the seventh of March, and eventually pardoned. Nithsdale owed his safety to the ingenuity of his lady, and the strength of her conjugal affection.* Derwentwater and Kenmure suffered on Tower-hill on the twenty-fourth of February, in pursuance of their sentence. Derwentwater, who was supposed at the time to have been unwillingly drawn into the rebellion, expressed upon the scaffold, his conviction of the right of the pretender to the crown of these realms; expressed his regret at having pleaded guilty to a charge of treason against king George, as he had never owned any other as his lawful sovereign than king James. He received the fatal stroke with firmness, but his fate drew tears from the sympathising spectators, who could not forbear weeping over a young nobleman of immense property, who had hitherto, without mingling much in politics, lived in the true style of ancient baronial hospitality upon his own estates, spending among his tenants the produce of their labours ; who gave bread to many hundreds of miners—none of whom did he constrain to follow him to the field—whose benevolence was extensive, and whose loss was felt by the poor, the widow, and the fatherless throughout the extensive district where his estates were situated. But he was a papist and a rebel, and in the state of public feeling and alarm, it was deemed impolitic to spare him. Kenmure made no speech ; he left, however, a letter addressed to the pretender, declaring that he died for his faithful services to “his majesty,” and hoped the cause for which he suffered would thrive and flourish when he was no more. He was an amiable nobleman, of a calm mild temper, well acquainted with public business, but an utter stranger to military affairs. He died a member of the Scottish episcopal church. The earl of Winton pled also guilty, and was sentenced to be executed, but his execution being deferred, he escaped from the Tower to the continent, where dying unmarried at the advanced age of seventy, one of the

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Nithsdale
rescued ;

Derwent-
water and
Kenmure
suffer

Earl of
Winton
escapes.

* Vide Appendix.

BOOK XXV. most ancient noble families in Lothian became extinct in the direct line.

1716. cxxxv. Meanwhile a commission of oyer and terminer was made out for trying the prisoners who had been kept in Lancashire, which opened at Liverpool on the twelfth of January. The grand jury, as there was no difficulty in the case, having found true bills against forty-eight, they were served with indictments, and the court adjourned for eight days. During this interval, bills were found against one hundred and thirteen more, of whom forty were Scottishmen. The court again met on the twentieth of January, and continued sitting till the ninth of February, when they finished. Of seventy-four persons who were tried, sixty-seven were condemned, and seven acquitted.

Trials in Lancashire.

cxxxvi. As the rebels or their friends had incautiously boasted that government durst not take the life of one of them, nor even proceed criminally against so great a number, the judges ordered for execution five at Preston on the twenty-eighth of January, seven on the ninth of February, seven on the tenth at Wigan, seven on the eleventh at Manchester, one of whom, Tom Liddal a blacksmith, distinguished by the name of the mob captain, had his head affixed on the cross; three were executed at Liverpool, four at Garstang, and four at Lancaster; in all thirty-seven. Convinced of their mistake, with regard to the arm of the law, the remaining prisoners petitioned for transportation, which was mercifully granted; and when the court broke up, they were handed over to the merchants in Liverpool for sale in the plantations!

Executions, &c.

Proceedings against the prisoners in London. cxxxvii. There remained still, however, the prisoners in the Marshalsea, Newgate, and the Fleet; these having been taken in rebellion in Preston, the law required that they should be tried in the county where the offence was committed, but the expense and inconvenience which this would have occasioned, was considerable. To obviate this difficulty, a bill was brought into parliament for the more speedy trial of such persons as had levied war against his majesty during the late rebellion, authorizing courts to be held in Southwark for trying the prisoners in the Marshalsea, and constituting

a commission for trying those in Newgate and the Fleet at the court of common pleas at Westminster. The commission met on the seventh of April, and continued their proceedings, though with various adjournments, till the latter end of July. On the first day, bills of indictment were found against general Forster, brigadier M'Intosh, and twenty more. A week was allowed them to prepare their defences, Forster employed the interval in preparing for flight, and took wing on the tenth at midnight. A reward of a thousand pounds was immediately offered for his apprehension; his measures, however, had been too well laid, for the very day on which he left prison, he arrived in France. The keeper of Newgate, Mr. Potts, was tried for criminally aiding or conniving, but was acquitted.

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CCXXXVIII. The others when brought up for trial, pleaded not guilty, and on their petition had three weeks granted for producing their pleas; they, like Forster, improved them for contriving their escape, which brigadier M'Intosh, with fifteen others, accomplished on the night of the fourth of May, by knocking down the keeper of Newgate and the under turnkey, from whom they took the keys and opened the door; several of them, however, mistaking the streets, were re-taken, but the chiefs got clear, although a thousand pounds reward was offered for the apprehension of M'Intosh, and five hundred for each of the others. The court proceeded with the trials of the rest on the day affixed, commencing with Oxburgh, who was found guilty, and had his head set up on Temple-bar. On the 16th, Thomas Hale of Otterburn and Robert Talbot, were also found guilty, as was Mr. Gascoigne, all of whom were reprieved except Gascoigne, who suffered at Tyburn; and on the fourth of July, thirty were tried who pleaded guilty—in which number was Paul the clergyman—and were likewise respited—only Hall and the chaplain were afterwards executed in the most cruelly aggravated circumstances. When the king went to the continent, he left the prisoners in the high hope, if not absolute certainty, of a free pardon; but one of the first acts of the prince as regent, was to sign death warrants for the execution of twenty-four; after thus most unjustifiably sporting with the feelings of these unhappy men, twenty-two, gent.

Borlame
breaks prison.

Fate of the
rest.

Inhumanity of the
prince re-

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who had suffered all the bitterness of death, were respited again, and finally dismissed;—the other two were carried to Tyburn, professing to exult in the cause for which Paul affirmed they were martyred. The judicial proceedings in Southwark, which were carried on at the same time, were neither so extensive nor so bloody; of eleven who were indicted, three were acquitted, the greater part of the remainder threw themselves upon the king's mercy.

Scottish
prisoners
sent to Car-
lisle for
trial.

Objections
to this
mode.

cxxxix. To avoid a temporary violation of the law in England, an act of parliament was deemed necessary; and such delicacy was used towards the Scottish nation, the prisoners taken at Dunblane and Dunfermline, and confined in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Blackness, were brought before a commission of oyer and terminer held at Carlisle, to the great dissatisfaction of all the patriotic Scots who considered it as an insult to their loyalty, an encroachment on their right, and an additional humiliation to the country; and a number of tracts were printed at the time to prove that no power in Britain could legally authorize any English court to take cognizance of crimes committed in Scotland; that the act which extended the English law of treason to Scotland was merely a temporary experiment in a time of most imminent danger, which, now that there was no danger, ought to be repealed, or, if retained, ought to be acted upon in the spirit of English law, and the accused tried in the place where the crimes were alleged to have been committed. “The union,” it was said, “has been agreed to for the security of the Hanoverian succession, and the Scots had unwillingly sacrificed the independence of their ancient kingdom for the sake of that illustrious house; and was this a grateful return for their attachment to his majesty's family, or an effectual method for extirpating the seeds of rebellion, and allaying the murmur of discontent, to pursue measures in prosecuting the unhappy gentlemen—for the greater part of them were so—that could only be looked upon as a wanton encroachment upon their reserved privileges?”*

cxl. The prisoners, when carried to Carlisle, at first re-

* Culloden Papers. Int. p. 13 Tracts.

solved not to acknowledge the authority of the court, but to plead their supposed rights ; but upon its being represented to them, that if they did not answer to their indictments, they would, according to the law of England, be liable to the horrible punishment of being pressed to death, while there was likewise a probability that their objections would be overruled by the judges ; and at the same time being flattered with the hopes of mercy, they all, except four—
 one of whom was acquitted, against two the prosecutions were dropped for some secret services, and the fourth, brigadier Campbell of Ormondell, made his escape before trial, —pleaded guilty, but were finally set at liberty by an act of indemnity. These were the last trials of any importance connected with this rebellion.

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Result of
the trials.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XXVI.

George I.—Act for septennial parliaments.—Argyle and Islay dismissed from office.—General Assembly.—Professor Simpson's case.—Conduct of the Covenanters during the rebellion.—Jacobites intrigue with Sweden.—The King's decisive measures.—Argyle restored to favour.—Parliament.—Forfeited Estates vested in Trustees—Forbes objects to the Bill.—Division in the Church.—War with Spain.—Pretender arrives at Madrid.—Spanish expedition to Scotland.—Defeated at Glenshiel.—Bill for restricting the English peerage and altering the Scottish peers' representation rejected.—Committee for Managing the Pretender's affairs in Scotland.—Dispute concerning the appointment of a Bishop of Edinburgh.—Discord in the Pretender's court.—Lockhart's plans for his restoration.—South Sea scheme.—Disputes in the church.—Proceedings respecting the "Marrow of Modern Divinity."—Ministers' widows' fund established.—Parliament.—A new plot announced.—Arrests in consequence.—Pretender's declaration.—Bishop Atterbury's trial, &c.—Restrictions on the Papists.—Peaceful state of Scotland.—Society for improving Agriculture.—Evil effects of enclosures and grazing farms.—Disturbances in Galloway.—Quelled by the military.—State of farming in the Lothians.—Ale and malt tax regulations.—Riots at Glasgow.—Proceedings of the Lord Advocate against the magistrates.—Brewers of Edinburgh contest the tax.—Submit.—Disarming of the Highlanders.—General Assembly.—The king gives an annual donation for instruction of the Highlanders.—The Pretender's politics.—His domestic quarrels.—Treatment of his wife.—Treaty between Britain and France.—Continued dissensions in the Church.—A new accusation against Simpson.—Division among the Episcopalians.—Treachery of the earl of Inverness.—Parliament.—Fallacy of a sinking fund.—General Assembly.—Simpson suspended.—Peace with Spain.—The king proceeds to Germany.—His death.—Character.—1716—1727.

BOOK XXVI.
1716.
George I.

1. It is one of not the least frequent occurrences in our history, that those to whom we should most confidently have looked as the natural guardians of freedom, and whose influence professedly founded on their upright watchmanship

of popular privileges, should have rendered them jealous of the smallest encroachment, have themselves made the widest inroads upon the constitution, and that in its popular branches. The aggressions of the whigs in this way have been repeatedly noticed ; but perhaps the most flagrant attempt to secure their party in power was the act passed this session—to whose proceedings I now revert—for transforming themselves from a triennial into a septennial parliament. Even the first proposal to suspend the operation of the triennial act for “once,” till the public mind became settled, could only have been justified by extreme necessity ; but when the danger was past, and the government stronger than ever, to lengthen the duration of parliament, was not less arbitrary than uncalled for.

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1716.

Bill for septennial parliaments.

II. As, however, it was by no means agreeable to many among the friends of government, to lessen the odium, it was originated in the house of lords. His grace of Devonshire had the honour, or the obloquy, of introducing this bill [April 10th.] Its preamble stated the pretexts, for arguments they can scarcely be called :—

“It has been found by experience that triennial parliaments are grievous, by occasioning much greater and continued expense, and more violent and lasting heats than was ever known before. And if the triennial act continue, it may probably, at the present juncture, when a restless and popish faction are designing to renew the rebellion at home, and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and the security of government. Be it therefore enacted, that this present, and all future parliaments, shall have continuance for seven years, to be accounted from the date of the writ of summons, unless this or any such parliament shall be dissolved by his majesty, his heirs and successors.”

Its preamble.

III. In the course of the debate, earl Dorset sarcastically, but too truly remarked, “that they who now spoke against the bill, would be for it if it served their turn.” He argued “that triennial elections destroy all family interest, and subject our excellent constitution to the caprice of the multitude, and would tend to obstruct foreign alliances ;—for who could build upon so changeable a foundation ?” The earl of Nottingham who, on this occasion, joined the tories, sum-

Arguments for.

BOOK med up the arguments on the other side. "Frequent par-
XXVI. liaments," observed this nobleman, "were of the essence of
1716. the English constitution, and sanctioned by the practice of
ages. The members of the lower house," continued he,
"are delegated by the body of the nation for a certain term
of years, at the expiration of which they cease to be the re-
presentatives of the people. As to the pretence of giving
Against. stability to foreign alliances, the very contrary would be the
case, for it represented the government as so weak that it
needed this extraordinary provision for its safety—that so
far from lessening expense, it would increase it, and intro-
duce additional motives for corruption, as the value of a seat
in the commons' house would rise in proportion to the time
it was to be enjoyed; and it would facilitate the plans of any
unprincipled ministry who might wish to undermine the in-
tegrity of parliament; nor were the arguments for a seven
year parliament half so strong as they would be, if applied
to prolong it for ever." The bill passed; but a strong pro-
test was entered by twenty-four lords.

iv. When sent down to the commons, it was proposed to
be rejected without being read, as an unwarrantable inroad
upon the constitution; but it was alleged to be unprecedent-
ed to treat any bill from their lordships with so little cere-
mony—it was accordingly brought in and read. The de-
bates were violent, but the speakers went nearly over the
same ground as in the house of peers, only some of the gen-
tlemen enforced the prolongation of their term by the fol-
lowing arguments, admirably adapted for catching the vul-
gar. "Having with so much danger and difficulty secured
our religion, laws, and liberties, when all was at stake from
the treachery of the late ministry, and the unaccountable
proceedings of the last triennial parliament, why should you
run the risk of a new one so soon, to be first chosen by
French money, and then voting by French directions? Since
the king and this parliament exert their united power for
the good of the public, and to retrieve the honour of the na-
tion, why should they not continue longer together, that
they may finish what they have so unanimously and happily
begun?" But the extravagance of the following assertions

Debate in
the com-
mons.

will convey some idea of the manner in which these debates were managed. "The electors and the people of all the boroughs of England," said a Mr. Lyddal, "having for several years past been bribed and preached into the pretender's interest, and a dislike to the protestant succession, it becomes rather necessity than choice to apply an extraordinary remedy to an extraordinary disease." The bill was approved of by a large majority of the commons, and so **Passed.** fearful were they of its being lost, or any of their privileges curtailed, that an amendment for disabling pensioners during pleasure, from sitting in the lower house, was negatived without a division.

v. During the debate, in which the Scottish members were, with their usual good sense, found in the majority, after one of their number had spoken in favour of the measure, Mr. Snell, an Englishman, remarked, "that it was no wonder that they who had betrayed the liberties of their own country, should be so ready to give up theirs." "The member who made that speech would not be so bold as to utter these words any where else," exclaimed another northern representative, and a warm altercation ensued, when Mr. Snell, being allowed to explain, said, "that he meant no personal reflection, he only spoke of the Scottish nation in general." "This explanation," cried sir David Dalrymple, "aggravates the offence;" and a more tumultuous scene was succeeding, when Mr. Snell put an end to the business by asking pardon for any unguarded expression he might have made use of. Parliament soon after terminated their proceedings, and the king leaving the prince of Wales regent, set out for his continental dominions.* The duke of Argyle was rewarded for his services by being dismissed from all his offices, the chief of which were bestowed on general Carpenter;† and the earl of Islay was turned

Argyle and his brother dismissed from office.

* Not long before, general Macartney, who had returned from abroad, stood his trial for the murder of the duke of Hamilton, and was acquitted. The chief evidence, colonel Hamilton, contradicted himself, and was in consequence disgraced. Macartney was restored to his rank.

† Commander in chief in Scotland, and governor of Minorca and Port Mahon, colonel of the first regiment of horse guards.

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General
assembly.The king
thanks the
ministers
for their
loyalty.Rise and
suppres-
sion of the
rebellion
favourable
to the peace
of the
church.

out of the justice generalship, to make way for the tary enemy of their family, the duke of Montrose.*

vi. The presbyterians, whose all had been at stajoyed the triumph of the protestant and Hanoverian and his majesty appeared to appreciate justly their mous services. In his letter to the assembly [May] them, "the fresh proofs you have given us duri course of the late unhappy and unnatural rebellion, c firm adherence to those principles on which the secu our government and the happiness of our subjects entirely depend; and the accounts we have from time received of your great cares to infuse the sai the people under your charge, do engage us to retu our hearty thanks, and to renew to you the assura our affection we have formerly given." The assem their dutiful reply, expressed their grateful sense of l jesty's condescension, and "therefore hopes that in di they would obtain redress of their grievances." I however, reserved for our own day [1828] to have cramental test, of which they complained, legally re while the act of patronage still remains in force, t ceased to be numbered among the grievances of the by the venerable court.

vii. Nothing more favourable could have occurred political interest of the national church, than the ri speedy suppression of the rebellion, the main suppor which were episcopalians; and of this circumstance t derator, [Mr. Hamilton, professor of divinity, Edin took especial notice in his closing address. "All said he, "may be sensible that our affairs have, up casion of the suppressing of the late rebellion, taken very different from what they were formerly. Eve the late happy revolution till now, our church had a ful party to oppose her, who watched all occasions to throw our constitution; and no doubt, that circun had its own weight upon our minds, to make us tal measures with the more caution, considering ourse

* Tindal, book xxvii.

that view as having a strong party waiting for our halting ; now things are altered not a little—we seem to be eased from our fears in that quarter.” What tended, however, to render the external state of the church apparently secure, tended probably in an equal degree, to promote its internal corruption and disunion, its laxity of religious, and its rigour of clerical discipline. Mr. Simpson, professor of divinity in Glasgow college, who had enunciated from the chair, doctrines of very doubtful interpretation, had at this assembly occasioned considerable discussion, and excited very general attention ; he was accused of Arminianism, Jesuitism, and Socinianism, but by “propounding propositions,” and offering explanations, the affair occupied the whole session, and was not finished at its close. Alluding to this, Mr. Hamilton gave the ministers an almost prophetic warning. “I remember it was observed,” said he, “that shortly after the great change in the Christian church by the Roman emperors their becoming Christians, their own schisms, and divisions, and uncharitableness, came to such a height, that in respect of the state that things came to, the church’s condition under the most cruel of the former persecutions, was to be reckoned happy.”* Already were the seeds of dissension springing up in the bosom of the establishment, and this was almost the last assembly which dispersed quietly till after the grand separation among the brethren !

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Mr. Simpson accused of Arminianism, &c.

VIII. In the midst of the general confusion, the society-men acted up to the letter of their principles. On the first rumour of an invasion, they desired such of their number as inclined to rendezvous for the common defence, to do it in such a body as might amount to a company, “but to do it privately, lest they should expose our meanness to our enemies.” When the danger became more urgent, they required a meeting of all the fencible men belonging to their connexion, “in order that they might publish a declaration of what they would, and what they would not stand for,” on purpose to exhibit it to the lieutenants of the shires, in case any of them should be called upon to appear in the defence

Conduct of the covenanters during the rebellion.

* Register of the General Assembly, MS. Bib. Edin.

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1716.

of the government; and they recommended it seriously to all the fellowships to appoint a day of fasting and humiliation to deal with the Lord for light and conduct, for preservation and the aversion of the present stroke, or at least for a mitigation of the just deserved judgments.* The day of humiliation most probably was kept, but they fortunately escaped being called upon to take arms.

Jacobites
intrigue
with Swe-
den.

ix. Restless and chagrined at their late disappointment, which they affected to consider as a demonstration of what might have been done under abler leaders, the jacobites looked eagerly to any quarter whence the least appearance of renewing the struggle might arise; and the conduct of the king towards Sweden opened the way to a new intrigue with the ministers of that monarch, the most rational and formidable which had yet been planned. The rupture with Charles for an object entirely Hanoverian, had been greatly detrimental to English commerce, and had raised an universal discontent among the merchants. This the Swedish ministers had endeavoured to foment, and in their intercourse with the disaffected, the project of an invasion of Scotland by the Swedish king, at the head of twelve thousand chosen troops was suggested. Their war with Denmark afforded a pretext for collecting a naval force, and the transports who brought provisions for the fleet were to be employed in carrying stores and arms for fifteen thousand men. The whole was to be collected at Gottenburgh, and a few days would be sufficient to carry the expedition to Scotland, before the British government, taken unawares, could be able to collect a fleet to oppose them; and on landing, a formidable body of highlanders would soon collect around them. The British army, reduced to the peace establishment, and the foreign troops sent home, no obstacle would then remain to prevent a rapid march to the capital; and the fate of the three kingdoms might again have been decided almost without a battle.

Plan for an
invasion of
Scotland.

1717.

x. But the pretender could never keep his own secrets. With characteristic folly he proposed going immediately to Gottenburgh; and upon his wish not being granted—as

* Minutes of the General Meetings, MS.

that would have been sounding the news by trumpet through Europe—the tattling of his petty court carried the tidings as effectually to the ears of king George; who immediately hastened home, and by a bold invasion of what is called the law of nations, seized the Swedish resident in London, count Gyllenburgh, and procured the arrest of baron Gortz by the states of Holland, from whose papers the extent of the conspiracy was fully ascertained.* Part of the money required had been remitted by some English houses, and the whole was to have been contracted for by way of loan; but the discovery put an end to the negotiation.†

BOOK
XVI.

1717.
The king
informed
of it—his
decisive
conduct.

xI. Although Scotland was the place where the invasion was to be attempted, none of the influential characters there had been entrusted with the secret. Application, however, was made by Mar, through captain Straiton, to the titular bishop of Edinburgh, lord Balmerino and Lockhart, to see whether the pretender's friends could not purchase and send to Sweden five or six thousand bolls of oatmeal, "which would be of great service to the king." But the state of the party—the most wealthy being exiles, forfeited, or labouring under pecuniary embarrassment—rendered compliance impracticable, could it even have been accomplished without attracting the notice of government. A second application for money having, for the same reasons been equally unsuccessful, no farther attempt was made to implicate the partizans of James in Scotland in the Swedish business, which finally terminated by the death of Charles.

Mar's ap-
plication for
meal and
money un-
successful.

xII. After Sweden failed, the pretender, as a forlorn hope, turned to Argyle, supposing the duke and his brother Islay might be gained during their disgrace by his magnificent promises: and it is amusing to observe the eagerness and

Pretender's
hopes of
engaging
Argyle dis-
appointed.

* While abroad, the king concluded what is generally called the triple alliance, between France, Holland, and Britain. By it France guaranteed the protestant succession, and the residence of the pretender beyond the Alps, and promised to afford no shelter to any British rebel, and to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk. Britain engaged to guarantee the succession of the duke of Orleans to the throne of France in case of the king's death, who was a sickly infant, and all the respective parties contracted to assist each other, in case of disturbance at home or invasion from abroad.

† Correspondence of the Swedish ministers, &c. printed by order of parliament.

BOOK
XXVI.

1717.

Argyle a-
gain in fa-
vour.Parliament
approves
the triple
alliance.Act of
indemnity.Debates re-
specting
the forfeit-
ed estates.

fond credulity with which Lockhart entered into the scheme, but upon which he never dared to make any distinct proposals to his grace; nor does he ever appear to have held any direct communication with him upon the subject. The duke naturally, when out of place, joined the opposition; but he came to no pointed altercation with the court, and after the death of Marlborough, was again received into favour. Excepting their conduct in parliament, there seems to have been no grounds for the strange supposition of the laird of Carnwath, that either of the noble brothers were inimical to the government; nor have I been able to perceive in this any symptoms of that unaccountable insanity which an inclination to support the ruined cause of an imbecile, contemptible, and exposed pretender must have implied; and which in any of the house of Argyle, would have been folly beyond the range of common infatuation.*

XIII. When parliament met, the triple alliance was approved of; and war in effect declared against Sweden, money being voted by the commons for the support of a military establishment. On a message from the king, an additional two hundred and fifty thousand was granted, but only by a majority of four, a powerful minority asserting that the dispute was entirely German; "the demand [said Mr. Shippen] shows that his majesty is as unacquainted with the constitution as with the language of the land." An act of indemnity, from which only the earl of Oxford, lord Harcourt, and a few others, were excepted, set the prison-doors open to the rebels.† The disposal of the forfeited estates occasioned more debate:—commissioners for managing this affair had been appointed for some time, but difficulties had arisen in Scotland, from the claims of creditors, who, by the ordinary course of law in that country, were in possession of the lands. In some cases, there is no doubt the alleged debts were collusive, and the judges—who sympathised with the sufferers, and were still influenced by the principles of ancient Scottish jurisprudence—being inclined to favour

* Lockhart's Papers, v. ii. p. 7, *et seq.* Tindal, book xxvii. Campbell's Life of Argyle.

† The clan Macgregor were also excluded, but this was merely the continuation of an old act.

the claims, had sequestered the most considerable of the estates, and appointed factors to receive the rents in behalf of the creditors. These factors, when ordered by the commissioners to pay the proceeds into the exchequer, refused, alleging the authority of the court of session; nor would the court, upon petition of the commissioners, recall the sequestrations, as the act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland [vide p. 94] provided, that no conviction or attainder should exclude the right of any creditor remaining peaceable, for his just debts, contracted before the commission of any of these crimes. The barons of the exchequer were next applied to, but they refused to interfere. In the following session, which met in November, in order to get quit of this incumbrance, a bill was brought into parliament, "for vesting the forfeited estates in Great Britain and Ireland, in trustees, to be sold for the use of the public; for giving relief to lawful creditors by determining their claims; and for the more effectual bringing into the respective exchequers, the rents and profits of the estates to be sold." This bill, which went to set aside the jurisdiction of the court of session, was violently resisted by some Scottish members, as an infringement of the union, and as erecting an arbitrary and tyrannical tribunal unknown to the constitution; the English members opposed it as interfering with the rights of the house of peers, the last court of appeal. It passed, however, and may be said to have sown the seeds of the rebellion 1745.

Act vesting
them in
trustees.

xiv. Although the rebels formed but a miserable minority in the middle and lower ranks, yet they were extensively connected with the higher classes; and as of all the gentlemen who embarked in the rebellion, not a tenth man was easy in his circumstances, nor were there above a dozen of the rest whose estates, if sold, would have paid their debts, the ruin which even the mitigated operation of the bill produced among their loyal friends and relations who were involved with them, must have been immense.* One of the truest

Its ruinous
tendency.

* The rents being generally paid in kind, of which I have given a specimen in the appendix, the money price of land bore no proportion to the state and style of living kept up by the proprietors; and although they contrived to pay or comprise "the annual-rents" and the debts upon their property, yet the

BOOK
XXVI.

1717.
Duncan
Forbes' opi-
nion of it.

patriots his country ever could boast of, declared that he trembled to think of the dissatisfactions it would produce against a settlement so necessary for the happiness of Britain; and shortly after, when writing to sir Robert Walpole, told him that those consequences which at first might have been easily foreseen, had accordingly fallen out, and that in Scotland there were not an hundred persons who could be restrained from murmuring upon any other consideration than the hope of the overturn of that fatal bill.* In order to soften the bill a little, however, a clause was added, appropriating twenty thousand pounds for erecting schools; but even that was embittered by eight thousand being devoted to building barracks in the country.

Division in
the church.

xv. For some time the jacobites continued quiet in Scotland, and the chief subjects of interest were the divisions of the church, now that the favour of government having freed the ministers from any dread respecting their political ascendancy, had allowed them time to apply themselves more sedulously to their proper ecclesiastical affairs. It had long been remarked with grief by the friends of the church, that their rulers had been gradually dividing into two parties upon doctrinal subjects. One party, and that the increasing one, were inclined to relax the interpretation of the points termed Calvinistical, and rather to favour the Arminian schisme interpretation; the others adhered rigidly to the creed of the church, as expressed in the Confession of Faith; and the differences of their opinions on these subjects were every day widening, when professor Simpson's trial, and the case of the Auchterarder presbytery, placed them directly at issue upon the disputed points, and regimented them into distinct and regular opponents.

Case of
Simpson.

xvi. Notwithstanding Simpson's explanations, it was impossible for his friends, with all their partiality, to free the professor from the charge of teaching doctrines inconsistent with orthodoxy; yet the assembly this year, although they found that he had adopted some hypotheses not evidently founded on scripture, and which tended to attribute too much to

property, if brought to sale, would not have, in many instances, produced as much as would have half liquidated the obligations upon it.

* Culloden papers, p. 61, *et seq.*

natural reason and the power of corrupt nature, to the disparagement of revelation and efficacious free grace, contented themselves with merely prohibiting him "from venting such hypotheses in future," without marking their displeasure at his conduct, or their sense of the dangerous nature of such teaching. But the presbytery of Auchterarder, who dreaded the extension of Arminian tenets, had refused a Mr. Craig an extract of his licence, because he would not subscribe to the following proposition: "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ and instating us in covenant with God," which the presbytery explained as being the same thing as to require a man to get quit of his disease before he came to a physician; or to insist upon a child being re-instated in the favour of an offended parent before he applied to a mediator. The Assembly differed in opinion, and ordered the presbytery to give Mr. Craig an extract of his licence to preach the gospel; and passing the explanation, "declared their abhorrence of the proposition, as unsound as it stands." Their explanation was however, accepted by the commission, but they were admonished, and prohibited from using the same expressions in time coming.*

BOOK
XXVI.
1717.

Of the
presbytery
of Auch-
terarder.

xvii. While these subjects engaged the attention of the Scots, their southern neighbours were employed in criticising the foreign politics of his majesty, who had formed what was called "the quadruple alliance," for which they could perceive no rational object; but which, for the purpose of securing Sicily to the emperor of Germany, plunged Britain into an unnecessary war with Spain;—and this war led to a new project in favour of the pretender.

War with
Spain.

xviii. Cardinal Alberoni, who then ruled Spain with the most absolute sway, was highly incensed at king George, and the personal enemy of his ally the duke of Orleans; these he was desirous to humble; and, besides the glory of giving a king to Britain, he was zealous in the cause of a prince who had lost his crown for his father's attachment to that religion of which he was so high a dignitary. He in-

1718-19.

Alberoni
resolves to
place the
pretender
on the
throne.

* Register of General Assembly, MS.

BOOK
XXVI.

1718-19.
James' re-
ception at
Madrid.

An expe-
dition sails
for Scot-
land.

The fleet
dispersed.

Two fri-
gates reach
Kintail.

vited the duke of Ormond to Spain, in the end of the year 1718, to concert with him the proper measures for accomplishing his object. In the beginning of the next, the pretender himself arrived at Rosas, in Catalonia, from Italy; whence proceeding to Madrid, he entered that capital in one of the royal coaches, attended by the guards, and was lodged in the palace of Bueno Retiro. There he was visited by the king, queen, the prince of Asturias, and the great officers of the crown, who acknowledged and complimented him as king of Great Britain. His arrival was the signal for the departure of a formidable expedition from the port of Cadiz.

xix. This armament consisted of six thousand troops, chiefly Irish, with arms for ten or twelve thousand men, embarked on board of transports, and escorted by ten men-of-war. The duke of Ormond accompanied the expedition as captain-general of the king of Spain, who professed to act merely as auxiliary to king James, to whose adherents he offered a secure asylum in his dominions, and to every land and sea officer who was disposed to join him, the same rank in the service of Spain as they held in the service of the king of Great Britain. The expedition sailed with a fair wind, and with every prospect of success, as there was no British fleet to oppose their passage; but when off Cape Finisterre, a violent storm, which lasted two days, completely dispersed them. The admiral's ship, having lost all her masts, was forced to return to the coast she had left; and the second armada, scattered by the same power which destroyed that named "invincible," was driven to seek shelter in their own ports, though not till they had demonstrated that in spite even of her naval superiority, Britain is accessible to invasion.

xx. Two frigates, which sailed from Port-passage, escaped the fate of the fleet, and arrived at Kintail in Ross-shire, on the sixteenth of April. They had on board, the earls Marischal and Seaforth, and the marquis of Tullibardine, three hundred and seven Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. The Spanish officer, who expected to have found ten thousand insurgents ready to join him, when he saw that only a few highlanders made their appearance, was

with difficulty persuaded to land. But the urgency of the Scottish nobles prevailed, and he took possession of Donan Castle, which he garrisoned with fifty men, and then proceeded to the heights, where the rebels and he occupied the pass of Glenshiel, with the avowed intention of defending it till they were supported. Meanwhile, general Wightman, upon the first news of their landing, was ordered from Inverness with a detachment, to march in quest of the enemy. At the approach of his force, which was considerably superior in numbers, the highlanders withdrew to Strachell, a more advantageous position, where they awaited the attack of the king's troops [June 18.] There, where the horse could not venture, they kept up a smart skirmish for above three hours with the foot, till the advance of the artillery warned them to disperse—which they did among the defiles of the mountains—but not till they had inflicted on their pursuers a loss of twenty-one killed, and upwards of a hundred and twenty wounded. Lord Seaforth and Tullibardine were wounded, and were carried off by the rebels, whose loss was never accurately ascertained. The Spaniards, who had remained at Glenshiel without taking part in the engagement, surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion next day, which terminated the invasion.*

BOOK
XXVI.

1719.
Spaniards
take Donan
castle.

Skirmish at
Glenshiel.

The Span-
iards sur-
render.

xxi. No previous communication had been held with Scotland, nor was it known to the pretender's friends there that any attempt would be made, till the expedition had sailed, and they might have learned it from common report. Having so recently smarted for their rashness, the jacobites for once acted with prudence, and determined not to move a step till they were assured of Ormond's having landed,

Prudence
of the jaco-
bites.

* About the latter end of June, the pretender was married by proxy to the princess Sobieski, grand-daughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland. The emperor of Germany, who took a great interest in the family of Sobieski, endeavoured strongly to prevent the match, and even stopped the princess in the Tyrol on her way to Italy; but she escaped from Inspruck, where she was confined, in men's clothes, and repaired to Bologna, where the ceremony took place while the pretender was in Spain. A few days after she went to Rome, where she was kindly received by the pope, and remained under his care till joined by her spouse.

BOOK
XXVI.

1719.
Effect of
this expe-
dition —
parliament
supports
the Spanish
war.

and of England's being fairly engaged ;—a resolution which kept the country south of the Forth in perfect tranquillity.

Act for re-
stricting
the exten-
sion of the
English
peerage,

xxii. Almost every attempt in favour of the forfeited family usually produced effects diametrically opposite to those intended, nor was this an exception. Happening at the time when parliament was sitting, it deadened the opposition to the Spanish war, procured from both houses assurances of support, and the commons promised the requisite supplies for whatever augmentation of sea or land forces the exigence might require. A bill for circumscribing the royal prerogative in the distribution of honours, which was at the time attributed to a wish to punish the heir apparent, did not meet

with so favourable a reception. The ostensible reason was to prevent the recurrence of a promotion similar to what had taken place in the latter years of queen Anne; it was therefore proposed to limit the peerage in such a manner that the number of English peers should never be augmented beyond six above their then present number, which was to be kept up by new creations upon the extinction of the heirs-male; and that instead of sixteen elective peers for Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary, whose number, upon any title becoming extinct, was to be supplied by some other Scottish peer. The measure was introduced into the house of lords by the duke of Somerset, seconded by the duke of Argyle, now lord steward of the household; and a message from the king, while the subject was under debate, declared his willingness to waive his right in any case which might be thought to interfere with the dignity of the house of lords. While the measure itself went to estab-

Injustice of
the latter
proposi-
tion.

lish an unalterable aristocratic council, which would soon have either usurped the whole power of the executive, or been driven from their chamber by the commons, it was peculiarly unjust to the Scottish peers; all of whom, except the twenty-six, would thus have been placed in a worse situation than any other subjects, and deprived both of the power of representing or being represented; and besides it could not be effected without a breach of trust on the part of the present representatives, who must divest their principals of a power secured to them by the act of union, and in-

trusted to their guardianship. The subject was long debated, but resolutions conformable to the motion were agreed to by a large majority.* No "self-denying ordinance," however, had any chance now of passing smoothly through the commons, and public opinion, too, was universally against it. When it was about to be read a third time, earl Stanhope observed, "that as the bill had made a great noise, and raised strange apprehensions; and since the design of it had been so misrepresented, and so misunderstood, that it was like to meet with great opposition in the other house, he thought it advisable to let the matter lie still till a more proper opportunity." The reading was accordingly deferred, and the session being closed in four days after, it was dropped. Next session it passed by a great majority in the upper house, but was thrown out by one equally decisive in the lower.

BOOK
XXVI.
1719.

Thrown
out.

XXIII. With the failure of the Spanish expedition the Scottish jacobites wisely laid aside, for the present, the idea of raising any commotion; but Lockhart, who was always willing to attribute blame any where except to the pretender himself, to prevent a repetition of blunders similar to those hitherto uniformly attendant on all correspondence with him, proposed to establish some medium through

* The resolutions about the Scottish peers were, I. That in lieu of the sixteen elective peers to sit in this house on the part of Scotland, twenty-five peers, to be elected by his majesty, shall have hereditary seats in parliament, and be the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland. II. That such twenty-five peers shall be declared by his majesty before the next session of parliament. III. That nine of the said twenty-five shall be appointed by his majesty, to have immediate right to such hereditary seats in parliament, subject to the qualifications requisite by the laws now in being. IV. That none of the remaining sixteen so to be declared by his majesty, or their heirs, shall become sitting peers of the parliament of Great Britain, till after the determination of this present parliament, except such as are of the number of the sixteen peers now sitting in parliament on the part of Scotland, and their heirs. V. That if any of the twenty-five peers so to be declared by his majesty, and their heirs, shall fail, some one or other of the peers of Scotland shall be appointed by his majesty, his heirs and successors, to succeed any peer so failing, and every peer so appointed shall be one of the peers on the part of the peerage of Scotland in the parliament of Great Britain, and so *toties quoties* as often as any such failure shall happen. VI. That the hereditary right of sitting in parliament, which shall accrue to the twenty five peers of Scotland to be declared by his majesty, shall be so limited as not to descend to females.

BOOK
XXVI.

1719.

Jacobite
committee.

whom a communication with James might be carried on in such a manner as would secure his secrets from being prematurely disclosed; and such an unity among his friends that proper schemes might be executed and pursued, and much mischief prevented. He suggested that a committee should be "empowered [by the king] to overlook his affairs, and give such directions as should be found necessary." With the approbation of the titular bishop of Edinburgh, he submitted his plan to James, who agreed to the proposal, but would grant no formal powers, though he named the earls of Eglinton and Wigton, lord Balmerino, the bishop, Paterson of Preston-hall, captain Straiton, Henry Maule, lord Dun, Fotheringham of Powrie, Glengarry, and Lockhart himself, as trustees.*

xxiv. Before this list arrived, the bishop of Edinburgh, "to the irreparable loss of the king, had departed this life," which produced a correspondence between their papistical head and the nonconformist episcopalians, tending to place neither in any very elevated point of view. Having no time to consult, the college of bishops elected one Fullarton to the nominal see of Edinburgh, with the equally substantial rank of "primus" of the Scottish episcopalian church. In

* Lockhart's son, who was on his travels, and delivered his father's letters to the pretender, shows but a very slender degree of respect for "the king." From a letter dated Rome, although very guardedly worded, it is easy to perceive that he considered correspondence with him degrading to a gentleman, and dangerous for a partizan. "I had almost forgot to tell you," says he, "that at parting, [the king] desired me to make his compliments to you, and that you would write frequently to him, and that he expected you would also in general acquaint him of such stories as were writ home and spread abroad in order to divide his friends and lessen the good opinion people had of his servants here. To this I made a bow, but no answer, as I did not well understand his meaning, and won't allow myself to believe he'd have any of those gentlemen turn tale-bearers and tattlers. Murray mentioned the same thing more fully to me; and I answered, I was persuaded these gentlemen would do the king all the service they could, but that many stories were told not worth the reporting or taking notice of. I should think myself much to blame, did I not communicate to you, that to my great surprise I find col. Hay is let into the story of Argyle. How far that is consistent with your inclinations and the king's promise I know not. I am afraid it proceeds from a mistake in his believing that himself and his servant are but one and the same person; however that be, you will act in it as you judge most safe for your friend and yourself." Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 27-8.

this James cordially acquiesced, and added the new bishop's name to the list of his trustees; but not less jealous than his father of any encroachment upon his sacred prerogative, he informed them, that with regard to future promotions, he would deem it equally for his service and the benefit of their church, that notwithstanding the distance between them, they should propose to him, before proceeding to consecrate them, such persons as they might think most worthy to be raised to that dignity, promising to pay every attention to their wishes:—which regard he was not long in evincing, by nominating, without any reference to them, a Mr. Freebairn for a bishop, and directing them forthwith to consecrate him. The college, who thought they should have been consulted, hesitated about “laying hands” on their proposed brother, as “they did not think him adorned with those qualifications of learning, good sense, and the like, so necessary in one of that station; besides, he was in no reputation either among clergy or laity;”^{*} and this gave rise to a dispute, that in other circumstances might have been of serious national import, but which only tended to split a party sufficiently insignificant when united.

BOOK
XXVL

1719.

Scottish
episcopal-
ian affairs.

xxv. Nor could the chevalier preserve concord, so necessary in his own petty court; with a kind of hereditary instinct, he promoted the most servile sycophants of his retainers to his confidence, while those who had suffered most in his cause, and were best able to promote it, were forced to withdraw from his councils. About this time Mar was thrown into the shade, and Mr. Murray introduced into the cabinet. Immediately the appointment of the trustees, which was intended to be a profound secret from every one but those immediately concerned, was spread abroad, and occasioned new dissensions among his friends; Seaforth and others who had been left out, thinking themselves neglected, while those who had been honoured with a place were not so highly elated with the distinction, but that they would willingly have resigned it at a moment's notice. From about this time, Mar, Seaforth, and the more discerning among the pretender's hangers-on, began to look towards their na-

Pretender's
politics.

Dissen-
sions in
his court.

* Lockhart's Papers, vol. ii. p. 49.

BOOK
XXVI.

1720.

accompanied with a recommendatory preface.* On wh principal Haddow of the new college, St. Andrews, the cl of those termed legalists, attacked it vehemently as anti mian, in a sermon he preached before the synod of Fife, published under the title of "The Record of God, and duty of Faith required therein;" and a controversy ensued that brought the subject under the notice of the general assembly, 1719. They, on rising, instructed their commission to inquire and report; the commission appointed a committee—composed chiefly of those who had condemned the Austerarder propositions—especially to examine the obnoxious work, and bring an overture respecting it before the next assembly.

xxix. This the committee performed; and having picked out a number of disjointed passages, they easily gave such representation of the book as made it seem to countenance errors it was intended to counteract; and the venerable court, thus imposed upon by their report, were induced to condemn a production the majority of them had never read. In an act, passed May 1720, they prohibited and discharged all ministers from recommending, either by preaching or printing, the said book, or in discourse to say any thing in favour of it; but, on the contrary, enjoined and required them to warn and exhort their people not to read or use the same; yet this was a book which Caryl had recommended and a number of the most eminent Westminster divines had highly praised!

The book
condemned
by the assembly.

Universal-
ly read.

xxx. The act of assembly gave great offence to a number of the evangelical ministers, and excited among the people an uncommon desire to peruse the denounced treatise, so that in a short time it was in every body's hands, and became the object of universal discussion. Mr. Boston, after having been endeavouring to interest the presbytery of Selkirk in viewing he considered the cause of truth, conjointly with Mr. Vinton of Maxton and Mr. Davidson of Galashiels, wrote

* The Marrow, first published 1646, was written by Edward Fisher, son of a knight, educated at Oxford, where he took the degree A. M. and esteemed an admirable oriental scholar. It is somewhat remarkable, that the whole Second Part, or larger half of this book, which was pronounced anti-mian, is employed to enforce the obligation of the moral law upon believers as a rule of life.

Mr. Hog, who, communicating with Messrs. Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, and several of his friends, they agreed to lay a representation before the assembly, stating their objections to the act;—as condemning the doctrine of free grace—the offering Christ as a Saviour to all men, or to men as sinners in virtue of the Father's gift—the appropriation and assurance of faith, and the maintaining that believers are fully delivered from the commanding and condemning power of the law as a covenant of works; and as asserting our holiness to be a federal or conditional means of our obtaining everlasting life—and that slavish fear of everlasting misery, and legal hope of future blessedness ought to influence believers in their study of gospel holiness;*—and humbly craving its repeal.

BOOK
XXVI.

1720.22.
Represent-
ation re-
specting it.

xxx. The assembly, 1721, before being dissolved, which they were abruptly, on account of the indisposition of the commissioner—the earl of Rothes—referred it to the commission to examine the subscribers, and to prepare the matters concerning doctrine to be laid before the next assembly. The representers were in consequence repeatedly called before the commission, who adhered to the act of assembly, while they as firmly defended their own representation; and the result was, that the latter received twelve queries to answer. Although they deemed this proceeding irregular, they gave in full and explicit replies, “which form,” says a late writer, “one of the most luminous pieces of theology in latter times, and a most masterly and accurate exhibition of the leading truths of the gospel.”† These answers, which were quashed by the committee, and never properly read in the assembly, were printed and published, and produced a great effect upon the people at the time. They were, however, lost upon the assembly, who passed, 1722, a long act

Further
proceed-
ings.

* This representation was signed by twelve ministers, commonly styled by the other party, “the twelve apostles,” Mr. James Hog, Carnock; Thomas Boston, Ettrick; John Bonar, minister, Torphichen; James Kid, Queensferry; Gabriel Wilson, Maxton; Ebenezer Erskine, Portmoak; Ralph Erskine and James Wardlaw, Dunfermline; James Bathgate, Orwell; Henry Davidson, Galashiels; William Hunter, Lilliesleaf; and John Williamson, Musselburgh.

† Brown's Gospel Truth, &c. p. 28, a work which contains a full account of this controversy.

BOOK
XXVI.

1720-22.

Represent-
ers rebuk-
ed.Their pro-
test refus-
ed.

explaining that of 1720, but at the same time confirming it : and ordained the several presbyteries, synods, and commissions, to see it punctually observed by all ministers and members of the church ; and because of the injurious reflections contained in the representation, ordered the representers to be admonished and rebuked by the moderator, which was done accordingly. The twelve brethren, after receiving the rebuke and admonition "with all gravity," presented a protest by the hands of Mr. Kid, and took instruments ; but the assembly would not read it nor record it, and quickly closed the sederunt. So completely had the "Marrow business" engrossed the attention of the assembly, that little of public concern was transacted except the usual routine—overtures, and acts respecting the growth of popery, planting of kirks, &c. &c. I have therefore related without interruption, the whole of this controversy, that the reader might have a complete view of it at once. I now revert to some acts worthy of record, which passed while these matters were under discussion.

First estab-
lishment of
the widow's
fund.Charity to
the suffer-
ing protest-
ants abroad.

xxxii. Previously to 1718, the widows and orphans of ministers left in destitute circumstances had depended upon the precarious bounty of their friends or the public, with a little occasional aid from the church. That year the first regular fund for their relief was instituted, and all the ministers were required to contribute one tenth of their yearly stipends to form a stock, the interest of which only was to be distributed ; any other charitably disposed person was invited to contribute to the design, and all contributing above ten pounds sterling were to have a vote in the management. The kindness they expressed towards the suffering protestants of Lithuania, presents a more amiable feature in the proceedings of the assembly 1720, than their polemical disputes ; nor were the feeling and liberality of the country less conspicuous ; upwards of four thousand pounds sterling were collected in the different parishes in their behalf, and several of their students were appointed to be educated upon the bursaries appointed for the assistance of their own. They ordered also collections, and relieved a number of sailors from slavery among the Algerines, although at the time they

were in debt, by their agent's account, the sum of five hundred and sixty-seven pounds.*

BOOK
XXVI

xxxiii. It deserves to be noticed, that the king had expressed his wish this last year that the whole of his presbyterian subjects might be released from the sacramental test, and was only prevented from bringing the matter before parliament by a message, by being assured that the bigotry of the episcopalians would not allow any such measure to pass. The English non-conformists, out of respect to his majesty, did not press the subject; and the Scottish church showed equal delicacy in not urging the redress of a grievance which his majesty had shown his inclination, but discovered his inability to procure, especially as they had been relieved from the abjuration oath.†

1720-22.

Cause of
the sacra-
mental test
not being
removed.

* The reader will have some idea of the wretched condition of these captives, from the following extract of a letter received by the moderator from some who were delivered. "Sir,—I was master of the Scots ship taken by the rovers of Salee, in the latter end of the year one thousand seven hundred and nineteen. My crew and I, eleven in number, were stript of our ship, goods, clothes, and all we had. We were carried prisoners from Salee to Mequinez, the capital of that country, where the emperor of Morocco, Mully Ishmael, resides. We lived there in inexpressible misery, for above twenty-one months. We were put to very heavy labour, naked and destitute of all earthly comforts, other than coarse bread, fourteen ounces to each man in twenty-four hours, and water where we could find it. We were insulted, affronted, and beat, without a fault, but only for the diversion of our cruel persecutors, who treated us with more inhumanity than they did their cattle, chiefly because we were Christians. We observed the fatal effects of tyrannical government in daily spectacles of human gore, both of Christians and subjects, all slaves. We saw their prince destroy, with his own hand, and order to be destroyed, multitudes of his unhappy subjects and slaves, without any form of trial, probation, or sentence, other than a word from his mouth, and often a sign with his hand, which received immediate execution, without allowing the party condemned so much as a hearing, or to go to his devotion in their own way. We observed that the policy is to govern by terror, and the consequence is, that no one is secure of his life, liberty, wife, children, or estate, for one minute. I could condescend upon a thousand instances of barbarity and tyranny which my fellow captives and I, above four hundred in number, from Britain and Ireland, saw and felt during our miserable abode in that unhappy country, but I dare not weary your patience." He then at great length expresses his gratitude for his deliverance and that of his fellow slaves, and mentions, to the shame of the civilized world, that they had left above nine hundred Christian slaves of other nations in a disconsolate deplorable condition, besides upwards of fifteen hundred renegadoes.—It is signed ALEXANDER STEWART, Master, on behalf of himself and his crew.

† Register of the Gen. Ass., MS. Tindal, b. xxvii.

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2 D

BOOK
XXVI.
1722.
A new par-
liament.

Another
plot.

Norfolk,
&c. arrest-
ed.

Declara-
tion of the
pretender.

xxxiv. March sixth, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-two, the first septennial parliament was prorogued, and shortly after dissolved. As usual, the approaching election set all the jacobites in motion and in high spirits; but the measures of the ministry had been so wisely taken, that, except a little manœuvring with the Scottish peers, the whigs quietly carried the day throughout Scotland. Early in October the new parliament met, and were informed by his majesty's opening speech, that a dangerous conspiracy had been for some time formed, and was still carrying on, against his person and government in favour of the pretender. Some of the conspirators, he told them, were already secured, and endeavours using for apprehending others; and he referred to their wisdom the measures necessary to be taken for the safety of the kingdom. The alarm this communication occasioned was so great that the habeas corpus act was suspended for a whole twelvemonth, and a considerable augmentation of forces immediately voted. Yet, after all, the terrible plot, when carefully examined, afforded little cause for alarm; it contained in its bosom several contradictory circumstances, which led some to suppose that it was altogether a fabrication, nor did it at most turn out to be more than an ill-digested scheme discovered in embryo.

xxxv. Various persons, however, of high distinction, were apprehended on strong presumption of their concurrence in this conspiracy, among whom were the duke of Norfolk, and the lords Orrery, and North, and Grey. In confirmation of the plot, a declaration of the pretender was laid before the house of peers. It was addressed by him as James III. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to "all his loving subjects of the three nations, and all foreign princes and states, to serve as the foundation of a lasting peace in Europe. To accomplish which desirable purpose, he very modestly proposed;—"that if king George would quietly deliver to him the possession of the throne, he would in return, bestow upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other states to confirm it! To induce his rival's compliance with so reasonable a request he told him;—"that in Hanover his incontestable right to the crown would free him from the crime and the reproach of tyranny,

and represented the delight of a calm undisturbed reign over a willing people, contrasted with a restless possession in a strange land, where authority forcing the inclination of the folks could only be supported by blood and violence, eternally subject to fears and alarms." His majesty was not however so much enamoured with the liberal offer as to accept it, and the lords with great gravity voted it "the height of presumption and arrogance in the pretender to make any such proposal."

BOOK
XXVI.
1723.

Voted pre-
sumptuous.

xxxvi. The trial of Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, who was implicated, excited the public interest beyond any of the circumstances connected with this affair. The evidence against him was legally defective, and the tories considered the church as insulted in the person of the bishop, against whom it was urged that no accusation ought to have been received except upon the oath of two witnesses, and his defence was most ably conducted; but he was, by a bill which passed both houses by great majorities, deprived of his episcopal dignity, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.*

Bishop At-
terbury's
trial, &c.

xxxvii. To defray the extraordinary expenses incurred by the dread of this conspiracy,—for a camp had been formed in Hyde Park, and the usual precautions adopted,—a bill was brought into the commons to raise one hundred thousand pounds upon the estates of the Roman Catholics, as it was a notorious fact that they were always the most forward to contribute money for promoting the pretender's schemes; it passed, along with another, to oblige all persons, being papists, in Scotland, and all persons in Great Britain, refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the security of the king's present government, to register their names and real estates. The last of these acts gave considerable uneasiness to those Scottish jacobites, who had any small remains of a conscience left about them, but their number was few; the greatest part were prepared rather to swallow the oaths than expose themselves and their families to hazard, or to use the periphrastic language of Lockhart, were "inclined to venture themselves into the

Roman
Catholics
mulcted,
&c.

* Tindal, book xvii.

BOOK hand of God rather than of such men as wee have to doe
XXVI. with.*

1723.
King goes
to Ger-
many.

xxxviii. His majesty, who had been detained in England by the conspiracy last year, as soon as the session terminated, embarked for his German dominions, leaving a regency appointed of lords justices, from which the prince of Wales, on account of a quarrel with his father, that had subsisted for some time, was excluded. It was remarked that the lord Harcourt, who had so strictly united with Oxford and the other ministers of queen Anne, was one of the justices; through his means Bolingbroke obtained a pardon, and having arrived at Calais, on his way to England, where Atterbury had come on his road to Paris, the latter pleasantly remarked, "they were just exchanged." The lords who had been imprisoned on account of the plot were set at liberty immediately upon the rising of parliament.

Boling-
broke par-
doned.

Norfolk, &c.
released.

State of
Scotland.

xxxix. A season of tranquillity followed; and, to judge from the periodicals of the day, the nobility of Scotland returned with renewed zest to their usual country sports. Horse races continued one of their principal amusements, although the spirit of party, which pervaded every thing else, extended likewise to them. In an advertisement, announcing a plate to be run for, given by the town of St. Andrews, the course was declared free to any horse, mare, or gelding, carrying eight stone weight, "except such as shall belong to Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath."† Several of the gentry and nobility, however, engaged in more useful endeavours to enhance their property. An attempt was made to work some copper mines in Mid-Lothian, and a few very fine specimens of copper were obtained; but owing to the poverty of the vein, or the unskilfulness of the workmen, the produce was not such as to encourage a prosecution of the design. The truest mine of national wealth, the cultivation of the soil, was more perseveringly pursued, and with better success, although the progress for many years was but slow, and at its commencement accompanied with a number of very untoward and disagreeable circumstances, from the

Agricultu-
ral im-
provement.

* Lockhart's Papers, vol. ii. p. 168.

† Caledonian Mercury and Edinburgh Courant, 1723-4.

unsettled state of the country, the ignorance of the parties, and not seldom from the rapacity of the landlord and the stubbornness of the tenant.

BOOK
XXVL

1723

XL. Till lately the whole country almost, particularly the southern districts, had been like one wide common, where the boundaries of the various proprietors were with difficulty ascertained ; the quantity of arable land was considerable, but extremely subdivided, and the mode of farming only a few degrees removed from the most primitive rudeness. Now the fields began to be enclosed, and the attention of gentlemen was so much directed to rural affairs, that a society for the improvement of agriculture was formed at Edinburgh in the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-three, comprehending some of the chief names in the land, which held its first meeting at Gray's house, Hope Park, on the twenty-third day of July. But the short leases, the kail, the services exacted from the tenantry, and the burdening them with the ever varying cess, operated as so many weights on improvement, which the landlords, who did not yet see their own profit in the wealth of their tenants, had hitherto increased instead of attempting to remove. Indeed, it is scarcely possible to imagine any system more injurious, both to landlord and tenant, than what was pursued in Scotland at this period, and of which the crowning sheaf was what was called "due service." By this the farmer could oblige the latter to plow his grounds while engaged in sowing his own, or to reap his fields and let his own stand, though over ripe and shaken with the wind ; yet no deduction could be claimed, or was almost ever allowed, though the tenant's harvest should have entirely failed through the landlord's rigorous and absurd exaction.

Society
formed for
in Edin-
burgh.

Causes
which had
hitherto
prevented
it.

XLI. Enclosures for arable land were late in being used even in the Lothians. They appear first to have been introduced in the south about this time, when the high price which Scottish beeves brought in the English market induced a number of the Galloway proprietors to devote great part of their estates to pasturage, to turn several small corn farms into one large grazing farm, and to surround them with fences to prevent the herds mixing. This practice, which for some years had been gradual, and had been productive

Introduc-
tion of in-
closures,
and grazing
farms.

BOOK
XXVI.

1723.
Severely
felt by the
tenantry,

of much individual emolument, excited a spirit of rivalry, but reduced the poor industrious tenantry to the most distressing condition; upwards of sixty of whom in some parishes, and thirty in others, received warning to remove at Whitsunday one thousand seven hundred and twenty-four, without any prospect before them but the open fields for a habitation for themselves, their wives, and their little ones, where their substance, exposed to the elements, would be dispersed and wasted.

who rise
in Galloway.

Their declaration.

XLII. The dispossessed, many of whom had lived upon the same portions for generations, and were totally unacquainted with any other method of obtaining a livelihood, for whom there was no opening either by trade or emigration—distracted by the cries of their women and children, rose tumultuously in the county of Galloway, and destroyed the enclosures. The abstract justice of their published reasons, it would be no easy matter to controvert;—"they declared that it was neither from motives of rebellion to the king's person, government, or succession, nor to break the bonds which God had appointed, and the law of nature taught to be due from inferiors to superiors; neither was it to aspire to any higher station than what by the good providence of God pertained to them formerly, that they resisted. But they had thrown down some of these depopulating enclosures as contrary to the word of God, which forbids all oppression; * as dishonourable to the king, as if he, after having delivered them from the tyranny of foreign enemies, should leave them to be beggared and born down by their fellow-subjects; and as destructive of the strength of the kingdom, by allowing whole baronies and country sides to be laid waste for the private interest of a few particular men."†

* In support of this position their defenders quoted Nehem. chap. v. verse 8—11, and adduced the conduct of the nobles of Israel as an example to the Scottish landed gentry; for the former "had made a fair bargain with their brethren, yet gave it up frankly when it was known to be oppressive to their brethren."—*News from Galloway; or, the Poor Man's Plea.* Ed. 1724.

† The jacobite proprietors urged on the plan with their usual intention of producing misery and discontent. "Basil Hamilton cast out thirteen families, upon the 22d day of May instant, who are lying by the dyke sides, neither will he allow them to erect any shelter or covering at the dyke sides to preserve their little ones from the injury of the cold." "By the enclosures of the said

XLIII. That private should yield to public advantage is a question easily decided when the poor are required to submit; but when landlords are requested to forego a little of their accustomed indulgence for the good of the community, the axiom is not considered as quite so indisputable. The sufferers in this case, who behaved with a moderation which could scarcely have been expected,* were libelled as levelers; and even the general assembly thought they, rather than those who turned them out, required admonition. They therefore, in a warning, "obtestated the people, as they had regard to the commands of God, the eternal salvation of their souls, as well as the safety of their bodies and families, to desist from such practices in time coming, and live quietly and orderly in submission to the laws of the land, and to their rulers, who are the ordinance of God; and particularly in loyalty and obedience to their protestant sovereign king George." And as it was alleged, that among the grounds of a fast the sin of enclosing had been stated—a charge, however, repelled as untrue—"all ministers were admonished in their sermons, prayers, or private conversation, to beware of any expressions that might seem in the least to justify such practices, or to alleviate the guilt of them, or that might be interpreted to import that any sufficient ground had been given to commit such abuses. And it was recommended to the gentlemen who had been injured to use the greatest

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XXVL

1724

The assembly's warning and admonition.

Mr. Basil Hamilton, there is no less than twenty-eight plough stils of arable ground parked round Kirkcudbright, within six or seven miles in breadth or length. And where complaints of this usage have been made to some of them, [the proprietors] they answered, 'drive them into the sea;' 'or let them go abroad to the plantations;' 'or let them go to hell.' Surely this is no less than oppression, punishment, or persecution, from our native country, at the pleasure and for the private interest of some men."—An Account of the Reasons of some People in Galloway, their Meeting, &c. When we recollect that these people, or their fathers, had been the strength and the stay of the protestant interest, that they had suffered so severely for their adherence to the religion of their country, while their landlords had been persecutors, and were jacobites—it is impossible not to sympathise in their disappointment, when we see them, at the end of the struggle, when they expected to sit at peace every man under his own vine and fig tree, turned houseless to the elements, to beg or to steal as they best might; and if we cannot approve, we scarcely can condemn the disorderly conduct of men driven almost to despair.

* They seized a quantity of smuggled brandy, which they faithfully delivered to the custom-house officers at Kirkcudbright.

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XXVI.

1724.
They are
dispersed
by the mi-
litary.

tenderness towards a misled poor people, in order to reduce them to their duty." What effect these admonitions had stands not upon the record; but the introduction of a military force dispersed the unarmed crowd, and restored tranquillity to the country—such a tranquillity as now reigns among the extended sheep-walks of the highlands."*

Corn farms-
middlemen.

XLIV. A grievance exactly opposite existed in the management of the corn farms; there the subdivisions were complained of, and a set of middlemen who took leases of large quantities of land, and letting it out again in smaller portions at advanced rents, rendered the petty tenants incapable of enclosing their parks. What also contributed to retard improvement was, that at this time, notwithstanding every disadvantage, owing to three successive years of uncommon plenty, more corn was grown than could be consumed in the country, which led the Society for Improving Agriculture to adopt the resolution that they would sip no brandy or foreign spirits, in order to promote the consumption of home-made liquors, ale and aquavitæ.†

Ale and
malt tax re-
gulations.

XLV. Most inopportunately, while crops rotting on hand, and the consumption of foreign liquors happened to be popular topics of complaint, about the latter end of 1724, a resolution passed the house of commons, for laying an additional duty of sixpence per barrel on ale brewed in Scotland, instead of the malt-tax, and for taking away the bounty allowed upon the exportation of grain. The country gentlemen, who saw in this measure nothing but ruin, were violently incensed against it; and all parties forgetting their differences, agreed to unite in opposing what they considered so pernicious. Meetings were called in the shires, addresses

Addresses.

* Tracts Bib. Facult. Edin. Courant, and Mercury, 1723-4; Min. of Gen. Assemb. MS.

† The use of foreign spirits had become the subject of loud complaint; "among other things," says one of the grumblers of the day, "the brandy so much of it coming in doth great hurt, it is now turned so plenty and common that no person of quality can sit in any publick alehouse unless they have brandy. Also if any man, though never so poor, desire a consultation of any lawyer, advocate, or procurator, or writer of the meanest sort, ye shall not have his countenance to consult your business, unless ye give him brandy; ale or aquavitæ is disdained, we are so infatuate and in love with our own rum." Grievances and complaints of the poor commonality of Scotland.

were voted to parliament against the bill, as infringing materially the articles of the union :—which expressly provided that the bounty upon exports should be the same in both countries ; whereas by the proposed act, grain, the growth of Scotland, would be excluded from any premium, while the produce of England would still be entitled to it ; and instructions sent off to the representatives to oppose it to the utmost of their power.

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XXVI.

1724.
against
them.

XLVI. The malt-tax, though extended to Scotland, had hitherto been a dead letter, and in the hope that it would still so remain, the freeholders of Edinburgh wrote to the lord advocate, Robert Dundas of Arniston, their representative :—" We were in hopes that the same reasons which moved our neighbours in England to connive at the duty on malt not being exacted in Scotland for the time by-past, would have still prevailed with them to ease us of that heavy burden ; but seeing the public service doth require a further demand of supplies upon this part of the kingdom, we would much rather have the duties upon malt imposed and exacted at the same rate, and in the same manner as in England, than have a precedent laid down for unhinging of the union, which is a necessary consequence of that motion." Besides these addresses and instructions, numerous private letters were written to the Scottish members by their friends, inveighing strongly against their supineness, and exhorting them strenuously to oppose a plan so pregnant with mischief ; they accordingly waited upon ministers, and stating the universal opposition of the nation, it was agreed to withdraw the duty from the ale, and substitute the tax upon malt, as had been suggested ; only in consideration of the inferiority of Scottish grain, rating it at threepence per bushel, half of what the English paid, but this it was determined to enforce, the revenue of Scotland scarcely being adequate to its expenditure.* At the close of the same ses-

Instruc-
tions of the
freeholders
of Edin-
burgh to
their re-
presenta-
tive.

Duty on ale
withdrawn
—malt tax
substituted.

* Lockhart sarcastically alleges that bribing the nation's representatives was no small item in the account. " The charges of subsisting the Scots members of parliament," says he, (who consisted of a parcel of people of low fortune, that could not subsist without their board wages, ten guineas a-week during the session), " became a burden upon the government, so that Walpole plainly and frankly told these gentlemen when they applied to him, ' that they knew what money was raised and how applied in Scotland, and they must

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1725.

sion of parliament, an act was passed enforcing that of one thousand seven hundred and fifteen, for disarming the highlanders, with several additional and severe regulations.*

The brewers
discon-
tented.

XLVII. Exceedingly disappointed by an arrangement which promised to render exigible a tax they had no idea of paying, the discontent among the brewers, who were in general also maltsters, became universal throughout Scotland; but upon an application to the court of session by those of Edinburgh, an act of sederunt was passed by their lordships, authorizing them to raise the price to retailers, from eighteen pennies [or three halfpence sterling] per Scottish pint, to twenty pennies; and they again, to raise the price to the public from twenty pennies to twopence sterling, which, it was computed, would yield the brewers eightpence more than the amount of the malt-tax per boll. With this adjustment, which threw the burden upon the consumer, the Edinburgh brewers were perfectly satisfied, till after a conference with some delegates from their brethren in the country, they resolved to elude payment of the duty, and thus force the government to withdraw the tax; and this they intended to effect by entering their malt to avoid the penalty, but to desist from brewing to avoid the tax. A false report—either originating from a mis-statement of these proceedings, or from the fertile brains of the jacobites—was industriously disseminated, by hired emissaries, that the whole royal burghs of Scotland had come to a resolution not to pay the malt tax, and was productive of very serious consequences in the west.

Their plan
to evade
the tax.

XLVIII. June the twenty-third one thousand seven hundred and twenty-five, was the day on which the act was to take effect. For some days previous there had been rumours in Glasgow that the house of Mr. Campbell of Shawfield, their representative, against whom they were enraged for his not opposing the bill, would be visited, and that the officers would be resisted in that city, whose success was to be the signal for an universal opposition; yet no precautions were

Serious riot
in Glasgow
—remiss-
ness of the
magistrates.

lay their account with tying up their stokins with their own garters.' *Thus, for supporting a parcel of corrupt locusts the country must be oppressed.*' Lockhart's Papers, vol. ii. p. 141, *et seq.*

* Statutes at large, vol. v. p. 546. Lockhart's Papers, vol. ii. p. 137, *et seq.*

used by the magistrates—two of whom left town, it was supposed intentionally—to prevent the threatened mischief, although general Wade had sent two companies of soldiers to assist in suppressing any appearance of riot. Accordingly, when the officers on that day were proceeding to survey the stock of malt on hand, they found the streets filled with loose disorderly people, which rendered it unsafe for them to demand access, until they should be supported; the same tumultuary assembling continued on the twenty-fourth, but no mischief was done nor violence offered, till, upon the arrival of the military, the mob forcibly turned out the town-officers who were preparing the guard-room for their reception, locked the doors and carried off the keys. The troops who had been drawn up in the street ready to enter, being thus denied admission, captain Bushel, who commanded the detachment, proposed to the provost, Charles Miller, to break open the doors; but he pretending, or believing that this would irritate the mob, refused, and advised the officer to order his men into quarters, as the only expedient that remained for their safety; to this advice Bushel readily acceded, for the troops were tired with a long fatiguing march in rain, and no other shelter was offered.

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1725.

Surveying
officers pre-
vented from
doing their
duty.

Military
sent to pro-
tect the city
ordered to
quarters.

XLIX. Having disposed of the soldiers, the provost, with Campbell of Blythswood, the dean of guild, and some of his friends, waited in the town-house till near nine o'clock, and then adjourned to a neighbouring tavern. About ten the party was disturbed with the unwelcome news that the mob had re-assembled in greater numbers, and were pulling down Mr. Campbell of Shawfield's house, situate at the extremity of the town. Upon their arrival there they found a large assemblage armed with fore-hammers, clubs, and other formidable offensive weapons, assailing the house; these, after a long conference, the gentlemen prevailed upon, partly by entreaties, and partly by threats, to desist; but a fresh reinforcement arriving, they gave up their peaceable intentions, and fell anew to the work of destruction. When near twelve o'clock at night, captain Bushel sent to the lord provost, offering to come to his assistance, which offer the provost expressed his willingness to accept, provided the soldiers could be collected without danger; but when he un-

Campbell
of Shaw-
field's
house at-
tacked.

Lord pro-
vost re-
fuses the
assistance
of the mil-
itary.

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XXVI.

1725.

The house
destroyed.Seizure of
the rioters
incenses
the mob.They at-
tack the
military.Soldiers
withdraw
to Dunbar-
ton.

derstood that they were all in bed, and billeted in houses at a distance from each other, he declined calling them out, lest they should be disarmed one by one before they could reach the rendezvous.* The rioters were in consequence left in full possession of the field, and carried off or rendered useless every article of value they could lay their hands on in Mr. Campbell's house, broke the windows, tore up the floors, and totally dismantled the house itself; while a number of the lower vagabonds were quaffing the contents of the wine cellars, or having forced their way into the garden, were demolishing the images with which it was ornamented.

L. Next morning the mob, apparently satisfied with the demolition of Campbell's house, were quieter; and the provost, adventuring to break open the guard-room doors, gave the troops possession, and even assumed courage to seize and commit to prison some of the rioters. But this act irritated the populace, who were still unsettled, and many of them drunk; and a woman, or a man in woman's clothing, having got hold of a drum, beat a reveille through the streets. Immediately an immense crowd collected to rescue their friends and attack the soldiers, and marched direct to the guard, where they assailed the troops so violently with stones and brick-bats, that they, after firing ineffectually with blank cartridge to intimidate, were forced, in self-defence, to resort to ball, by which a few were killed, and several wounded.

LI. Enraged still more, the mob flew to the town-house, broke open the doors, seized the arms, and rung the alarm bell, all the while threatening that they would not leave a soldier alive. Terrified at the infuriated rabble, the provost sent a message to captain Bushel, to entreat him to leave the town for the present, as the best means for his own preservation and quieting the tumult; and the officer, whose directions were to receive orders from the provost, immediately complied. On his way to Dunbarton castle, he was followed for about six miles by the crowd, upon whom he repeatedly faced about and fired, by which some of his pursuers were wounded, and some fell: two of the soldiers who were indisposed, and unable to keep up with their com-

* Culloden Papers, addenda, p. 343.

rades, were seized and carried back to Glasgow, where one made his escape, but the other, who had been rather roughly handled, was carefully nursed till he was able to rejoin his regiment; and it reflects no small credit on the populace, that although infuriated by the death and wounds of so many of their relatives, no greater vengeance was taken on the invalids. General Wade who happened at the time to be in Edinburgh, acted with the utmost promptitude; he ordered two regiments of dragoons to be forthwith taken from the grass,* and marched to the neighbourhood of Glasgow, along with a considerable body of foot, and a train of artillery sufficient to overawe the rioters. Duncan Forbes, king's advocate, accompanied this expedition, for the purpose of taking a precognition, upon which he committed several of the inferior agents to stand trial for felony; and afterwards proceeded to incarcerate the magistrates for having, by their conduct, favoured and encouraged the mob.

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XXVI.

1725.

Reinforce-
ments sent
west.

Magis-
trates im-
prisoned.

LII. This latter commitment occasioned much dispute as to its legality. The lords of justiciary had decided that the king's advocate, since the union, had not that power; and indeed his lordship himself seems to have doubted it, as he issued the warrant not only in his character of advocate, but also in his capacity as one of the justices of peace for the county of Lanark. They were however sent off to Edinburgh under a guard, and after resting at Linlithgow on the Sabbath, entered the capital in a kind of triumph, accompanied by about forty of the chief merchants of Glasgow, and met, at a short distance from the town, by a number of gentlemen who swelled the procession. After being detained some time in the tolbooth, upon a petition to the justiciary, the magistrates were set at liberty; for though the government at first were inclined to resort to severe measures, when they found that subordination could be preserved, while their success would be very doubtful in the prosecutions, they wisely did not pursue them, especially as it appeared clearly, upon investigation, that their conduct had originated in no design against the government, even Campbell of Shaw-

Carried to
Edinburgh

Discharg
ed.

* It was the custom then to turn the cavalry horses out to graze when not on actual duty, which sometimes rendered their assembling a tedious operation in an emergency.

BOOK
XXVI.

1725.
Rioters
punished.

Campbell's
compensa-
tion.

field declaring his conviction that the provost's guilt extended no farther than to "plain stupidity." The inferior agents got off for arbitrary punishments; but to show the people that the laws would not be suffered to be insulted with impunity, before being banished the culprits were publicly whipped through Glasgow. Campbell obtained as a compensation for his loss, upwards of six thousand pounds sterling, to be levied by a tax on all ale brewed within the city, which continues as a remembrance to be raised even unto this day. In return for their persecution, the magistrates raised a criminal process against captain Bushel, but the solicitor, in the lord advocate's absence, refusing his concurrence, it fell to the ground; and as a mark of the king's approbation of that officer's conduct, he was promoted from a company of foot to a troop of dragoons.*

LIII. When the Glasgow riot was suppressed, all forcible opposition to the malt-tax ceased, and the brewers of Edinburgh were also under the necessity of giving in. They had been foolishly induced, chiefly by the arts of hidden jacobites, to adopt the ridiculous idea of compelling government to take off the tax by stopping brewing, rather than by continuing, even under the advantages of the act of sederunt, to rivet the tax for ever; and when required by the lord advocate to carry on their business, they told they would continue to brew while their malt stock on hand lasted, but if they were sued for the duty they would shut up their breweries and go to prison, rather than comply. His

* The accounts given of this riot by the parties are diametrically opposite in several particulars; one says the soldiers fired without provocation, the other, not till after having stood the most serious outrage; the one, that Mr. Campbell had retired to the country and carried off all his valuables, the other, that even his wife's jewels and his own papers were destroyed; the one, that not a floor in the house was touched, the other, that the house was completely demolished. In the text I have endeavoured to keep as near a middle course as possible. The brewers in Edinburgh seem to have taken a keen interest in the quarrel. I observe in the volume of tracts to which I refer, 3 C. 3-16 in the advocates library, that Mr. Tanoch, a name at the brewer's petition, is by a MS. note mentioned as the author of a very furious pamphlet upon the subject; his statement is principally followed by Lockhart. Culloden papers, p. 79, *et seq.* addenda, p. 343, *et seq.* Tracts Bib. Jurid. Edin. Information for the lord advocate against J. and M. Dorroch. Letters from a gentleman in Glasgow to a friend in the country, &c.

lordship finding them wilful and obstinate, entered a complaint against them for illegal combination, and requiring them "to continue and carry on their trade in the manner and to the extent they had done, for the space of one month preceding the 29th of July until the first of November; and that for the space of three months thereafter, none of them should leave off brewing until fifteen days after having intimated his design to the magistrates of Edinburgh by a public notary;" on which complaint he obtained from the court of session a summary citation under the act of sederunt, requiring the whole to appear next day, and each enact himself by a bond to comply with the required act, under the penalty of one hundred pounds sterling.

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XXVI

1725.

Pursued
before the
court of
session.

LIV. The brewers, in a petition, asserted that "to require private persons to enter into a bond under a penalty, was a grievance complained of by the claim of right; and to compel them to follow an employment to their loss, was authorized by no law, and justified by no precedent; that the brewers during the vacation brewed less, and the retailers sold less than during the session; and they argued, that if their lordships obliged them to brew an equal quantity any one month after to what they did the month preceding, they ought in fairness to pass another act, to oblige the retailers to buy, and the lieges to drink as much each succeeding month as they have done for a month before, and make them severally find caution for the same." The court considered the petition as insulting, and ordered it to be burned by the hand of the common hangman, after which they called the brewers to the bar, when all except bailie Simpson refused the bond; whereupon the lords ordained that such of them as did not comply between and the tenth of August should be committed to prison, there to remain till the first of November, or till they subscribed the required obligation.

Their petition,

considered
insulting.

Lv. Matters were in this state when the earl of Islay arrived at Edinburgh; the brewers were then summoned before the justices of the peace, at the instance of the commissioners of excise, to make payment of the duty on the malt still on hand, on which they all struck, and immediately four, considered ringleaders, Messrs. Cave, Lindsay, Scott, and Cleghorn, were sent to jail. Although they thus acted

Summoned
for pay-
ment of the
duties—
four sent to
jail.

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1725.

They sub.
mit.Process of
disarming
the high-
landers.

with decision, yet at the same time the officers of the crown and the magistrates, endeavoured by persuasion and every gentle method, to induce compliance; several well written small tracts were likewise printed and circulated, exposing the absurdity of the brewers contending against an act of sederunt, of which they themselves had been the authors, and by which it was evident they must be gainers. At last perceiving that they were not in a condition to stand it out against the ministry, the chiefs of the combination were, upon a promise from lord Islay, that payment would not be demanded till parliament met, persuaded to submit as long as they could do so with a good grace; and the rest seeing no remedy, followed their example, and quietly returned to the exercise of their lawful callings, to the great mortification of the jacobites, who regretted the breaking up of a combination which they fondly hoped "would have entirely sunk the flourishing revenue of excise."*

LVI. Another source of anticipated disturbance in the operation of the disarming act, soon after equally disappointed their expectation. General Wade, who was nominated commander of the forces in Scotland, and sent to carry it into execution, was a man of mild and conciliating manners, and acted by the advice of Duncan Forbes, whose sound judgment and intimate acquaintance with the highlands, fully qualified him to direct.† In consequence, this detested

* Culloden papers, p. 96. Lockhart papers, vol. ii. p. 165. Tracts Billed. Fact. Edin. Present case of the brewers, 1725, &c. Edinburgh Courant 1725.

† The following anecdote, which is well authenticated, is a proof how well Forbes understood the highland character. He was in the habit of sending his cattle to the west highlands for the summer grazings. The temptation keeping them at last became so great, that the foreman or manager of a gentleman who possessed the grazings, was sent with the melancholy news that the cattle were stolen. Mr. Forbes was well aware of the real state of the case, and that showing any mistrust or resentment could avail nothing. Trusting to the point of honour, which he knew had the greatest weight with every true highlander, he ordered the messenger to be kept for a fortnight and entertained with the excess of conviviality; and when he was setting out homewards he called for him, and gave him ten guineas, desiring him to tell his master that the loss of a few cattle was nothing between two friends. All this had the effect desired; the foreman answered every argument of his master that "Culloden must have his cattle." And as he was a man entrusted with

measure was productive of no angry feeling against the reigning family, but rather tended to create a kindliness between the chiefs and the king's officers; which, had it been properly improved, and the plans of Forbes followed out, the peace of the mountains might have been preserved, and their fidelity to the house of Hanover completely secured. A force sufficient to overawe the disaffected had been sent north, and a camp formed at Inverness, but the government wished rather to soothe than exasperate the clans; the general was empowered to promise a full pardon to all, except those who were already attainted by act of parliament, and even these were not left altogether without hope. Wade, therefore—who the preceding year had made a complete tour through the northern parts of Scotland, surveying the country, and getting acquainted personally or by information with the principal people of rank in these districts—before he left Edinburgh had meetings with most of the gentlemen connected with the highlands; and represented to them the advantages of submission, assuring them that the government was disposed to use great tenderness, and that in due time the expatriated chiefs would be restored, producing in confirmation the royal sign manual to that effect. When he went north, he proceeded on the same system of conciliation, and his advances were met with equal apparent frankness. Seaforth was already in terms with government, and the Mackenzies, whose chief he was, were prepared to submit. In the month of August, lord Tarbet, sir Colin Mackenzie of Coul, and sir Kenneth Mackenzie of Cromarty, accompanied by about fifty gentlemen of the name, waited upon the general at Inverness, and told him they had come as representatives of the vassals and tenants of their lord, who would not venture themselves till they knew how they would be received; that for several years his lordship's rents had been paid to his agent Daniel Murdockson, and they were unable to pay them over again; but if relieved from that obligation, they would in future pay them to the government, deliver up their arms and live

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XXVI.
— 1725.

Conciliatory measures.

Submission of the Mackenzies.

many important secrets and affairs to be a contemptible enemy, the cattle were sent back to Culloden with the joyful tidings that they were found straying among the mountains—Introduction to Culloden Papers, p. 42.

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XXVI.

1725.

peaceably.* Wade received them courteously and entertained them hospitably for several days. He told them their demand should be complied with, and if they acted as they promised, he did not doubt but the government would, when parliament met, procure the restoration of the estates, and that his majesty would cheerfully pardon their chief and his friends.

Deliver up
their arms
at Brahan.

LVII. According to a proposal made by the general to government, six independent companies had been raised from among the highlanders, officered by their own countrymen; these were incamped along with the regular troops, and were intended for the special service of disarming their disaffected neighbours. The Mackenzies, either dreading their acuteness, or disliking their superiority, begged that none of them should be present to witness the humiliating ceremony, which they desired might take place at the castle of Brahan, the principal seat of their late superior. Wade yielded this also to their honour; and, on the twenty-fifth of August, went himself, with a detachment of two hundred regular troops, to execute the duty. On the day appointed, the various bodies of the clan assembled in the adjacent villages, and marched, in good order, through the great avenue that leads to the castle; and one after another laid down their arms in the court-yard, amounting to seven hundred and eighty-four of the different species mentioned in the act of parliament; after which the leading gentlemen were invited by the general to an entertainment, and spent the day with the utmost harmony and conviviality.†

Other nor-
thern clans
surrender.

LVIII. When he had received the Mackenzies' arms, he proceeded to Killyhuimen, when the Macdonalds of Glen-

* When the rents were collected on purpose to be sent to lord Seaforth in France, four hundred of his old followers and tenants escorted the money to Edinburgh to see it safely lodged in the bank. Their first appearance on this errand caused no small surprise, and strong animadversions on government for allowing such proceedings—Stewart's Sketches, vol. i. App. p. 48. It was afterwards more silently, though not less openly, carried to Edinburgh by the agent, who, in 1724, marched, in a public manner, to Edinburgh to remit £800 to France, for Seaforth, and remained there fourteen days unmolested.—Wade's Report in the Appendix to Jamieson's edition of Burt's Letters. Perhaps both these may refer to the same circumstance.

† Edinburgh Courant, 1725.

garry; M'Leods of Glenelg; Chisholms of Strathglass, and Grants of Glenmorrison, surrendered their weapons. The Macdonalds of Keppoch, Moidart, Arisaig, and Glenco, with the Camerons and Stewarts of Appin, delivered theirs to the governor of Fort William. The M'Intoshes came in to Inverness; the Gordons and Macphersons at Ruthven in Badenoch; the inhabitants of Skye at the barrack of Bernera, and those of Mull at Castle Duart. All was accomplished by the first of October, when the troops were sent to winter quarters, and the highland companies to their respective stations—Lovat's to guard the passes between Skye and Inverness; colonel Grant's from Inverness to Dunkeld; sir Duncan Campbell from Dunkeld as far west as Lorn,—the three under lieutenants were posted at Fort William, Killyhuimen [Fort Augustus] and Ruthven.*

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1725.

Distribu-
tion of the
troops for
the winter.

LIX. The northern clans being thus peaceably settled, those of the south, who had "been out," were summoned, and parties of soldiers sent from the garrisons to receive their arms from the inhabitants of Brae-mar, Perth, Athole, Braidalbane, Menteith, and part of the shire of Stirling and Dunbarton. At the appointed times and places the clans appeared, but the arms they delivered were not in such quantities as those in the north; for not being to be allowed any compensation for them, and the act not forbidding their disposal to better advantage, they had, with prudent sagacity, got them either manufactured into legal instruments, or carried to the merchant. The number of arms of all descriptions, good and bad, did not amount to three thousand, and by their exposure to rain, and damage in carriage, by the time they were deposited in the castle of Edinburgh, the garrison of Fort William, and the barrack of Bernera, general Wade supposed they might be worth their value in old iron! but the general, who was highly gratified by the readiness with which they were delivered up, was not over ri-

The south-
ern clans

partially
disarmed.

* "Many of the men who composed these companies were of considerable station; cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen's families; young men gladly availing themselves of the privilege of engaging in a profession which relieved them from the sense of degradation and dishonour attached to the idea of being disarmed: many of the privates had 'gillys' or servants to take care of their provisions and baggage." Stewart's Sketch, vol. i. p. 250.

- BOOK XXVI. gorous in his examination, although he entertained doubts both as to the fidelity and extent of the surrender. Two hundred and thirty licences were granted to foresters, drovers, and merchants, belonging to the disarmed clans, to carry arms for their necessary protection; but during the time the troops were among them, the great body of the people were seen travelling to church and market with only their staves in their hands—and the imposition of “black mail” ceased.* Every where the chieftains hastened to give in their submission; and as they had no rational inducement to rebel, and were smarting under the consequences of their late failure, there appears no reason to doubt but at the time they were sincere in their promises of peaceful and dutiful obedience. All this had been accomplished for a sum not exceeding two thousand pounds, and besides the general had built a small yacht on Lochness, and commenced the grand military road. But as the highlanders were a people subject to change, and ready to return to their former practices, he proposed some farther precautionary measures, by strengthening the forts, finishing the roads, and keeping for some time a regular force in the country, with a cruizer on the coast to interrupt all communication from abroad.†
- Policy of Wade.
- General Assembly.
- lx. Two leading objects usually noticed in their letters to the king, were uniformly inculcated in the instructions of the general assembly to their commission for their particular inspection:—the propagation of the doctrines stigmatized by the act 1717 as antinomian, and the growth of popery within the bounds of the national church. The former of these subjects had been noticed in the royal epistles obliquely—by repeated advices to guard against the practices of such as should endeavour to create unhappy divisions among them, and fatherly exhortations to concord

* “This was a forced levy, so called from its being commonly paid in *meal*, which was raised far and wide, on the estate of every nobleman and gentleman, by some greater, in order that their cattle might be secured from lesser thieves.” —PENNANT. “Mr. Pennant is wrong in his derivation of *black mail*. It is compounded of *black*, from *blacken* to plunder, and *mal*, a mark—a Scottishman says he has paid his *mail*, *i. e.* rent.”—Letters from a Gentleman in the North &c. vol. ii. p. 124, Note.

† General Wade’s Report.—Appendix to Letters from a Gentleman in the North, &c. edited by Mr. Jamieson.

and brotherly love; than which nothing could tend more to their honour and welfare. The commissioner, the earl of Loudon, in his speech to the assembly 1725, informed them that the latter had especially attracted his majesty's attention :—"having considered the representation of former assemblies," said he, "setting forth—'that popery and ignorance increase and prevail in the highlands and islands, and that one of the principal causes is the large extent of the parishes, which prevents ministers from visiting their parishioners as they ought, and giving such instructions as is necessary to enlighten them and arm them against the practices of the many popish priests that resort thither, in order to pervert and seduce them; and that the most probable means to prevent their success, would be to give some proper encouragement to itinerant teachers and catechists to go into these bounds, and be assisting to the ministers established there ;' his majesty has empowered me to inform you that he is firmly resolved to promote and encourage, as much as in him lies, so good and pious a design, and is therefore to order the sum of one thousand pounds yearly, to be appointed during the royal pleasure, and applied solely for the provision and entertainment of such itinerant ministers and catechists, as shall be employed in these parts, for the above-mentioned purposes."* This method of suppressing popery—certainly superior to the methods so strenuously urged of putting the penal laws in force against the papists, and enacting more rigorous statutes—he told them, "his majesty hoped would be materially promoted by the means he was employing for securing the peace and tranquillity of the highlands, by giving the ministers an opportunity in the way of example and persuasion, to put some stop to the spreading ignorance and the trafficking priests." The donation was thankfully acknowledged, and a committee appointed to see it properly applied. No other business of importance was transacted in this assembly.†

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XXVI.

1725.

The king's
attention
to the state
of the high-
lands.

His dona-
tion of
L. 1000 a.
year for
their in-
struction.

* The preachers were to instruct from house to house, and also to catechise; they were to have a salary not exceeding L. 40 sterling. The catechists L. 25 per annum. Settled ministers were also, where requisite, to be employed for administering the ordinances, and to be allowed L. 4 per month. Register of the Assembly MSS.

† Register of the Assembly MS.

BOOK
XXVI.

1725.

Pretender's
intrigues.

LXI. Far different, and in woeful contrast with the benevolence of the king, appeared the malignant but happily waning influence of the pretender. When informed of the disarming act, he instantly anticipated a favourable conjuncture in his affairs, and ordered the exiles who were at Paris to prepare for returning to their native country to head a new insurrection; they objected to a new rising as ruinous: but James, with equal folly and recklessness for their fortune, endeavoured to urge them on by the assurance of foreign aid, which he knew was a chimera of his own creating. They had now, however, lost that enthusiasm which prompted the first movements; years of expatriation had rendered them more cool, and the total failure of all his projects had made them less credulous with regard to his promises. Yet with a degree of callous duplicity did he represent them to his friends in Scotland as favourable, and his prospects of assistance from some continental power as more bright and nearer than ever.

His letter
to Lockhart.

LXII. In expectation of the highlanders resisting, he declared in an epistle to Lockhart—"I am resolved, and I think I owe it to them to do all in my power to support them; and the distance I am at has obliged me to give my orders accordingly, and nothing in my power shall be wanting to enable them to keep their ground against the government, at least till they can procure good terms for themselves; though, at the same time, I must inform you, that the opposition they propose to make may prove of the greatest advantage to my interest, considering the hopes I have of foreign assistance, which perhaps you may hear of before you receive this letter. I should not have ventured to call the highlands together without a certainty of their being supported; but the great probability there is of it, makes me not at all sorry they should take the resolution of defending themselves, and not delivering up their arms, which would have rendered them in a great measure useless to their country."

LXIII. Neither his lowland nor highland friends entered into his foolish and precipitate counsels; the latter were sufficiently willing to preserve their arms, but it was by the more safe and prudent method they pursued; and the for-

mer were "humblie of opinion, that if the highlanders pretended to stand it out against the government, it would be a rash and fatall attempt: that it was not to be imagined they could, by resistance, get better terms, unless they were able to defeat the government, and if they failed therein, the utter extirpation of their race would be the consequence." "And therefore," adds Lockhart, who acted as their scribe, "your friends here are unanimously of opinion, that as the highlanders are a body of men of such valuable consideration, both to your interest and that of the country, it is by no means reasonable to hazard them at an uncertainty; for though they should give up their arms—which will not be the case—it will be easier to provide them therewith afterwards than to repair the loss of their persons when your service calls for their assistance." With equal good sense they advised him to direct his foreign force, of whose efficiency they appear to have had some sly suspicion, rather to make an impression on England than uselessly expend it among their mountains. "For," continued Lockhart, "situated as the highlanders are, and exposed to the hatred of the government, it is by no means adviseable to hazard them on the prospect you have, and mention of speedy assistance from foreign powers. These undertakings are lyable to so many accidents, that the best formed designs may prove abortive; in which case, any previous declaration for you would terminate in the utter ruin of your friends and party. If such foreign powers as can and are willing to aid you, are at pains to inquire into the true state of affairs and characters of persons, they cannot doubt of your Scots subjects' readiness to declare for you whenever a probable attempt is made, which will contribute as much to the desired issue of it as if they should begin sooner. Whilst, at the same time it secures your interest in the country in case of unlucky intervening accidents and disappointments." And with a most cutting allusion to James' highly coloured picturing, he adds, in his own person—"As these are the sentiments of your friends here, which they lay before you with all submission, so likewise do they seem to be the opinions and resolutions of the highlanders themselves, both at home and abroad: that the first are so inclined and re-

Lockhart's
answer.

BOOK
XXVI.

1725.

Restora-
tion
scheme.

solved I know certainly, and I have reason to believe the the same of the others.”*

LXIV. By next accounts from abroad, the “foreign assistance” had vanished in air; and the baseless speculations which Lockhart had formed at home upon the supposition of its reality, also evaporated—their only traces remain now in his garrulous pages, whence it is needless to extract them. To notice all the schemes for a second restoration would be as tiresome as useless; but there is one, which for its delightful extravagance deserves preservation: “It was proposed that the king [the chevalier] would prevail with the emperor to set him at the head of the army—having good general officers under him—with which he should attack the dukedom of Hanover, and seize on the same as what he had a right to retain until the prince thereof restored him to the possession of what he detained from him. A vigorous push on this quarter would have the same effects as an attempt on Britain—at least facilitate such an attempt if judged necessary and practicable—and would encourage and enable the king’s friends at home when a diversion was given that would be of the utmost consequence. For as king George’s affection and regard to his German dominions lay nearest his heart, he would bend his greatest care and chief efforts to defend them; and rather than run the hazard of losing them, or even seeing them ruined by being the seat of a bloody war, would think of making up terms with the king, especially when ’tis well enuff known how little concern he has for the person called his son and successor. And although a considerable part of the British should stand by the prince with a design to set him on the throne, ’tis not to be doubted but in such a strange jumble of affairs and interests others would think of applying to the king when they perceived the revolution party split into pieces, and the king at the head of a powerful army abroad, and his friends declaring for him at home.”

LXV. Many of Lockhart’s wild projects which he gravely enumerated, and which formed the ground work of much of his correspondence with the pretender, if not altogether the

* Lockhart Papers, b. ii. p. 168.

reveries of his own imagination, were founded on the exaggerations of a very sanguine temperament, and neither met the approbation nor support of those with whom he was connected; indeed, he acknowledged to James nearly as much. Lord Panmure, he told him in a letter dated December 1725, when shown some of his [the chevalier's] letters, turned all into a jest, and fell soon into a passion, swearing that it was madness to propose any thing to be done for him, and that none but madmen would engage in such an affair, and "his eldest son made no scruple of owning a great resentment at the loss of the family-estate, and the cause that occasioned it." The duke of Hamilton, if ever serious, also wisely withdrew from the trusteeship: at one time he was too eagerly engaged in country diversions to attend, and when spoken to about this affair, he replied, that being a young man, he was unwilling to say any thing to the prejudice of an established reputation such as Panmure's. But Lockhart, to console himself and his master for the defection of a nobleman, upon whose accession to them he had raised such towering hopes, thus characterises "the most proper person [his grace] in whom the supreme power should be lodged."—"But then he's young, and hath no experience in business of any kind; nay, notwithstanding all that your and his own friends have said to him, his by-past life has been entirely devoted to diversions, idleness, and a bottle, among a set of people noways fit companions for one of his rank, by which conduct he hath entirely lost his character, and run himself over head and ears in debt:" his communication concludes in the following pious but desponding strain: "I pray God you may be enabled to lay hold of this and every fair opportunity of doing yourself right, and relieving your oppressed people." In fact, excepting a few, and those neither remarkable for influence nor abilities, the jacobites in general throughout Scotland were at this period, willing to desert a declining cause that had lost much of its attraction by the issue of the late rebellion, and by the spiritless behaviour of James himself, while among them.

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1725.

Lockhart
deserted by
Panmure
and Hamil-
ton.

His charac-
ter of
Hamilton.

State of ja-
cobites in
Scotland.

LXVI. What tended too at this time greatly to thin the ranks of his partizans, and estrange his friends, was his do-

BOOK
XXVI.1725.
James'
domestic
quarrels.

mestic quarrels, of which his enemies knew well how to take advantage, and which rendered him contemptible through Europe. His folly had placed him in the hands of a selfish crew, who consulted nothing but their own particular interest, who preyed upon, flattered, and betrayed him. Mar* had been supplanted in his office of secretary by his brother-in-law, col. Hay, created nominal earl of Inverness, and two parties were formed abroad among the sufferers in the Stuart cause. Inverness ingrossed the whole confidence of his master, whom he suffered to be approached by none but his own creatures, and over whose weak mind, by means of his wife, a handsome intriguing woman, he contrived to secure his ascendancy. The more respectable of his exiles withdrew from his court, and lingered about Paris, in hopes of returning home, or entered into foreign service to avoid starving.

His queen
joins Mar.

LXVII. In these divisions, the "queen," or lady pretender, joined the party of Mar. Offended at the intimacy between her husband and lady Inverness, she had behaved with coolness to the noble pair, who, arrogant from the power they possessed, treated her in return openly with insult and indignity. This she bore reluctantly for some years, till her first son, Charles Edward—afterwards the young pretender—being about to enter his fifth year, was taken from Mrs. Sheldon's charge, where she had him under her own eye, and was committed to the care of James Murray, created earl of Dunbar, brother to lady Inverness, nor ever permitted to visit her alone. Against this she loudly remonstrated, and demanded the dismissal of the favourites as the condition of her continuing with "the king," which not being able to obtain, she sought refuge in a convent.

Retires to
a convent.

* Mar entered into negotiations with the earl of Stair for a pardon, which were unsuccessful; and he was afterwards supported in exile chiefly by tenantry, from whom he little merited any thing. He suggested the improvements in Edinburgh, by building the North and South Bridges, and also making a navigable canal between Forth and Clyde. Douglas' *Poems*, Wood, b. ii. p. 218. Yet he was accused by the jacobites of applying his own use money sent for the use of the pretender, of being personally venal, and of revealing James' secrets. Lockhart's *Papers*, vol. ii.—seen no convincing proof of these charges.

LXVIII. Whispers of a misunderstanding between the royal couple had early reached Scotland, but had been treated as scandalous aspersions, originating with the Marian faction, till the publicity of the queen's retreat rendered it impossible longer to look upon them in this light; nor did the chevalier himself allow to pass over in silence an incident which he ought to have been the last man in the world to publish. He printed and circulated a memoir, accusing his "queen" of unreasonable obstinacy, in persisting to require the dismissal of his most confidential servants, in whose integrity he had the most unbounded reliance, and whose conduct towards her majesty had ever been respectful, without assigning any reason for her dislike. In two letters, however, subjoined, he plainly hints at the cause of her displeasure, by assuring her that she alone possessed his affection without a rival, while he was unable to express his astonishment at her extravagant injustice towards lord and lady Inverness; and he felt himself obliged to declare, that his lordship, so far from having rendered her any ill offices with him, was particularly anxious to avail himself of the liberty which he allowed him, to speak to him with freedom, and exhort him to mildness and patience when he saw him ill-pleased with her conduct; and, for the countess, the whole world knew with what zeal and even affection she had served her. He admits, however, that he had given orders that their eldest son should never be allowed to go any where without being accompanied by his governor or sub-governor, who always attended him even to his own chamber. He had dismissed Mrs. Sheldon, he said, and he had his reasons for dismissing her; but at these things she ought not to have taken offence, he being the master of his own family and children.*

BOOK
XXVI.
1725.

His memorial against her.

LXIX. Clementine, his lady, in a letter written to her sister, which was also published, tells her for the information of the world, "Mr. Hay and his lady"—for she does not give them their titles—"are the cause that I am retired in-

Her letter to her sister explanatory of her conduct.

* This was a doctrine he was very fond of inculcating. In another letter, which he meant to be a very tender one, he politely tells her, "vous avez du être persuadée il y a longtemps que je veux être le maître dans mes affaires et dans ma famille; mais il n'est encore trop tard de se reconnaître."—Register of Letters. Lockhart's Papers, v. ii. p. 246.

BOOK
XXVL

1725.

Effect of
their state-
ments.

James
complains
of the
pope's in-
terference.

to a convent. I received your letter in their behalf, and returned you an answer only to do you a pleasure and to oblige the king, but all has been to no purpose; for, instead of making them my friends, all the civilities I have shown them have only served to render them the more insolent. Their unworthy treatment of me has in short reduced me to such an extremity, and I am in such a cruel situation, that I had rather suffer death than live in the king's palace with persons that have no religion, honour, nor conscience; and who, not content with having been the authors of so fatal a separation between the king and me, are continually teasing him every day to part with his best friends, and most faithful subjects. This at length determined me to retire into a convent, there to spend the rest of my days in lamenting my misfortunes, after having been fretted for six years together by the most mortifying indignities and affronts that can be imagined." James's memorial only confirmed the reports which had gone abroad: The ill usage of his queen had been too flagrant not to be observed by almost every retainer about his court, and even his friends could not excuse it. Clementine's statement, therefore, met with universal credit, and herself with universal sympathy, while the character of her husband fell in proportion.

LXX. As the tutors of her son, though properly of no faith, professed the protestant, she easily procured the influence of the pope, by her complaints of the danger of their being perverted, and it is not a little diverting to see Inverness representing himself as suffering persecution for his religion! At first the chevalier talked big and looked exceedingly high: "The pope," he says, in one of his letters, "sent to tell me if he [Murray] were removed, and Mrs. Sheldon taken back into favour, that he hoped matters might be made up betwixt the queen and me; that what he said of Mrs. Sheldon was only by way of entreaty, but as for Murray he could not approve or consent to his being about my son. To which I replied that I had no occasion for the pope's advice or consent in the affair, that concerned my private family. It has been talked in Rome as if the pope might take from me the pension he gives me, but neither threats of this kind, nor any want of regard the pope may show me, will induce

me to alter my conduct, and will only serve to afford me an opportunity of showing my subjects that nothing can make me alter a conduct which I think just and right."

BOOK
XXVI.

1725.

LXXI. Finding, however, that it was rather difficult to remain in Rome and contend with the pope, his lordship of Dunbar, in less than a month got leave of absence, and we hear no more words of defiance; for shortly after, in a chastened tone, he complains to his correspondent, "the queen is still in the convent, and her advisers continue still to procure my uneasiness from the pope to such a degree that I wish myself out of his country, and I won't fail to do my endeavours to be able to leave it, which I am persuaded will tend to the advantage of my affairs." His schemes, however, which were built upon the fluctuating state of European politics, were exposed to strange vicissitudes, as the relations of these states scarcely remained the same for six months at a time; France, Spain, Sweden, had alternately buoyed up his expectations and disappointed them; he was now looking to the emperors of Russia and Germany, to any mind but his own or his adherents, a very hopeless quarter.

His views
for assistance
turned to Ger-
many and
Russia.

LXXII. Wild and extravagant as his projects were, they furnished his rival—for they were all communicated to the British cabinet—with pretexts for involving Britain in every squabble in which his retention of Verdun and Bremen involved him, but which were declared necessary for maintaining the balance of power in Europe, and preserving the kingdom from the pretender. A congress which had met at Cambray, for adjusting all the differences of the parties, had been prolonged for three years. The emperor refused to give the elector of Hanover investiture of his acquired property, except upon payment of very exorbitant fees; these the other hesitated to pay; and while this account was adjusting, the meeting was broken up by the information of a treaty between the Germanic head and Spain, containing, according to rumours spread by the British ministry, secret articles detrimental to the trade of England, and for the restoration of the pretender. This treaty had been managed by the duke di Ripperda, a native of the United Provinces, who, changing his religion, by the union of talents and opportunity, had succeeded to the title and influence of Albe-

Treaty be-
tween Ger-
many and
Spain re-
ported fa-
vourable to
the pre-
tender.

BOOK roni, in Spain, whom he had openly accused of wasting at
XXVI. Sicily the naval force which should have landed a new king
in England.

1726.
The king
makes a
treaty with
France.

LXXIII. King George dreading this alliance, concluded a defensive treaty, at Hanover, with France, to which Prussia and the States-general were invited to accede. Then hastening home, in the session of parliament held January 1726, he obtained the approbation of the commons, who declared they would effectually stand by and support him against all insults and attacks that any power in resentment of the measures so wisely taken, should make upon any of his majesty's territories, though not belonging to Great Britain. Fleets were in consequence ordered to cruise in the Baltic, Mediterranean, and West Indies, while the continent was restless, but no active hostilities were yet begun, though Spain collected an army of twenty thousand men at St. Roch, and threatened Gibraltar.

Parliament
assures him
of support.

Dissen-
sions still
continue in
the church.

LXXIV. Somewhat similar to the state of Europe was the state of the established church. No open hostilities were carried on in the great field of contention—the general assembly—to which the earl of Loudon was again appointed commissioner, and Mr. Mitchell of Edinburgh, moderator; but in the presbyteries there was constant skirmishing between the evangelicals and their opponents, who dared not yet openly avow Arminian tenets, or justify patronage, without any reference to a call from the parish. Rapid strides, were, however, making towards both, by the introduction of a method of preaching which could not be condemned as heterodox, but which was “sparingly sprinkled with the gospel;” and by the commission in general affirming, in preference, the settlement where the candidate had the presentation, although he had the fewest votes. A new accusation of teaching more openly unsound noxious doctrine was brought against professor Simpson; and it was also considered the mark of a backsliding church, that notwithstanding irrefragable proof he had a strong party that protected him, and eventually brought him off with a very disproportionate mark of disapprobation;—his case was referred to a commission by the assembly. During this year numerous cases of reference with regard to disputed settlements oc-

A new ac-
cusation
against
Simpson.

curred, and it deserves particular remark, that both in presbyteries and synods the satisfaction of the parish was never understood to signify that of the people, the majority of the parish being a majority of the heritors and elders;—in some cases heads of families were included, but not always.*

BOOK
XXVL
1726.

LXXV. While the friends of the presbyterian establishment were lamenting her divisions, and mourning, that notwithstanding the regular re-enactment of most excellent laws, her discipline was relaxing, and her practice deviating from her received standards, the friends of episcopacy were bewailing the departure from their principles, and the rebellious spirit which had obtained among the fragments of their church. These were divided into two factions. The one was distinguished by its zeal for restoring several of the Romish rites—or as they styled them, some ancient usages—mixing the eucharistic wine with water, anointing with holy chrism, and prayers for the dead; but, at the same time they asserted the right and power of the presbyters, with the consent of the people, to elect their bishops, without any dependance on the king or college of bishops: the other, that of the college of bishops, were opposed to all innovations in the canons and ceremonies of the church, as they were established and practised before the revolution, and were for allowing the king, as far as possible, the exercise of those rights, particularly with respect to naming bishops, that were vested in him by the laws of the land, previous to 1688. At the head of the first was bishop Gatherer, supported by lord Panmure, and most of the earl of Mar's friends; the "trustees," now dwindled down to insignificance, supported the last, and their diversity of opinions and views were carried to the greatest height by both clergy and laity.

Division
among the
episcopals.

* In a violently contested case, that of Lochmaben, 1724, about which nearly a folio volume of papers was printed, the inhabitants are said to be represented by the town council, and where the debate rested chiefly upon the qualification of the voters, heads of families, householders, unless proprietors, were not held good.—A true and fair representation of the case of Lochmaben, 1724. In a similar one at Cardross, this year, fifty-two heads of families having voted for a Mr. Smith, it was asked, are these legal votes? No, for they may be here to-day and away to-morrow.—Letter from a parishioner of Cardross, 1725. Tracts, Bib. Facult. Edin.

BOOK XXVI. The succession to the see of Edinburgh occasioned a bitter collision between them.

1726.

LXXVI. Fullarton, the then dignitary, having become "dosed and superannuate," in prospect of his decease, the pretender had desired the bishops to consecrate Mr. John Gillane, a person recommended by his trustees. But one of the college—Miller, a man "of a hot turbulent temper, ambitious, proud, and positive; and withal but meanly endowed with learning, prudence, or discretion"—who had been disappointed of the archiepiscopal chair of St. Andrews, set his heart upon the metropolitan bishopric, and was at great pains to gain the favour and friendship of the presbyters of Edinburgh, and succeeded to his mind with a certain set, whose life and conversation rendered them very contemptible; these he "skreened" from censure on account of the indecent practices laid to their charge, and they apprehending that Gillane would be too strict in his discipline, resolved to leave no stone unturned to prevent his consecration.

Their petty squabbles.

LXXVII. Emboldened by numbers, Miller drew up a remonstrance to the college against consecrating Gillane, which was signed by above twenty presbyters; "it began by representing the encroachment made on the powers and rights of the church since the reformation; and earnestly exhorted and required the bishops to lay hold on this happy occasion for regaining what was lost, now that the crown was not in a condition to maintain them; it accused 'the king' of having broken the promise he had made of not recommending any of the episcopal charge without the previous advice of the college; and expressed their dissatisfaction with Gillane's character and qualifications, reserving the particular grounds thereof for another occasion."

LXXVIII. Before presenting this paper, they communicated it to bishop Duncan, who frankly told them if they did so, he would throw it into the fire, and sharply reproved them "as acting a most seditious and unwarrantable part with respect to their civil and ecclesiastical superiors; that such a practice would be a precedent for destroying all order and government, and directly inconsistent with that loyalty which had hitherto been the glory of the Scots church."

Perceiving that the college would give them no favourable audience, the remonstrance was not presented; but the party, enraged to the utmost, in every company they entered, openly lamented the deplorable state of the church, and publicly asserted the king had sent Lockhart *a congé d'elire* for electing Gillane.* Forgetting their doctrines of passive obedience, they railed against his majesty's obtruding men upon the church with whose characters he was unacquainted, and insolently asked what was to be expected if he were on the throne, who acted so arbitrarily in his present situation?†

BOOK
XXVI.
1726.
It is not
presented.

They rail
against
James.

LXXIX. Mr. Lockhart who always took a keen interest in ecclesiastical affairs, expostulated strongly with one of the party—a Mr. Keith—upon his conduct, as calculated to give mankind a strange impression of “ane order of men who pretended to suffer for their loyalty, and yet acted a part so diametrically opposite thereto, and withal so ungenerous, as prosecuting at this juncture, measures that none would dare own were the king upon the throne.” To his utter amazement, Keith answered that it was certain the state had made great encroachments upon the church, and he would not say but there were some inconveniences in attempting to recover them at this juncture; yet they could not in conscience sit altogether silent, and he offered in their name to refer the whole, or compound the matter. Indignant at such a proposal, the trustee passionately replied, “that the king was not quite reduced so low as to make a reference or composition with a parcel of little factious priests in the diocese of Edinburgh, who, as they were serving the covenanted cause, should change their black gowns into brown cloaks, and he did not doubt but they would be received among the godly, unless ecclesiastic had the same fate with state traitors, in being despised by those they served.” The consecration of Gillane was, however delayed, and shortly after their communication with the pretender, interrupted.

Lockhart's
expostulation
with
one of the
party.

Consecra-
tion of Gil-
lane delay-
ed.

* By a curious misprint in the Lockhart Papers, the king is said to have sent the bishops a *congé de lire*, leave to study, a very proper permission, instead of a *congé d'elire*, a liberty to elect.

† “In short,” says Lockhart, “they spoke with the utmost malice, and in the most unmannerly terms, of the king and all that opposed them; nay, one of their ringleaders, Mr. P. Middleton, was heard say that if Gillane was consecrated, he'd make some heads hop!” Papers, vol. ii. p. 327, *et seq.*

BOOK
XXVI
1726.

Inverness
betrays
James to
government.

Despatches
for
Lockhart
seized—he
escapes.

LXXX. Such bustling among so intemperate a set could not be kept a secret from their adversaries, and accordingly some of the more zealous presbyterians made application to lord Islay, then in Scotland, to procure the interference of government; but his lordship judged more wisely, and told them to rest contented, for the episcopalians were in the high way of undoing themselves if let alone. Government, however, was upon the scent of other game. Inverness,* for whom James was sacrificing his wife and his character, had been for some time in their pay, and whether from revenge for the laird of Carnwath's plain dealing, or from the fear of being himself detected, gave information of a packet directed for Lockhart, containing plans and speculations about invasion, to which, in the unsettled state of their foreign relations, the ministry were disposed to attach some importance. In consequence, a vessel from Rotterdam for Leith, containing these despatches, was boarded by a custom-house yacht in the mouth of the firth of Forth, and the letters seized, but Lockhart escaped to the continent. The persons, however, who conducted the correspondence, Strachan a merchant in Leith, and Cossar in Edinburgh, were seized and carried to London, where they remained several months, and the latter was drawn in by degrees to own so much, that at last he was forced to make a full discovery.†

* Lockhart himself had heard that "that lord being apprehensive that the vigorous opposition and warm representations of the king's trustees in Scotland, against him and in favour of the queen, would at last prevail with his majesty, thought nothing would so effectually prevent his fall as cutting off those who were most active against him, with which view he went and discovered to government the letters in that packet." He adds in great wrath and simplicity, "if this fact is true," of which, that he should have doubted it considering the authority he had, is strange, "no age ever produced a more monstrous instance of malicious villanous treacherie and revenge!"

† The following anecdote goes far to relieve George the First's memory from the imputation of harshness or cruelty toward rebels:—the government having thus, and by other means, discovered a great deal too much, it was moved and pressed in the cabinet council, to prosecute the earls of Wigton, Kincardine, and Dundonald, and the lord Balmerinoch and myself for high treason; but the late king George opposed it, he said that the preliminaries being signed there was a prospect of peace, and he would have no more blood or forefaulters, especially seeing the person most concerned [meaning me] had escaped, and in this he was so positive, that his ministers, after several attempts, were forced to drop it." Lockhart's Papers, vol. ii. p. 298.

LXXXI. After the trustee's departure, when Fullarton died, the two factions became still more divided ; and the rebellious party elected Miller to the vacant see, and the college nominated bishop Fairbairn, interim factor upon the diocess; while the managers of the most considerable episcopalian meeting houses in Edinburgh dismissed their pastors, for acting in opposition to their sentiments—an assumption of power bordering more upon independent than episcopalian principles.

BOOK
XXVI.

1726.

Dispute
about the
see of Ed-
inburgh.

LXXXII. Public affairs had assumed a very warlike appearance when the British parliament met on the seventeenth of January, one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven. The king announced, in his speech, the critical state of the times ; to touch the pride and the interest of England, he told them “Spain had demanded the restitution of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, and Germany the establishment of a company at Ostend to compete with and ruin the East India company of London ; and the reward of these concessions was to be—placing a popish pretender on the throne.” A supply of two millions nine hundred and ninety-eight thousand, one hundred and four pounds sterling, declared the terror of the commons, who dreaded the chimerical restoration of the Stuarts more than the real accumulation of debt ; for the statesmen of those days, who predicted hazard to liberty from imaginary dangers, perceived none from the increasing host of placemen and dependents which the taxes were creating for government. They pleased themselves with the idea of the sinking fund soon clearing off all incumbrances, and though it was already realizing its name—for there was no surplus revenue to apply to it—yet would not any of them admit the absurdity, when Lord Bathurst pointed it out in the house of peers, of borrowing money to pay part of an old debt, whilst they were actually increasing it by new loans :—a fallacy so detrimental to the country none of the managers of the treasury ever had the honesty to acknowledge, till the present chancellor of the exchequer [1828] avowed it.

1727.

Parlia-
ment.

Supply
voted.

Sinking
fund.

LXXXIII. Scarcely had the parliament risen when the general assembly sat. They fully concurred in expressing their loyalty and duty to his majesty at “that critical conjuncture of affairs,” and deprecated with as much fervour the

General
assembly.

- BOOK XXVI.** alliances abroad as favouring the pretender. They at the same time judged themselves bound to watch strictly against all divisions among themselves which might tend to disappoint the good ends for which they were convened, by affording his majesty's enemies any handle to disturb the happiness and tranquillity of his auspicious government. These dissensions were chiefly occasioned by the agitation which professor Simpson's heresy produced, who, upon the report of the commission, was suspended from teaching by this assembly till the meeting of next. His case, however, though of primary importance, which involved polluting the sources of religious instruction by inculcating error from the divinity chair, was treated with great tenderness; but the non-jurant episcopalians, who were about as dangerous as their powerless master, were particularly recommended to the attention of the civil power, as uniting in measures with professed papists for the purpose of creating dissatisfaction. "In their prayers they not only did not remember his majesty, but, by a circuitous mode of expression, gave their hearers to understand that their petitions were chiefly intended for the pretender, from whom alone they expected redress." Government, or rather lord Islay, who knew the distracted and uninfluential situation of the titular bishops—for as there was no distinct Scottish secretary of state, lord Islay managed the business—paid no attention to their memorial, but reiterated his majesty's recommendation of peace and unity among themselves.
- 1727.** **LXXXIV.** War had commenced in the siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards; but none of the other powers being equally forward, negotiations were continued; and about the end of May preliminaries of peace were agreed to through the mediation of France. Upon which, king George, who had not visited his German dominions for two years, having resolved to repose upon his laurels, immediately after parliament broke up, prepared for a journey to Hanover, to enjoy some relaxation from the skirmishing of parties which he liked so ill in Britain. On the seventh of June he landed at Vaert in Holland, where he remained for the night. Next day he proceeded, and reached Delden on the ninth between ten and eleven o'clock at night, to all appearance in perfect
- Simpson suspended.**
- They recommend to government to watch over the episcopalians.**
- Peace with Spain.**
- The king proceeds to Germany.**

health, supped heartily, slept well, and left the place next morning about four. Between eight and nine he ordered the carriage to stop, and on attempting to get out, felt that he could not move one of his hands. Fabricius, who was with him, chaffed it, but to no effect, upon which he called the surgeon, who followed on horseback, and he rubbed it with spirits. In this interval the king's mouth and eyes became convulsed, and his tongue swelled; a vein being opened, he recovered his speech only to say, "hasten to Osnaburg," and fell into a lethargy from which he never awoke. He expired in his brother's palace at two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, June eleventh, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and thirteenth of his reign.*

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1727.

Taken ill
upon the
road.

His death.

LXXXV. Late in coming to the British throne, and unacquainted with their language, George never could accommodate himself to the manners of the people, and though respected was never beloved. The violence of political party at the time when he succeeded, and which he ill understood, operated against him. He possessed not that powerful mind which could have served himself, of both

Character.

* The jacobites improved the story of the king's death. "The circumstances of king George's death are terrible, and worth the knowledge of all our friends: they are kept as much concealed as possible even in Germany, so probably will be a secret both in England and France. What was told me lately by a person of superior rank, and of great esteem in these parts, I had heard imperfectly before from a lady of quality. It seems when the late electress was dangerously ill of her last sickness, she delivered to a faithful friend a letter to her husband, upon promise that it should be given into his own hands. It contained a protestation of her innocence, a reproach for his hard usage and unjust treatment, and concluded with a summons or citation to her husband to appear within the year and day at the divine tribunal, and there to answer for the long and many injuries she had received from him. As this letter could not with safety to the bearer be delivered in England or Hanover, it was given to him in his coach on the road. He opened it immediately, supposing it came from Hanover. He was so struck with these unexpected contents, and his fatal citation, that his convulsions and apoplexy came first on him; after being blooded, his mouth turned awry, and they then proposed to drive off to a nearer place to Osnaburg, but he signed twice or thrice with his hand to go on, and that was the only mark of sense he showed. This is no secret among the Catholics in Germany, but the Protestants hush it up as they can."—Lockhart's Register of Letters, Papers, vol. ii. p. 252-3. Similar citations and similar effects have been so often told, that one would almost have imagined such stories have become stale even among "the Catholics"—but partizan credulity can believe any thing.

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sides, by directing his own councils and rendering their united efforts, beneficial to the empire at large, while they did not individually trench upon each other's particular; but declaring himself at once the head of a faction, he secured their support at the expense of the peace of the country, while they, to preserve their own ascendancy, flattered and encouraged him in his partiality for an electorate, which ought to have been declared separate the moment he obtained the crown. As sovereign of Britain, he sacrificed the interest of the three kingdoms too much for quarrels not British; yet he materially promoted their prosperity by not interfering with their free institutions; and his memory must be ever honoured for supporting the religious liberty of his subjects. As a prince he was steady in his friendships, and held his word sacred; he was temperate and circumspect in his politics; and his military qualities, though not brilliant, were above mediocrity. He was inclined to favour Scotland; and if that division of the empire did not advance so much under his sway as it ought, this must be attributed to causes over which he had no control. He was plain in his dress, grave in his manner, and composed in his general deportment. For a king perhaps, his private conduct was tolerable; but it was rather too much for the general assembly of the church of Scotland, year by year, to extol his "piety" and his "royal endeavours to discourage vice and immorality," when he was keeping two mistresses as openly as if he had advertised the fact in the gazette, in the same columns with the clerical address.

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XXVII.

GEORGE II.

George II.—His accession.—State of the country.—Address of commission of assembly to the king.—Coronation.—National improvement thwarted by the Jacobites.—The national fisheries given up.—Highlanders resist the introduction of strangers among them.—State of Pretender's party in Scotland.—Abroad.—His letter to Lockhart on the king's death.—Lockhart's conference with the bearer of it.—Disapproves of his design of coming to Scotland.—Recommends him to make up his difference with his wife.—His statement respecting it.—Her reasons for not joining him.—Lockhart's zeal in his cause abates.—His exposure of the treachery of his confidants.—Returns to Scotland, and retires from public life.—His apology for leaving the service of the Pretender.—Parliament.—General assembly.—Charges proved against Simpson; sentence delayed.—State of continental affairs.—Parliament.—The king recommends warlike preparations.—Foreign subsidies strongly opposed.—General assembly.—Overture on Simpson's case.—Mr. Boston's proceedings regarding it.—Sir R. Walpole unpopular.—Objections against the peace with France and Spain.—Debate on the large military force retained.—Bill disabling pensioners to sit in Parliament lost.—Cause of the distractions in the Church.—Commission urge forcible settlements.—Case of Kinross.—Act prohibiting protests being recorded.—Parliament.—Use of Latin in law proceedings abolished.—Influence of ministers with their people weakened.—Assembly's overture for planting vacant churches.—Remonstrance against the conduct of the Commissioner refused.—Mr. E. Erskine censured for his sermon before Synod at Perth, appeals to the Assembly.—Further proceedings in the Kinross settlement.—Proceedings in Mr. Erskine's case.—The Associate Presbytery formed.—State of Scotland.—Improvement in trade, &c.—Peaceful state of the Highlands.—Progress of the military road.—Parliament abandons the excise act.—General Assembly.—Their attempts to bring back the seceding ministers ineffec-

tual.—Views of the Secession of the reform necessary in the Church.—Parliament.—Protest against election of Scottish peers.—Bill abolishing patronage lost, and act respecting wrongous imprisonment.—Acts against witchcraft repealed.—Breach in the Church widened.—Case of Campbell of St. Andrews.—Declaration of Secession for the doctrine, &c. of the Church.—Porteous riot.—Discussion in Parliament respecting it.—Proceedings of the assembly with the seceding ministers.—With Wiseheart and Glas.—War with Spain.—President Forbes' plan for attaching the Highlanders to government laid aside.—Correspondence opened by the disaffected with the Pretender.—Dreadful storm in Scotland.—War in Germany.—Spanish war disastrous.—Sir R. Walpole resigns.—New dissensions in the church.—Awakening at Cambuslang.—Government resolves to send the Highland regiment to Flanders.—Forbes' remonstrance against it.—They are marched to London.—Mutiny.—Three of them shot.—Negotiations between the Jacobites and France respecting a descent.—French sail from Brest; retreat on the appearance of the British fleet.—Prince Charles' preparations at Dunkirk destroyed by a storm.—General Assembly.—Widows' scheme matured.—Proceeding in Professor Leechman's case.—Dissensions in the Associate Presbytery.—Reformed Presbytery constituted.—War with France.—Mission of the Jacobites to Prince Charles.—He determines to come to Scotland.—The chiefs deprecate his intention.—He leaves France.—Arrives at Eriksa.—Advised to return.—Persists in remaining.—Lands at Boradale.—1727—1745.

**BOOK
XXVII.**

1727.

George II.

1. AN express, which arrived on the fourteenth of June, announced the death of the late king; and his son, who was at Richmond, immediately proceeded to London, when the members of the privy council being assembled at Leicester house, acknowledged his succession, and took the oath of allegiance to their new sovereign. His majesty in return declared his determination to preserve the constitution in church and state, to pursue the same line of politics his father had followed, and to cultivate those alliances he had formed with foreign powers. At the same time he called for and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, for whose establishment he professed to inherit his father's regard. Next day he was proclaimed king of Great Britain and the parliament assembled *pro forma* in pursuance of the act requiring their meeting on the demise of the crown; but were immediately prorogued to the twenty-seventh of the same month. All the great officers of state were continued in their places. Lord Townshend, secretary for foreign affairs, assisted by the duke of Newcastle, to whom, since the abolition of the separate secretaryship, the Scottish department had been assigned; and sir Robert

Subscribes
the oath to
protect the
church of
Scotland.

Walpole at the head of the treasury, who controlled and directed the whole.

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XXVII

1727.

II. Since the days of William the internal politics of Britain had undergone a most material and important revolution; with great immediate good, that prince brought the germ of much future evil to the country, in the system of loading posterity with the burden of their fathers' expenditure. Statesmen thus finding it easy to procure, without immediate severe pressure on their contemporaries, the funds necessary for carrying on their extravagant projects, were betrayed into a profusion upon which they durst not have ventured had the war expenses been raised during the years of war; while, by the prolongation of their duration, the representatives who voted the money were exposed to be practised upon by the ministry, and relieved from the dread of any immediate reckoning with their constituents. The premier well understood the nature of his vantage ground; the prerogative could not now be openly resorted to, and even its proper and due influence was sometimes with difficulty exerted; but the sordid and selfish passions of our nature presented an easier mode of accomplishing the purposes of the crown. The public treasure was at the disposal of its servants, and at once operating as cause and effect, produced and extended the contagious corruption which has in every free state that ever became wealthy, sooner or later, first polluted the beauty, and then ruined the health of the body politic;—till some internal fever, or outward shock, has broken down and destroyed its vigour and its spirit. That such a rapid progression has not taken place in Britain, although the type of the disease is sufficiently discernable, must be attributed to the native vigour of the constitution, and the remedies which a watchful, and often factious, but happily seldom feeble opposition has forced into the system.

Observations on the
state of the
country.

III. For a term of years Walpole was able to maintain himself in power, and procure irresistible majorities by the number of dependants his immense means collected around him; in the first parliament, however, public opinion went along with him, and the promises of his majesty in his opening speech were highly flattering to a nation always prone

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1727.
The king's
first speech.

The civil
list aug-
mented.

Mr. Ship-
pen oppos-
es it—he
eulogizes
the moder-
ation of
queen
Anne.

to be delighted with whatever is novel, and who besides felt interested in their new king, whose predilections they anticipated would be more truly British than his father's. Professions of affection for his people, and earnest desires to merit them, were naturally the most prominent features of the royal communication to parliament; and these were enlivened by promises to maintain their rights and lessen their expenses. The houses having replied by addresses of condolence and congratulation, the civil list was brought under consideration, and eight hundred thousand pounds, in place of seven hundred, proposed to be settled for life on the king, an increase required as necessary on account of the largeness of the royal family.

iv. Retrenchment, economy, and the sinking fund had been the ministerial strong holds and rallying points during the last years of the late reign, yet the national debt, instead of diminishing, had increased, to what was then thought an enormous sum, upwards of fifty millions and a quarter.*

Mr. Shippen seized upon the incongruity, and opposed the grant as inconsistent with their trust as guardians of the public purse; he eulogised the moderation of queen Anne's ministers in this department, who never but once, during a reign of thirteen years, required more than five hundred and fifty thousand pounds, although her majesty had generously bestowed nineteen thousand per annum to augment the incomes of the poor clergy, five thousand to the duke of Marlborough, and allowed four thousand to prince Charles of Denmark; besides supporting the poor palatines, and exercising other acts of royal bounty. He hoped, too, that his present majesty would be able to spare the nation many of the expenses needlessly incurred by frequent journies to Hanover, nor did he think the establishment for prince Frederick, a youth of twenty, should be on the same scale as his majesty's, at mature years, and when prince of Wales. He also dwelt strongly upon the extravagant waste in a department from which they had no account, and which he emphatically styled "the bottomless gulph of secret service;" and concluded by proposing, that instead of granting an ad-

* Little more than half of what was raised in one year of the late war.

dition to the civil list, they should restrict the revenue to the same sum allowed George I.* No reply was attempted by the minister, and the sums requisite being voted with a loyal unanimity, such as generally marks the first votes of a new reign, his majesty dismissed the parliament with many expressions of satisfaction, on the seventeenth of July. On the seventh of next month they were dissolved.

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v. As was to be expected, the church of Scotland pressed forward amongst the foremost to approach the king, to tell him of their "unspeakable" regret for the threatening bereavement, and their "inexpressible" delight at the joyful accession the nation had unexpectedly been called upon to witness. The assembly could not with propriety have been convoked upon the occasion; but the commission at their first meeting supplied their deficiency by the following address.

"May it please your majesty—We lay hold of the first opportunity that our meeting together affords us, to express our just sorrow and concern for the unspeakable loss which we, together with all the protestant churches, have sustained in the unexpected death of his late majesty, your royal fa-

Address of
the com-
mission of
assembly.

* The following anecdote is told of the patriot and the minister. Shippen who secretly favoured the cause of the forfeited family, carried on a private treasonable correspondence with some favourers of that cause. Walpole, who was not ignorant of this circumstance, contrived matters so as to get into his hands a whole bundle of Shippen's treasonable letters. When he had obtained them, he sent for Shippen one morning to speak with him about some particular business. The patriot somewhat surprised, but not in the least suspecting the true cause of the message, obeyed the summons. He was politely received by the minister, who, after the usual compliments put the letters in his hands, asking at the same time if he knew that hand-writing? Poor Shippen, as soon as he cast his eyes upon them was quite confounded; he attempted an apology but could only stammer out some incoherent words. Sir Robert then smiling, took him by the hand, "be not afraid," said he, "Mr. Shippen—I see well enough how matters stand, I only wanted to convince you that I am not the very wicked creature you wish to persuade the world I am. Let your mind be at ease. These papers I obtained merely for my own private information. I am satisfied; be assured no one else shall ever be the wiser for them," and so saying he threw the packet into the fire. "I should doubt," added he, "how far I acted with strict propriety were I to become an accuser of the man who has personally opposed me as you have done; and the public would have reason to suspect that their service was not my only motive. Go home in perfect security, and be assured, on all proper occasions, I will promote your interest as much as if nothing of this kind had happened."

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ther, our most indulgent sovereign ; and at the same time to declare the hearty joy, and complete satisfaction that possess us in your majesty's quiet and peaceable accession to the throne. When we revolve in our thoughts how melancholy our situation appeared to be, by the sudden removal of our late most gracious and wise king, at a season when the critical juncture of public affairs of Europe seemed to call for the most steady hand to conduct them ; and when we reflect how momentary our fears were, how quickly they were dispelled upon your majesty's ascending the throne of your ancestors, with the universal and joyful consent and congratulation of your people ; and when we see the weight of British councils in supporting the protestant interest abroad, and preserving the balance of Europe, prevail as formerly ; —we cannot but admire and adore the kind providence of Almighty God, who hath turned our sorrow into gladness, and under these gloomy circumstances which threatened us with danger, hath opened to us the prospect of lasting happiness and security.

“ It hath been the unhappiness of Britain, for more than a century past, that it never saw the throne filled at the same time with a protestant king and queen, blessed and supported by a hopeful progeny, whence grew that weakness in the state, and uncertainty in the settlement in matters of religion that has frequently threatened the protestant churches with ruin. But now, thanks to our most gracious God, we see joined to our king, whose wisdom, justice and magnanimity secures the church and state from all apprehensions, a queen whose virtue and piety are a fit pattern for your people, and whose generous contempt of diadems, when standing in competition with the protestant religion, is rewarded even in this life with one of the most considerable crowns in Europe ; and assures religion in this island, of finding in her a tender nursing mother, as it gives a solid expectation that the growing royal family, the hope and glory of the kingdom, will be brought up in the same principles. Under these happy circumstances, we can have no apprehensions of what we formerly dreaded, but may reasonably hope, that the abjured pretender will soon have no friend in Britain, who is not a friend likewise to his absurd religion ; and our faithful ~~our~~

deavours must, with the blessing of God, have the same success against him as against the errors that lead captive his blinded abettors into his interest against their own.

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Continued

“That the profession we make of affection to your majesty is unfeigned and genuine, no enemy we have can pretend to doubt. Early upon your accession to the crown we received the strongest security that your majesty will maintain inviolably the rights and privileges of the church of Scotland, and its main support, under God, is from the present happy establishment of the crown on your majesty and your royal family.

“Our preservation depends so evidently upon your undoubted title to the imperial crown of the realm, that though the popish pretender to your majesty’s throne, in public papers and declarations, has often attempted to delude others with the vain hopes of protection, should his arbitrary and tyrannical government take place over this island, yet not the remotest insinuation either was or could with any colour be made in favour of our church, so inseparably are our duty to your majesty and our interest connected together. And, therefore, we humbly presume to hope, that your majesty will graciously accept of this first declaration and tender of our unalterable love, duty and loyalty. That God may long preserve your majesty, the great pattern and promoter of religion and the defender of the true faith; that your reign may be happy and undisturbed; that you may always possess the hearts and affections of all your subjects; that you may be the guardian of the liberties of Europe, the support of the protestant interest, and the blessed instrument of relief to our suffering brethren abroad; that all divine blessings in Christ Jesus may be plentifully dispensed to your majesty, to our most gracious queen, to the prince, and all your royal family: and that it may ever be the happiness of Britain to have a prince of your royal line to sway the sceptre, are the ardent prayers of the ministers and elders met in the commission of the church of Scotland,” &c. &c.

VI. This address was of course afterwards approved of by the general assembly, who repeated similar sentiments of devotion to the crown, whose influence they have ever lent

Approved
by the as-
sembly.

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themselves to promote, and who, in return, has ever shown the utmost readiness to support their establishment and forward their interest; nor perhaps would it be easy to parallel any connexion between church and state in the annals of christendom which has been productive of equal advantage to both—so easily managed, and conducted with so little expense to the people, notwithstanding all its abuses.

Coronation
of the king
and queen.

VII. Freed from the calamities of war, Europe enjoyed a short breathing time, and there appeared in Britain no party sufficiently strong to threaten any interruption to her internal repose. The king, while his popularity remained unshaken, was crowned, together with the queen, amid the acclamations of thousands, on the eleventh day of October, and the customary addressers used their wonted licence in prophesying, and wishing a long, a prosperous, and a peaceful reign. About this time, all direct communication between the pretender and Scotland suffered a syncope, and the failure of their intrigues seems at last to have awakened the jacobites from the ridiculous dream of imposing a bigoted papist upon the nation, an immense majority of whom were utterly averse to him; yet a few inveterate enthusiasts directed their attention to thwart the schemes of national improvement, which they imagined might tend to reconcile the people to the house of Hanover.

National
improvement
thwarted
by the ja-
cobites.

Scheme for
improvement
of the
fisheries
given up.

VIII. A considerable capital had been subscribed for improving the fisheries, which had turned out an unwise speculation. The superior experience and skill of the Dutch—who were not only better acquainted with the method of curing and packing, but possessed advantages from building their own boats and manufacturing their own nets and cordage, of which the Scottish company were destitute—drove them fairly out of the market. But the Scots, who could not understand how they should be rivalled in their own waters and upon their own coasts, were willing to believe that the failure originated in the want of encouragement from the government, rather than in want of skill among themselves; and the jacobite zealots seizing upon this propensity, as they obtruded themselves into all public copartnerships, created a violent schism in the company, which was only terminated by the flight of Lockhart, and

the resolutions of the managing committee to divide the funds, or apply them to some more profitable undertaking. BOOK XXVII.

ix. More insuperable barriers to peaceful occupations, however, existed in the structure of highland society, for the natives possessed, as yet, a strong aversion to strangers residing among them, or to any alteration in that reaving mode of life which cherished warlike habits, and rendered them ready and fit tools for any desperate adventurer;—^{1727.} this was particularly exemplified in the case of sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope. Friendly to the cause of James, he was yet fully aware of its being desperate; and when applied to a little before this to manage a correspondence with the clans, having made his peace with the government, refused again to engage, although he expressed his willingness to draw his sword when he should see such a general movement as would give any reasonable hope of success. He rather resolved to improve his fortune in what he deemed a safer concern, although it turned out, from the savagism of his neighbours, of little advantage. Having acquired a considerable knowledge in mineralogy, he traversed the highlands in the hope of discovering some of the rich ores with which these mountainous regions are supposed to abound. In several places he found great appearances of lead, particularly in the lands of Ardnamurchan and Sweeney, which belonged to Campbell of Lochnell. These lands he purchased, and successfully opened some highly promising mines at Strontian; and at the same time introduced an improved mode of cultivating the estate. But he was a stranger in the country, and the people upon the ground considered him as an intruder, and themselves still vassals of their former chieftains, who possessed the whole surrounding district. His cattle were in consequence stolen with impunity, his houses burned, and his own life and that of his family threatened. In vain he attempted to prosecute before the ordinary courts, he found it impossible to procure a conviction; and after complaining loudly of the delay or denial of justice, and the protection afforded the criminals, he was forced to abandon all his flattering prospects and leave the country.* Highlanders averse to the introduction of strangers.

* It does not appear that the highlanders were over scrupulous even with some of their own chiefs; "The lordship of Morven," the same writer pro-

Sir A. Murray attempts a settlement.

Forced to abandon it.

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1727.

State of the
pretender's
party in
Scotland,

x. But whatever, at this period, might be the ignorance of the highland serfs, their chiefs were far from being illiterate or uninformed; many of them had finished their education at foreign seminaries, and some of them served a few years abroad; they were, therefore, well acquainted with the state of foreign politics, and perceiving from the relations of Britain that there was no rational prospect of aid from thence, they were quietly submissive to the new king, who did not interfere with their internal affairs; and the only remembrance they had of the pretender was of his imbecility. The lowland jacobites, broken and divided by church disputes, were entirely disappointed by the discovery of their correspondence; and at no time since the revolution, did a greater indifference for the Stuart cause appear in Scotland than at the present.

abroad.

He reluctantly parts
with Inverness.

xi. It was also at a very low ebb abroad; for the report believed among the exiles, that an indemnity would be granted so extensive as to include a number who had hitherto been always excepted, tended much to cool the zeal of those whom suffering had hitherto rendered steady adherents of the forfeited family; and even the most prejudiced among them began to espouse the side of Mar and the "queen." James was in consequence obliged to part with Inverness, who had become an object of suspicion; but he did it so ungraciously, that it alienated their affections more than his compliance regained their confidence. He thus apologised for the fact in a letter circulated upon the occasion, and calculated rather to vindicate the character of that domestic traitor than to justify his own; to show

ceeds, "lies in the extremities of Argyleshire, it belongs in property to the family of Argyle, and is mostly possessed by those of the clan Cameron, who enjoyed these very advantageous farms; some years ago there was some improvement made in the rents, and Mr. Campbell of Craignish was appointed a new bailie and factor for that place. Neither of these alterations were agreeable to these people; a proper occasion was taken to seize the factor and rob him of £300 sterling of that lord's rents;" and he adds, "if a thing so audacious was attempted against the duke of Argyle, a man so great and powerful in those parts, what could sir Alexander Murray or any other private gentleman expect?"—Burt's Letters, Jamieson's edit. vol. ii. appendix, note.—But the Camerons might not consider Argyle as their chief; in these troublous times estates often changed hands, and the dukes of Gordon and Argyle shared the feudal superiority between them.—Stewart's Sketches, vol. i.

that his influence was unshaken, and his recall already resolved upon :—

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“ Lord Inverness gives himself an account of the resolution he has taken to absent himself from my person ; it is what he has long been pressing me to allow of, but I never would consent to it, seeing how contrary it is to my honour and interest, though I have not thought fit at this time to interpose my absolute authority to prevent it. You know the great and good opinion I have long had of that lord, and it is now with reason augmented by the sacrifice he will make of himself for the good of my family in this conjuncture, which ought to increase his merit with all honest men ; and I hope to have yet soon occasion to show in his person, that I am incapable of abandoning my faithful servants. To my no small concern the outward appearance is otherwise at present, and will be constantly attended with consequences contrary to the good of my service ; but I shall endeavour, in so extraordinary a case, to manage matters so as that they may be it as little as possible. None of my friends ought to be under any apprehensions on this occasion as to their private safety. Lord Inverness’ fidelity and prudence I can equally depend upon wherever he is ; and I thought it would be an ease and satisfaction to them, as well as a justice to him, to give him, as I have now done, a new and public mark of my favour, that it might be out of the power of my enmies to put any wrong construction upon my giving the seals to another.”

1727.
His apology for doing so.

XII. Pleased with his concession, and before being informed of its insidious nature, the pretendress, by the advice of her friends had determined to rejoin her husband ; when he, who had only yielded to necessity, received the intelligence of George’s death. Conceiving from this occurrence, and from the false ideas he entertained of the strength of his party and his personal influence in Scotland, that now was the moment for striking a decisive blow, he postponed reconciliation with his wife, which his friends considered of the first importance ; and left Bologna—whither his queen was coming—on a goose-chase to Lorraine, which they considered worse than useless. His reveries on the subject are

His conduct on learning the death of George I.

BOOK XXVII. preserved in a letter he wrote to Lockhart when upon his journey :—

1727.
His letter to
Lockhart.

“As soon as I heard of the elector of Hanover’s death, I thought it incumbent on me to put myself in a condition of profiting of what might be the consequences of so great an event, which I was sensible I could never do at so great a distance as Italy; and that made me take the resolution of leaving that country out of hand, and drawing nearer to England, that I might be in a readiness, without loss of time, to profit of any commotion that might ensue in Great Britain, or of any alteration that might happen in the present system of Europe on Hanover’s death. At the same time that I left Italy, I despatched expresses to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, and have already received the return of that to Vienna, by which it is very plain that the emperor would be very desirous that I could be in a condition of making an attempt without any foreign force, and would not even obstruct my own passing privately through his dominions for that effect, though his ministers declare, at the same time, that since the preliminaries are signed he cannot give me any assistance. The answers from France and Spain are not yet come, but when they do, it is to be expected they will not be more favourable, so that for the present no foreign assistance can be expected; but with all that, the present conjuncture appears so favourable in all its circumstances, that had I only consulted my own inclinations, I should certainly, out of hand, have crossed the seas and seen, at any rate, what I could do for my own and my subjects’ delivery; but as, on this occasion, I act for them as well as myself, and cannot hope, without their concurrence, to succeed in what I may undertake in our mutual behalf, I find myself under the necessity of making no further steps without their advice.

“’Tis true the disadvantages I lye under are great and many; I have but a small stock of money, scarce sufficient to transport what few arms I have, and what officers I may get to follow me on this occasion. I’m sensible that it is next to impossible that a concert should be established among my friends at home, such as would be sufficient for a rising in arms in my favour before my arrival, and, by what is

said before, the little hopes of foreign assistance will be sufficiently seen; but with all this, many arguments may be brought to authorise our undertaking, which at first sight might appear rash. Our countrie is now—whatever the outward appearance may be—in great confusion and disorder, the people have had time to feel the weight of a foreign yoke, and are nowise favourably inclined towards the present elector of Hanover. That concert, vigour, and unanimity which does not precede my crossing the seas, may attend and follow such an event; and if the chief great powers in Europe are not all my declared friends, there is not one that is my enemy, and that has not a particular interest to wish me on the throne; and were I in person in Britain, at the head of even a small number of my own subjects, it might naturally alter very much the present system of some or other of them during the time of the congress; but should it once meet, and affairs be adjusted there on the foundation of the quadruple alliance, foreign affairs will take quite another face, and, in all probability, would long remain so, whilst the present elector of Hanover and his son might have time to ingratiate themselves with the English nation; so that all put together, it must be concluded, that if the present conjuncture be slipped, it cannot be expected that we ever can have so favourable a one for acting by ourselves, and that we run the risk of allowing the general affairs of Europe to take such a turn as will probably incline most of the chief powers of Europe to be less favourable to us than they are at present, so that whatever is not absolutely desperate ought certainly to be undertaken, and the sooner the better. I desire therefore that you may seriously think on this matter, and let me have your opinion as soon as possible, and if my going into England be not advisable, whether my going to the highlands of Scotland might not be found proper.”

XIII. This letter was conveyed by Allan Cameron, who informed Lockhart that he was not only acquainted with its contents, but with the king’s private opinion and inclination;—and that his majesty, notwithstanding the certainty he had of no foreign aid, and likewise that there was neither plan nor preparation at home, seemed resolved to repair to the highlands and make the best stand he could, with such as

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1727.
Proposing
an invasion.

Lockhart’s
conference
with the
bearer of
the letter.

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repaired to him. Struck with the folly of the project—perhaps suspecting treachery—Lockhart immediately inquired if Inverness was with his master; and learned what he had previously suspected, that although not actually present, he was always so near that James might have the advantage of his council when he wished it. He then asked Cameron—who had acted as an emissary in the highlands—whether he actually believed that the highlanders would rise heartily for or with the king; and if he thought the want of arms, ammunition, and money, would not be an irreparable impediment? Cameron answered—“He could not say they all would rise, but certainly some would; and as for arms, ammunition, and money, they might be sent after his majesty, who, he did not doubt, might be able to make a stand for some months at least.”

Continued. XIV. Indignant at the callous reply, Lockhart expressed his astonishment, how he, who knew the state of the highlands, and the general concert and resolution of not again going to the field till they saw England actually engaged, could advise “the king,” to throw away his person, and expose the country, and his truest friends, to certain destruction. “The king,” he continued, “might indeed expect that some would venture all in any undertaking when his majesty was personally present; but as matters stood these would not be numerous, and a majority would consist of a parcel of idle fellows who might be induced by the hopes of plunder to repair to his banner, but in time of need would leave him to the mercy of the government forces, which would be poured in upon the highlands to ravage the country and exterminate the inhabitants. A pretext only was wanted, which an ineffectual rising would give, and they who advised it, either did not know the true state of the king’s affairs, or betrayed him, being wearied of his service, or in correspondence with his enemies.” Cameron, without noticing Lockhart’s remarks, coolly replied, “that the king was of another mind, and keen to be at it, and wished to know if he would accompany him.” Lockhart, before answering, asked whether Dunbar and Inverness were to be upon the expedition? And upon being told that the one was to remain in Italy to wait upon the “prince,” and the other to manage affairs with foreign pow-

ers—replied, “if the king commanded him to attend him he would obey, though he thought it a rash destructive undertaking. But he should have had a much better opinion of the two last named lords, if they had thought fit to run equal hazard with the king in a project of which they so much approved.”

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xv. In this manner the conversation ended ; but as Cameron set off next day for Lorraine, Lockhart, who justly deemed it of the utmost importance to prevent so imprudent a measure, of which he seems now to have been aware that government would be early apprized, reiterated his objection in the despatches he transmitted the pretender. “Nothing,” he remarked in a well written remonstrance, “could have surprised me more than my accidental meeting with the bearer, but the account I got from him of you and your late resolutions, being what indeed I did not in the least imagine or expect. This subject of yours is a matter of the greatest importance, and though it was very natural for you to desire to be in a condition to make benefit from any happy circumstance that might occur, yet I am much afraid nothing of that kind is likely to happen at this juncture. I have no intelligence from t’other side of the sea ; but by the public letters ’tis plain that the people of England are intoxicated at present, having forgot their late ailments by the [ill-grounded] hopes of a better management, and till they find themselves disappointed I can form no hopes from them, especially seeing you have no prospect of what you and all your advisers judged essentially necessary, even under the fairest views, for your support, and the encouragement of others.

His answer
to the pre-
tender,
highly dis-
approving
of his de-
sign.

“And as for the other part of the country, they can’t possibly do any thing without being provided with the many material things they want ; and ere it can be done, much time and many difficulties must be surmounted, during which opposite preparations will be made on all hands. I readily grant ’tis a notable advantage to give the stroke in the beginning, lest affairs at home and abroad grow worse and be united ; but then, even under this consideration, this is not to be attempted without necessary precautions and provisions, for without these, such, or indeed any attempt, would

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Returns
home—re-
tires from
public life.

but plain and explicit manner, expressed his opinion of his conduct. To this epistle he never appears to have received any reply; and his friends, the duke of Argyle and his brother, and Duncan Forbes, procuring him liberty to return to Scotland with safety, he availed himself of the opportunity, and retired from public life.

His apology
for leaving
the service
of the
pretender.

XXIII. When in London he discovered the whole knavery of Inverness, and the junta by whom the weak and wrong-headed exile was preyed upon and deluded; and his apology for withdrawing from his service must afford matter of high congratulation to every true-hearted Scottishman, that the country escaped the thralldom of such a ruler. "The king," says he, "I am afraid, daylie loses ground. He began the world with the general esteem of mankind; every person, friend and foe, allowed him [supposed him] to be a wise, sober, just, good-natured prince, of great knowledge and application in business; and such as knew him, both foreigners and subjects, concurred in portending the happiness of that people over whom he should rule, and this character he maintained whilst the duke of Mar was at the head of his affairs after his return from Scotland. 'Tis true he was thought to put too much trust, and show too much favour towards his grace, so as all matters were directed solely by him, whereby the duke of Ormond, and several other persons of quality, thought themselves slighted, and retired from the court; yet still affairs were managed with a good decorum and dexterity, and several well laid projects carried on, and prudent negotiations set on foot, and people excused the king's having a byass towards a person that had made so great an effort for him, and who was certainly a very able minister, though not free from that ambition which overrules the minds of most statesmen, by endeavouring to monopolize all power into their own hands. But soon after Mar's removal, his majesty's character and affairs appeared in a quite different light; great blunders were committed in the execution of affairs in Scotland—and the same was alleged and may be reasonably supposed elsewhere—so that people soon saw that they were not carried on with the dexterity and secrecie as formerlie; but that which struck the nail on the head was his allowing these his

favourites—which seems to be a curse in a peculiar manner entailed on the royal race of Stuart—to rule under him, in so absolute arbitrary a manner, that for their sake, and on their account, the prerogatives of a sovereign and a husband are skrewed up to a pitch not tenable by the laws of God or man, or consistent with prudence; in so far as the royall consort, the mother of the royall issue, and subjects of the best quality and merit, who had served the king with their blood and fortunes, are trampled upon and abused by a parcell of people who never were nor will be capable to do the king any material service, and are contemptible in the sight of all who know them; and at last forced to seek a sanctuary in some other place, and on that account deprived of the small pensions they received for supporting themselves after having lost all for their king. And as all these continued steps of unaccountable proceedings were contrary to the repeated prayers and remonstrances of his majesty's best friends, princes, and subjects, they gave the world a very unfavourable opinion of his prudence, justice, honour, and gratitude, and highlie discouraged such as were inclined and capable to advise and serve him, and created ane universal despair of ever seeing a probability of better daies. And thus whilst no party is acting for his interest, no projects formed, nothing done to keep up the spirits of the people, the old race drops off by degrees, and a new one sprouts up, who, having no particular byass to the king, as knowing little more of him than what the public newspapers bear, enter on the stage with a perfect indifference, at least coolness, towards him and his cause, which consequently must daylie languish, and in process of time be tottally forgot.* Such were the melancholy prospects of the pretender in the year 1728.

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xxiv. On the twenty-third of January one thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight, the new parliament of Great Britain assembled, when Arthur Onslow, venerable for years, experience and worth, was chosen speaker of the house of Parliament. The elections had gone on smoothly, and the returns were on the whole agreeable to the ministry, who

1728.

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 404, *et seq.*

BOOK XXVII. met them with confidence, although unprepared to realize any of the brilliant promises with which they had cheered the expiring days of the last assemblage.

1728.

The king's
speech.

xxv. His majesty, in his opening speech, "was unable to announce the consolidation of peace, but by his last advices from abroad he had every reason to hope the difficulties which had hitherto retarded the execution of the preliminaries, and the opening of the congress, would soon be entirely removed; but until then it was absolutely necessary that the nation should not relax their preparations, nor, by lowering their imposing attitude, endanger their own security, or the repose of Europe. His first and most anxious care, he assured them, would be to reduce the expense of the public whenever the interest of his people or their safety would permit. He expressed an anxious desire that the liberty of the whole might be preserved without encroaching on individual freedom; and therefore recommended the adoption of some scheme for the effectual encouragement of seamen, by which they might be induced voluntarily to enter, rather than be pressed into the service of their country."

Answer to
it.

xxvi. Soothed by these promises of economy and reformation, both houses voted addresses breathing the most ardent affection, and confiding loyalty, hailing him as the best of kings, and blessing him as the father of his country:—epithets by which the courtesy of public bodies always anticipate, though sometimes prematurely, the untried characters of one year-old sovereigns. In voting the supply, the commons justified their professions by their liberality; yet did not the items pass without remark. A petty German duke [Wolfenbuttle] subsidized for three years to guarantee to his Britannic majesty the possessions of his three kingdoms! was too ludicrous to escape a sarcasm; nor did the graver charge for maintaining twelve thousand Hessian troops go more quietly to rest: but the argument of numbers was unanswerable, and all grumbling was hushed, by his majesty's gracious observation on receiving a state of the public credit:—"that the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen accident could alter

Remarks
on voting
the sup-
plies.

or diminish it; and the sinking fund afforded the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged without any necessity of incurring new incumbrances.

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1728.

General
assembly.

xxvii. Early in May the general assembly of the church of Scotland met, the earl of Loudon again commissioner, and Wiseheart, principal of Edinburgh college, moderator; their time and attention were chiefly engrossed by professor Simpson's business. The debates were long and metaphysical upon abstruse points of scholastic divinity, into the inextricable labyrinths of which his friends the moderates wished to lead his accusers, and leave them bewildered in the maze; but they were met by equal acuteness, and the points at issue were reduced to distinct tangible charges, which, after innumerable shiftings and turnings, explanations and evasions, were found proven against him. 1st, His denying the necessary existence of our Lord Jesus Christ; 2d, his teaching his scholars that the necessary existence of our Lord Jesus Christ was a thing we knew not; and, 3d, that the term necessary existence was impertinent, and not to be used in talking of the Trinity; 4th, his teaching as his own opinion, that the three persons of the Trinity are not to be said to be numerically one in substance or essence; 5th, his teaching that the terms "necessary existence, supreme Deity," and "the title of the only true God," may be taken, and are by some authors taken, in a sense that includes the personal property of the father, and so not belonging to the Son; and that though he said that "necessary existence, supreme Deity," and the title of "the only true God" might belong to the Son in such a sense as included not the personal property of the Father; yet he told not what that sense was, but without doing so, he inculcated the fore-said distinction as a caution that might be necessary for students, in reading both ancient and modern authors, whether friends or adversaries to the truth." The final decision of the professor's case was, however, through the interest of his supporters, delayed till next assembly.

Charges
proved
against
Simpson.

Decision
delayed.

xxviii. Although the preliminaries had been agreed upon, peace had not been settled, and the various interests of the several powers were so intermingled, that the congress opened at Soissons, for determining all their disputes, prov-

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Continental
affairs.

ed ineffectual. Another change had taken place in the relative state of the various parties, France and Spain had reverted to their natural union, and the latter entered into strict alliance with Portugal, strengthened by intimate matrimonial connexions :—a Portuguese princess being betrothed to the prince of Asturias, and the Spanish Infanta to the prince of Brazil. Spain became thus indifferent with regard to a pacification with Britain, whose fleets lay inactive and unmanned by an epidemic in the West Indies, while the cruizers of the other insulted her flag, and committed depredations on her commerce with impunity.*

1729.
Parliament.The king
presses
warlike
measures.Foreign
subsidies
strongly
opposed.Petitions
respecting
Spanish
cruelty.

xxix. In this situation public affairs stood when the British parliament assembled, on the twenty-first day of January one thousand seven hundred and twenty nine, and they furnished the ministry with plausible pretexts for requiring fresh supplies. His majesty, in his opening speech, pressed the necessity of being prepared to act with vigour should his pacific intentions be frustrated, and hinted that the delays of the imperial and peninsular courts originated from the expectations of creating dissension among his subjects. Addresses followed, promising every requisite aid. But the foreign subsidies and standing army were vigorously opposed, the one as being uselessly-extravagant, and the other as dangerous to liberty. Paying German princes for keeping up their military establishments, to defend themselves or preserve the peace of the continent, was ridiculed as detrimental, not more to the purse than to the character of Britain, as not less opposed to her interest than to her policy, whose walls were the ocean, and her strength the navy. The preference given to the land over the sea force became too a subject of clamorous invective, which was heightened by accounts of the inhumanities committed by the Spaniards upon the crews of the ships they had seized. Petitions on this subject were presented from London, Liverpool, and various parts of the united kingdom to the house of commons, and excited violent debates in Parliament; for they were generally reputed the fruits of negligence, incapacity, or want of vigour in the government, who were more anxious to secure a petty prin-

* In December this year prince Frederick arrived in England from Hanover where he had hitherto resided, and was created prince of Wales.

cipality than the vital interest of the empire. The king, by a message, promised to procure redress; and the commons gratefully voted an additional fifty thousand pounds to the civil list. Public business being thus satisfactorily finished, the king, after appointing the queen regent in his absence, set out for Hanover [May 17] to visit his hereditary dominions, and settle some trifling dispute that had arisen with Prussia upon the subject of kidnapping.

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1729.
Civil list
again aug-
mented.

xxx. His majesty left England in a state of perfect tranquillity, but Scotland continued to be agitated by polemical disputes, which were entered into by the people with a keenness and interest of which there are not a few examples in later times upon subjects of comparatively less moment. Professor Simpson's suspension had been submitted to the presbyteries for their consideration, of whom a number were for deposition, and the current of public opinion ran in favour of the severer sentence. When brought before the assembly of this year for their final decision, his friends dreaded that a majority of the ministers, who had not yet learned to despise the sentiments of the country, would carry his entire deprivation from office, and inflict such a censure as would prevent him from being ever restored; they therefore strained every nerve to avert the calamity, and his opponents were not less active to redeem the church from the charge of encouraging heresy. During eight days the affair was debated in the assembly, which was crowded at every meeting by anxious spectators; besides which the several parties held daily their separate meetings, to concert their measures of attack and defence. At length the moderates carried to refer it to a committee to bring in an overture about it; and an overture was accordingly brought in for simply approving of the previous proceedings, which the committee wished should be passed as the unanimous sense of the assembly, without being put to the vote, and in which numbers who had been keen for deposition seemed, for the sake of peace, inclined to acquiesce.

General as-
sembly.

Debate on
Simpson's
case.

Referred
to a com-
mittee—
overture
proposed
by them.

xxxi. After it was read, the moderator* having asked if the assembly were agreed, there was a profound silence for

* The earl of Buchan was commissioner, and James Alston, minister of Dirleton, moderator.

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Mr. Boston
dissents
from it.His rea-
sons.

a few moments, and no one appearing inclined to interrupt it, Mr. Thomas Boston rose and spoke to the following effect :—" Moderator—I find myself laid under a necessity of declaring my dissent from this decision of the assembly, as I think the censure inflicted by it on professor Simpson is not adequate to the offence he has given as to the points of doctrine that have been proved he taught the students under his care, and have been found relevant to infer censure. I cannot help thinking, sir, that the cause of Jesus Christ, as to the great and essential point of his supreme deity, has been at the bar of the assembly requiring justice; and as I am shortly to answer at his bar for all I do or say, I dare not give my assent to the decision of this act; on the contrary, I find myself obliged to offer a protest against it, and therefore, in my own name, and in the name of all that shall adhere to me, I protest." When he had pronounced these words, all continuing still, he looked round the house with an air of solemn majestic gravity which some who were present declared they would never forget; then, after a little pause, added, " And for myself alone, if nobody shall adhere !" On which the moderator endeavoured to dissuade him from disturbing the unanimity of the decision; but Mr. Boston was not to be diverted from his purpose, and having his protest ready, he formally, and with an audible voice, read as under :—" I dissent, as judging it, inasmuch as it doth not bear a deposition of Mr. Simpson from the office of the ministry of teaching and preaching the gospel of the blessed God, to be no just testimony of this church's indignation against the dishonour done by the said Mr. Simpson to our glorious Redeemer, the great God and our Saviour, and what hath been found both relevant and proved against him by the two immediate general assemblies; and judging the same also not to be agreeable to the rule of God's word in such cases, nor to the form of process established in this church, to be saddening to the hearts of the generality of ministers and godly through the land, and not sufficient to dash the hopes of the proud contemners of revealed religion and the awful and incomprehensible mysteries of the same, both at home and abroad; nor a fit means to bring the said Mr. Simpson himself to repentance, whereof as yet he hath

given no evidence. All which shall be fully manifested to the world, if need be."

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xxxii. As soon as he had finished, the moderator addressed him, and said he hoped he would not do any thing that would tend to create division in the church, where there was such an appearance of unanimity, and requested that he would not insist upon entering his protest; on being assured that this should not preclude his insisting upon it at some future period, he consented to delay, and, by the advice of his friends, was persuaded not to revive it. At next meeting he thus announced his resolution—"Moderator, I have, according to your desire, considered again my dissenting from the sentence and decision of this venerable assembly in the affair of Mr. Simpson, and as it was of no design to break in upon the peace of this church, but for the necessary exoneration of my own conscience, that I did formally dissent in that matter, so I can see no ground to retract it, and am far from retracting the same. Yet, forasmuch as the marking of it in your records, which is the only thing that now remains in that matter, is judged by my very reverend fathers and brethren of this assembly to be of dangerous consequence to the peace of this church, which I think myself obliged in conscience to be very tender of, I do not insist for the marking of it in your records; but having the dissent, as I declared it, by me in write, from which I read it before this venerable assembly, and having also in writing what I have now delivered, I am resolved, through grace, to make such use of the same afterwards as pressing necessity may in any undesirable event require." Having so said he sat down, and the house testified their approval by silent acquiescence; Mr. Simpson's friends, pleased that the business should thus be allowed to rest, and the others regarding it as a salutary warning to prevent any attempt being made for his restoration to office; but it afforded a bad precedent—which was not allowed to remain long singular—for refusing to record protests disagreeable to a majority; and instead of promoting the peace, hastened that grand division in the church, which, through much strife and contention, was destined to preserve the spirit, while it rent the body of presbyterianism in Scotland. To

His protest
not re-
corded

Affords a
bad prece-
dent.

1724. *Letter from duchess of Gordon.*
 XXVII. this assembly was produced a letter from the duchess of Gordon—whose ~~face~~ *face* appears to have been thought dangerous, from the suspected deism of her father,* and the lurking popery of her husband's relatives,—affirming the sincerity of her profession of the reformed religion, and her determination to educate her children in the same persuasion, which the assembly heard with great pleasure, and ordered a respectful answer to be delivered in their name to her grace, by a deputation of three ministers and two elders.

1730. *Peace with France and Spain.*
 XXXIII. Aversion to war has seldom rendered a British minister popular, and the national predilection in all disputes, for having recourse at once to the ultimate appeal, has made them often more willing to forgive an active, forward, though unfortunate premier, who exhausts his country in fruitless expeditions, than one who would rather negotiate than fight, and is less sparing of money than of blood. Sir Robert Walpole, therefore, whose policy was pacific, was seldom a favourite with the multitude, and his administration always furnished ready and popular topics of invective to his opponents. Unwilling to plunge again into hostilities, when the congress at Soissons proved abortive, he transferred the negotiations to Seville, where a treaty was speedily concluded between Britain, France, and Spain. Peace was announced to parliament, which re-assembled early in January one thousand seven hundred and thirty, and the houses were gratified with the assurance, “that all former conventions made with Spain in favour of British trade and navigation were renewed and confirmed; that the free uninterrupted exercise of commerce was restored; that the court of Spain had agreed to an ample restitution and reparation for unlawful seizures and depredations; that all rights, privileges, and possessions belonging to Britain and her allies were solemnly re-established, confirmed, and guaranteed, and that not one concession was made to the prejudice of the nation.” Addresses of approval were carried by large majorities; but when the treaty itself came to be discussed, objections were started against an article by which British merchants were obliged to make proof of their losses at

Objections
against it.

* She was daughter of the famous earl of Peterborough.

the court of Spain, as uncertain, expensive, and dishonourable; and another which guaranteed the dukedoms of Tuscany and Parma to Don Carlos, as tending unnecessarily to involve the nation in interminable quarrels about matters in which they had no concern. The standing army in time of peace was, however, the grand rallying point of opposition during this and several succeeding sessions of parliament.

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xxxiv. Little more than thirty years had elapsed since a British house of commons had refused to entrust their deliverer with a permanent force of six thousand men, though the power of France was unbroken, the party of the pretender in its vigour, and the array of the highlands proud in the remembrance of Killiecrankie; yet now when France was friendly, the jacobites insignificant, and the clans smarting from the defeat of Dunblane, twelve thousand foreigners were kept in British pay, and nearly eighteen thousand native troops on the home establishment. The contrast was too striking to pass unnoticed, and the defenders of the measure were reduced to the alternative of advancing inconsistencies, or yielding in the argument;—they preferred the former horn of the dilemma. They allowed that the peace they extolled was unstable, the discontented at home far from being despicable, and the northern mountaineers still unsubdued.*

Debate on
a standing
army.

xxxv. It was not so easy to answer the objections arising from the dangers to liberty which a military force was calculated to produce. Experience had ever proved that armed servants invariably became masters of the states that encouraged them, and unless human nature were other in Britain than elsewhere, the same consequences were predicted as the probable result of the same conduct. When it was proposed in the house of commons to reduce the number, both sides mustered their strength, and in many a long and furious contest, the subject was stoutly debated; but the result was—as has been from that day to this—that the army list was kept up, and the discussion ended by approving the augmentation. The ministerial or court party urged:—that the liberty of the country was in greater danger from having a popish pretender forced upon the

* Vide Appendix.

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Arguments
in favour of
it.

throne, than from any attempt by a prince whose cause was entwined round the freedom of the land, to which he clung for support, and without which he could no more maintain his elevation than the ivy without the aid of their native oak:—that troops were necessary to defend him from foreign attack; and being officered by gentlemen of family and fortune, they could never be turned against the cause of their country, as had been proved when James attempted to enslave it. But his majesty had never entertained the most distant idea of encroaching upon the liberties of his subjects, and if he had, the number was too inconsiderable, while the commons kept the power of redress in their own hands; by a single vote they could dismiss them by withholding the means of their maintenance. The state of Europe they contended was altered, and the improvement of the military art such, that, surrounded as they were by veteran armies, it would be more than folly to rely upon a raw militia for protection; and to secure safety it was necessary to show that they were prepared to resist aggression. To these arguments the opposition, or country party, replied:—although they had the utmost confidence in his majesty's regard for the liberty of his subjects, they could not help dreading that if a standing army became part of the constitution, another prince of more dangerous dispositions might arise, who would be inclined to employ it for the worst of purposes; for although now commanded by gentlemen of unimpeachable patriotism who had a powerful stake in the country, persons of a very different description might soon supersede them, who would make no scruple in acting as tools of despotism. This had formerly been the case—an army raised by the authority of parliament had turned their swords against it, and destroyed the constitution for whose defence it had been levied; and when parliaments once suffered so large a body of forces to be unconstitutionally kept up, it would not be so difficult to obtain their future concurrence for their supply; ministerial influence would be extended, and the legislative sanction might be more easily either purchased or dispensed with. The militia, they continued, was the constitutional defence of the country, and was as capable of being disciplined as regular

Arguments
against it.

troops, had more incentives to courage and perseverance, could be less easily detached, and contained within themselves the guarantee of their good behaviour; and with regard to foreign invasion, however much they might dread it, Britain was peculiarly defended against it by the navy, and their natural defenders, who increased with the prosperity of the country, could never prove detrimental to its freedom!

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xxxvi. An attack upon pensioners shared the same fate as the attack upon the standing army; it was debated with violence, and long and learned arguments were urged against their being allowed to be chosen members of parliament; yet they continued to increase from that day even unto the present hour. The commons indeed passed a bill for making "more effectual the laws in being, for disabling persons from being chosen members of parliament who enjoyed any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, or any office holden in trust for them," but it miscarried in the house of peers; although it is not easy to conceive how a majority of their lordships were convinced that this was not flagrantly increasing the power of the crown. His majesty, at the close of the session, expressed himself highly pleased with the proceeding of his parliament, "who, notwithstanding all the clamour that had been raised, had finished their business without allowing themselves to be biassed by the noise," and prorogued them till January next year.

Bill for disabling pensioners from sitting in parliament,

xxxvii. The dissatisfaction produced by the general assembly of the church of Scotland's proceedings in Simpson's case was augmented by the arbitrary assumptions of their commission. This body, to whom was delegated the charge of settling what business their limited time of meeting did not allow the assembly to finish or overtake, although composed apparently of a pretty equal proportion of both parties, was in fact almost entirely under the guidance of the "moderates," as it generally comprised their leading men, who, notwithstanding their designation, seldom betrayed any want of zeal when ecclesiastical power was to be asserted or extended.

Distractions in the church.

Constitution of the commission.

xxxviii. Not a little of the mischief that now distracted the church, arose from the constitution of the commission—as a body it was too diffused and too irresponsible, while its

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quorum, too circumscribed, and which could be easily formed of the members residing usually in and near Edinburgh, was calculated to usurp, and actually came to possess the powers of a standing committee, and to engross the greater part of the legislative and executive functions of the general assembly.* Into this committee all the officers of state were commonly admitted; and as long as they chose to take an active share in ecclesiastical matters, usually influenced their measures. The consequence was natural—religion became secularised, and their decisions were greatly under political direction, and swayed by political motives; from being the servants they became the directors of the venerable court; and a junta among them, who were either always re-chosen or influenced those who were, formed a secret board, whose mandates guided the proceedings of the assembly.

They urge
forcible set-
tlements.

xxxix. The operation of the law of patronage had, year after year, encroached upon the peace of the parishes, and the number of complaints against the obtrusion of unacceptable ministers had increased in proportion, till the assembly table was loaded with references from the presbyteries. These in general were handed over to the commission, who urged the ungracious task of enforcing disagreeable settlements, with a rigour that alienated the affections of many of the worthiest members of the church; placing men in parishes where the whole population was against them, on calls not sustained by presbyteries, and attested only by “notars public;” and assuming the appointment of sub-committees, to try and ordain ministers for vacant congregations, not only without the concurrence and consent of the presbyteries and synods, to whom it belonged of right, and who were most competent for the duty, but in direct opposition to their mind, and so hurriedly that they were deprived of any legal remedy. This year is remarkable for the case of Kinross parish, whose subsequent settlement, carried by them with a high and overbearing disregard of popular feeling and ministerial opposition, materially contributed to produce the Secession:—a crisis which was hastened by an act of assem-

Disregard
popular
feeling.

* The commission usually consists of all the members of the assembly, the quorum is thirty-one, twenty-one of whom must be ministers; of course the ministers nearest Edinburgh generally form a majority of the quorum.

bly, also passed this session, prohibiting reasons of dissent from being recorded; for thus, instead of being engrossed in the minutes of the different courts, and after a short time forgotten, they were printed and circulated among the people, kept alive their angry passions, preserved the remembrance of their grievances, and encouraged and increased the number of complainers.

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1731.

XL. Agreeably to prorogation, parliament met again on the twenty-first of January, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-one. The emperor of Germany had affected to consider the stipulation in the treaty of Seville, by which Great Britain guaranteed the two Italian duchies to a Spanish prince, as an infringement of the quadruple alliance, and, in consequence, had prohibited the subjects of Great Britain from trading in his dominions; and, in despite of the relief promised to British commerce, the Spanish depredations were continued, accompanied with circumstances of cruelty as atrocious as ever. Instead of explanations upon these subjects, his majesty in general directed the attention of his legislature to the critical state of Europe, told them the deliberations of the several courts would be much influenced by the nature of their first resolutions, and recommended to them a continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had enabled him to fulfil his engagements. The houses loyally promised their support without attending to the remonstrances of the opposition, who entreated them to wait till they knew the nature of his majesty's engagements before they pledged themselves to fulfil them. The supplies were, as formerly, contested and granted. The king was again addressed to use his royal endeavours to prevent the continuance of Spanish insult and robbery; and he again promised to procure full satisfaction for the damage his loving subjects had sustained. The bill against pensions was re-introduced by the commons this session, and performed the same circuit that it did in the last. Among a number of other bills, unnecessary to enumerate, one abolishing the use of the Latin language in English law proceedings, passed; yet not without considerable opposition, as tending to introduce confusion and delay in the administration of justice. by altering long established forms:—so

Parliament

gives its un-
qualified
support to
govern-
ment.

Use of La-
tin in law
proceed-
ings abo-
lished.

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difficult is it to obtain any reform in long established though flagrant abuses.* On the seventh of May the session ended, and his majesty informed the members, in relieving them from their important duties, that peace was now firmly established, and all apprehensions of war removed, by a treaty signed between him and the emperor, which was communicated to the courts of France and Spain. "The conditions and engagements," he observed, "into which he had entered, were agreeable to that necessary concern which the British nation must always have for the security and preservation of the balance of power in Europe."

Origin of
the Seces-
sion.

XLI. By the union, the church of Scotland had fortunately lost much of its political importance in the state—by their own conduct the general assembly unwisely weakened their more legitimate influence with the people; the circumstances which led to this unhappy issue I shall now narrate. The power of a presbyterian ministry is essentially founded on the affection of their hearers, and is radically opposed to that of those overbearing priesthoods, who demand obedience, without inquiry or without reply. It was the fond regard of a people for zealous, humble, and indefatigable ministers, that gave them the strong ascendancy they so long possessed over the Scottish population, but which withered as soon as force was employed to retain it. Of this the elder, more judicious, and evangelical divines were fully aware, while the young, "moderate, rational" preachers were, on the other hand, impatient of "popular clamour." That clamour, however, had now risen so high about the settling of parishes, that it could be no longer overlooked;

Assembly's
overture for
planting
vacant
churches.

and the general assembly of this year transmitted to the different presbyteries for their consideration "an overture concerning the method of planting vacant churches," when the right to do so devolved upon them; or, according to the clerical phrase, "fell into their hands, *tanquam jure de-*

* The English law, besides the various absurdities and abuses which naturally in the course of time arose from political interference, the selfishness of practitioners, and the alteration of national customs, has had some peculiar to itself. The Normans obliged the proceedings to be in French; the monks next introduced Latin; to have made the climax complete, William III. should have ordered the pleadings to be in Dutch, and no doubt the lawyers of our day could have defended the practice.

rotulo," which was to be their rule until a regular law was enacted. In order that the churches might be supplied with well qualified gospel ministers to labour among the people for their spiritual edification, " the presbyteries were to appoint one or more of their number to meet with the heritors, being protestants, and the elders, to elect and call one to be their minister, whom they were to propose to the whole congregation, to be by them approved or disapproved; the disapprovers to produce their reasons to the presbytery of the bounds, by whose determination the entry of the minister was to be determined." They at the same time remitted to the commission to judge finally in the settlement of Kinross parish. A call to that charge had been given to a Mr. Francis Craig by the parishioners, but a Mr. Stark had received the presentation; yet although he had scarcely one vote in his favour, and the presbytery had refused to ordain him, the commission ordered the said Mr. Stark to be admitted without delay. This the presbytery refused to do, and appealed to the next assembly; but the commission, without paying any attention to their appeal, proceeded to the settlement by a sub-committee.

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1731.

Case of
Kinross.

XLII. At next assembly [May 1732] a strong representation, subscribed by forty-two ministers, against the increasing grievances of the church and the tyrannical usurpations of the commission, was laid before them; in which, after enumerating a number of cases where ministers had been violently intruded against the voice of the people, they lamented the practice as of dangerous consequence; " not only in the cases specified, [the West Kirk, Kinross, &c.] but in many others, seeing they might be improven as precedents, and had too visible a tendency to grieve many of God's people, alienate their affections, cause divisions, pave the way for introducing in all corners of the land a ministry utterly unacceptable, and so not fit to edify and rule the flock of Christ, and to wreathe the heavy yoke of patronage about the church's neck, and strengthen the hands of enemies who may design to model the church according to their own mind, and bring in a corrupt time-serving ministry into it, to serve their carnal political interests;" " more offensive, when it is remembered that the intrusion of minis-

1732.

Remon-
strance a-
gainst the
usurpa-
tions, &c.
of the com-
mission.

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Refused to
be heard—
settlement
of Kinross
confirmed.

Protest of
the dissen-
ters refused
to be re-
corded.

ters on congregations was one of the heavy grievances justly complained of under prelatical persecution:" and they therefore prayed the venerable court, "with all due respect to heritors well affected to church and state, to discharge, in time coming, all settlements of vacant congregations without the call and consent of the elders and christian people thereof;" the other leading departures in practice from the principles held by the church of Scotland at the reformation were also enumerated, and relief prayed for.* But the paper was not so much as allowed to be heard; and by way of practical improvement, the complaint against the settlement of Kinross was dismissed, and the presbytery of Dunfermline ordered to receive and enrol Mr. Stark as one of their number.

XLIII. Against this flagrant departure from the received principles of the church, several of the members, "for the sake of exonerating their consciences," protested, and desired their dissent might be recorded; but the majority had no sympathy with such impertinent scruples, and forbade the clerk to enter them on the minutes, or preserve them among the records of the assembly. All inferior judicatories, however, were prohibited in future from making final settlements when appeals were lodged; and with this amendment the overture of last assembly was turned into a standing law of the church.

XLIV. Denied—in face of the expressed opinion of a majority of the presbyteries†—this regular vent for their dissa-

* Among other grievances, the following was mentioned:—"Yes, a young minister, appointed to preach before his majesty's commission, had the assurance, even on that solemn occasion, to add to former innovations that of reading his sermon openly, though he could not but know it would give great offence, both to ministers and people of this church, and bring a reflection on the assembly, as if they approved thereof."—Representation and Petition, &c.

† Such procedure was in contradiction to an act of assembly, regulating the manner in which standing acts were to be passed. The 9th act of the general assembly, 1697, appoints, "that before any general assembly of this church shall pass any acts which are to be standing rules and constitutions to the church, they be remitted as overtures to the consideration of the several presbyteries, and their opinion and consent be reported by their commissioners to the next assembly, that they may pass the same into acts, if the more general opinion of the church agree hereto." This act was one of those called barrier acts. Alas, for such barriers!



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and
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tisfaction, the dissentients had recourse to another and not less usual mode of disburthening their minds;—they carried their complaints to the pulpit, and spread wider the discontent which the useless rigour of the assembly was intended to suppress. The oldest and most distinguished of their number was Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, now minister at Stirling, who, in a sermon before the synod of Perth, held in October, treated the subject with great freedom, and drew, as was alleged, a cutting parallel between the corruptions and degeneracies of the Jewish priests and those of the ruling party in the church of Scotland, leaving it, however, to the consciences of every one to make the application. For these sentiments, warmly expressed, which, in common prudence, the party ought to have passed over, he was censured, and put under the surveillance of his own presbytery, who were directed to report upon his future good behaviour. Against this sentence Mr. Erskine protested, and appealed to the next general assembly, to which protest a considerable number of the members of synod, and among them, the moderator, adhered. In vain the presbytery of Stirling and Mr. Erskine's kirk-session interposed, by conference and petition, to allay the ferment; the synod persisted in ordering the culprit to be rebuked, while he refused submission and persisted in his appeal. The high respectability and extensive popularity of the recusant, and of those who supported him, excited universal attention, nor perhaps since the revolution had any religious subject caused a greater sensation in Scotland.

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1732.

Mr. Erskine censured for his synodical sermon at Perth.

He appeals to the assembly.

XLV. The important assembly which was to decide the integrity of the church, met May 3, and Mr. John Gowdie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was chosen moderator. The leading refractory members both of the presbytery of Dunfermline and the synod of Perth, comprehended the remains of the "representers," and their causes might be said to be one. The former was called first. Upon a complaint for sir John Bruce, and others, of the parish of Kinross, against the presbytery of Dunfermline, for their refusing to receive and enrol Mr. Robert Stark minister at Kinross as a member of the presbytery, in obedience to the act of the general assembly 1732, and two several appointments of the commission in November and March last, a warrant was

1733.
Proceedings of the assembly.

Kinross case.

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1733.

Finally
disposed of.

ordered to be issued for summoning several brethren, members of that presbytery, with the presbytery clerk, to compare before the assembly on Thursday next, at ten o'clock forenoon, to give the reasons why they did not obey the said act and appointments; and some ministers, members of the said presbytery, present at the assembly bar, were cited *apud acta* to that diet. When they appeared, their reasons did not seem convincing to the assembly, who approved of the conduct of their commission, and appointed a committee to confer with the brethren for removing their scruples. The conference, however, proving ineffectual, the committee reported, "that several of the brethren of that presbytery could not agree to any active enrolment of Mr. Stark, minister of Kinross, as a member of their presbytery." On this the assembly ordered them "to retire with all the brethren in town and constitute into a presbytery, and receive and enrol Mr. Stark as a member, and return a particular report of the behaviour of each member;" which being done, the assembly found the majority of the presbytery to be for enrolling Mr. Stark, and therefore appointed a second meeting for enrolling him judicially, and named a committee to consider what censure might be proper to inflict upon the disobedient ministers. The censure inflicted was sufficiently severe; the recusant brethren, Mr. James Wardlaw and Mr. Ralph Erskine at Dunfermline, Mr. John Gib at Cleish, Mr. Daniel Hunter at Carnock, Mr. John Geddes at Culross, and Mr. Thomas Mair at Orwell, were rebuked at the bar, and commanded "to own Mr. Robert Stark as minister of the gospel at Kinross, to encourage and strengthen his hand in the Lord's work, to discourage all separation from and non-subjection to his ministry, and strictly discharged from admitting any of the parish of Kinross to sealing ordinances without the consent of the said Mr. Robert." They were at the same time "prohibited from protesting against Mr. Stark's sitting in the presbytery and acting as a member." The commission was empowered to enforce obedience under pain of the highest censures; and to encourage the brethren of the presbytery who had done their duty in obeying the appoint-

ment of the assembly, they were to receive any complaint from them, and to judge and censure any minister or ministers who should give them disturbance.

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XXVII.

1733.

XLVI. Having discussed the Dunfermline dissenters, the assembly proceeded to Mr. E. Erskine's appeal. It was not even alleged that this gentleman had, in his offensive discourse, advanced any doctrine in opposition to the Scriptures, or that could by implication be supposed hostile to the church, nor were his expressions harsh but from their truth; yet the assembly, without pointing out an error, without showing or even alleging that he had transgressed any act of theirs, or violated any precept of the gospel, approved the proceedings of the synod, and appointed him to be rebuked and admonished by the moderator at their own bar, in order to terminate the process.

E. Erskine
ordered to
be rebuked.

XLVII. They might, however, have better known the men with whom they had to deal; they were of too long standing in the church, and of too firm principle and nerve to submit calmly to what they believed a solemn act of judicial injustice, and a public mockery of the constitution of presbytery. Mr. Erskine, Mr. William Wilson, minister at Perth, Mr. Alexander Moncrieff, Abernethy, and Mr. James Fisher, Kinclaven, protested against the act, and craved that their protest might be recorded. With this request the assembly not only would not comply, but commanded them to withdraw their paper as irregular, which they refused, and retired. They were then ordered to be cited next day, and a committee was nominated in the mean time to consider the protest and their conduct, and to bring in, by an overture, what might be fit for the assembly to do in the whole affair. When the four brethren compeared, in compliance with the summons, a committee was appointed to confer with them, and to endeavour to persuade them to withdraw their paper and protest, and to submit; but after a long consultation, they remained fully resolved to adhere. The papers were then brought in, read, and recorded as part of the minutes of the committee, together with the overture of the committee, which was adopted as the act of the assembly;—a procedure which has preserved in the registers of the church the obnoxious documents with more prominence

He and
three oth-
ers protest.

Requested
to with-
draw it and
submit—
they refuse.

BOOK than if they had at first been quietly entered and passed
XXVII. over. They were as follow :—

1733.

Mr. Er-
skine's pro-
test.

Protest by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, and others, given in to the assembly 1733 :—" Although I have a very great and dutiful regard to the judicatures of this church, to whom I own my subjection in the Lord ; yet in respect the assembly have found me censurable, and have tendered a rebuke and admonition to me for things I conceive agreeable unto and founded upon the word of God and our approved standards— I find myself obliged to protest against the foresaid censure, as imputing that I have in my doctrine at the opening of the synod of Perth, October last, departed from the word of God and the foresaid standards ; and that I shall be at liberty to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same, or like defections of the church, upon all proper occasions. And I do hereby adhere unto the testimonies I have formerly emitted against the act of assembly 1732, whether in the protest entered against it in open assembly, or yet in my synodical sermon, craving this my protest and declaration be insert in the records of assembly, and that I be allowed extracts thereof. (Signed) EBENEZER ERSKINE. Dated Edinburgh, May 14, 1733."

Decision of
the assem-
bly.

XLVIII. To this was appended the adherence of the other three ministers, which, with the overture of the committee, being read and considered—the assembly, by a very great majority, enacted and appointed, " that the four brethren aforesaid appear before the commission in August next, and then show their sorrow for their conduct and misbehaviour in offering to protest, and in giving in to this assembly the paper by them subscribed ; and that they then retract the same. And in case they do not appear before the said commission in August, and then show their sorrow and retract as said is, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed to suspend the said brethren, or such of them as shall not obey, from the exercise of their ministry. And further, in case the saids brethren shall be suspended by the said commission, and that they shall act contrary to the said sentence of suspension, the commission is hereby empowered and appointed at their meeting in November, or any subsequent meeting, to proceed to a higher censure against the

said four brethren, or such of them as shall continue to offend by transgressing this act. And the general assembly do appoint the several presbyteries, of which the saids brethren are members, to report to the commission in August, and subsequent meetings of it, their conduct and behaviour with respect to this act.”

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1733.

XLIX. Upon the intimation of this sentence, the brethren attempted a reply. They would have said, “that the venerable assembly, without hearing their defences, had sentenced and appointed the commission to execute their sentence; that of this uncommon procedure they could not but complain, and declared that they were not at liberty to take this affair to an avizandum.” But the assembly would not listen, and they could only leave a copy of what they meant to say lying on the table.

Brethren's
reply

refused to
be heard.

L. Conduct so arbitrary on the part of the assembly against men whose conscientious scruples were revered by their congregations, instead of overawing, tended much to strengthen the resistance of the recusants, by producing many public testimonies of approbation, and applications in their favour from the most respectable quarters, from the magistrates of the burghs where they were placed, from their kirk-sessions, and from a number of presbyteries. When the commission met in August, they were assailed by representations of the mischief likely to arise from persevering in measures so much opposed to the decided opinion of the best friends of the establishment; but, equally imperious with the assembly, they refused to hear them; and it was with difficulty even Mr. Erskine's own written papers were allowed to be read—an indulgence not granted to the others.

Effects of
this severity.

Tyranny of
the commission.

LI. Without betraying, as they thought, the cause of truth, the brethren could not acquiesce in the sentence of the assembly, and were suspended from the exercise of the ministerial function in all its parts. What they would not concede to the assembly, it was not to be expected they would give up to the commission: they accordingly protested, not only in their own names, but in the name of all and every one of their respective congregations, against the sentence, as in itself null and void, and continued to exercise their ministry

They are
suspended.

They protest.

BO
XX

M
sl.
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...increasing popularity, and the violent fer-
...among the people,* induced a number
...the commission to hesitate, and at their
...when the question was put, "delay,"
...was carried for the latter only by the cast-
...moderator, Mr. John Gowdie, moderator
...The highest censure of the church was
...and Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, minister at
...Mr. William Wilson at Perth, Alexander Mon-
...Abernethy, and Mr. James Fisher at Kinclaven,
...from their respective charges, and declared no
...ministers of the church of Scotland; all whose mini-
...were forbid to employ them in any ministerial function;
...churches were declared vacant, and the sentence ap-
...pointed to be read from the various pulpits of the different
...presbyteries, within whose bounds their charges lay, between
...and the first of January 1734. Notice also was ordered to
...be sent, by the moderator, to the magistrates of Perth and
...Stirling, the sheriff-principal of Perth, and bailie of regality
...of Abernethy.

Their pro-
test against
this sen-
tence.

LII. The deposed brethren met this by a renewed pro-
test, declaring the nullity of this new sentence, notwithstand-
ing which they held their pastoral relation with their respec-
tive flocks valid and firm. "And likewise," they add-
ed, "we protest that, notwithstanding of our being cast out
from ministerial communion with the established church of
Scotland, we still hold communion with all and every one
who desire with us to adhere to the principles of the true
presbyterian covenanted church of Scotland, in her doc-
trine, worship, government, and discipline; and particular-
ly with all who are groaning under the evils, and who are
affected with the grievances we have been complaining of,
and who are, in their several spheres, wrestling against the
same. But in regard the prevailing party in this establish-
ed church, who have now cast us out from ministerial com-
munion with them, are carrying on a course of defection
from our reformed and covenanted principles, and particu-

* In Edinburgh the interest excited was such, that the doors of the place of
meeting were beset long before the hour; and the members could not obtain
admission till the magistrates interfered.—Caledonian Mercury.



Origin of the First Secession from the Kirk of Scotland.

larly are suppressing ministerial freedom and faithfulness in testifying against the present backslidings of the church, and inflicting censures upon ministers, for witnessing, by protestations and otherwise, against the same; therefore we do, for these and many other weighty reasons to be laid open in due time, protest that we are obliged to make a SECESSION from them, and that we can have no ministerial communion with them till they see their sins and mistakes and amend them. And, in like manner, we do protest that it shall be lawful and warrantable for us to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline, and government, according to the word of God and confession of faith, and the principles and constitutions of the covenanted church of Scotland, as if no such censure had been passed upon us. Upon all which we take instruments, and we hereby appeal to the first free, faithful, and reforming general assembly of the church of Scotland."

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1733.

Declare
their seces-
sion from
the church.

LIII. Another protest was presented by Mr. Gabriel Wilson, minister at Maxton, and adhered to by Messrs. Ralph Erskine and James Wardlaw, ministers, Dunfermline; John Macclairine, Edinburgh; Thomas Mair, Orwell; Thomas Nairne, Abbotshall, and Jo. Currie, Kinglassie, claiming the right of complaining to any general assembly against this sentence of the commission, of bearing testimony against it and all other defections and severities of the church, and of holding ministerial communion with their dear brethren, as if no such sentence had passed against them. Both parties soon after appealed to the public; the commission, by "a Narrative" of their proceedings in the process; and the brethren, by "a Review" of that Narrative. The public in general sympathised with those whom they esteemed persecuted, and in some cases successfully resisted the churches from being declared vacant, while the SECEDERS insured their separation by constituting themselves into an "ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERY" on the sixth day of December one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.*

Protest by
other
ministers.

The Asso-
ciate Pres-
bytery
formed.

LIV. At this period Scotland was still struggling with the

* This took place at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross. Registers of the General Assembly and printed Acts. Act, Declaration, and Testimony, &c. of the Associate Presbytery.

BOOK
XXVII.1733.
State of
Scotland.Increase of
smuggling,and frauds
on the re-
venue.

disadvantages which had arisen from, or were attributed to the Union. Her revenue, so far from contributing to the general expenditure, was scarcely sufficient to defray the expense of the local government; and the methods proposed to ameliorate her situation, and render her resources available, as yet tended only to deteriorate the morals of the people, by proposing temptations to their cupidity. In place of minding the improvement of their fisheries and of their manufactures, for which the union had just opened the most gainful market, it was complained that the people, over-hasty to be rich, by a sort of common consent, fixed their views upon the public revenues as the fund out of which they were to steal their wealth. Both prohibitory duties and bounties instead of serving the public, were equally appropriated to purposes of private emolument. By the high tax on foreign articles, the prices were raised to an exorbitant pitch; and if they could be imported free, the gain was proportionably great. All the little traders of small fortune, therefore, jumped at the bait, while the wealthy merchants, unwilling to run such hazards, were forced to retire from a business in which they were vastly undersold by smugglers, whom all the dissatisfied greatly encouraged; and in consequence, the revenue was defrauded, and the home manufacture ruined, the produce of the Scottish grain was neglected, while the country was deluged with foreign brandy.* By the same kind of perverseness, the encouragements for exportation were also turned against the country; great bounties were granted upon the exportation of fish cured with foreign salts; but the bounties became the object of the petty traders' view; all their care was to procure false certificates that should produce debentures. The fish were so starved in the curing, as either to be wrecked in the foreign markets, to the disgrace of the Scottish fishery, or flung overboard to earn the drawback which sufficiently satisfied the unprincipled exporter.

LV. Notwithstanding these grievous complaints, however, the situation of Scotland was certainly, although very slow-

* Letter to the Convention of Burroughs, &c. Edin. 1731. Upwards of L.20,000 in specie, was annually sent out of the country for brandy alone.

ly, commencing to improve. Linen, the staple, had increased in quantity and beauty beyond the most sanguine expectation; and, in the course of five years, the value augmented upwards of sixty-five thousand pounds sterling, being a gradual yearly rise of from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds.* Kilmarnock had already become noted for woollen stuffs, known by the name of the place, which were not only in repute at home, but in considerable demand for the Dutch trade. At Stirling and the neighbourhood, large quantities of serges, and other low priced woollen goods for furniture, were produced. Aberdeen wrought up the rough country wools into coarse cloths, called fingrams; and was famous for knit stockings of all prices, numbers of which were sent to London. Fine shaloons were manufactured from the best wool at Edinburgh; and the Galashiels kerseys, called Galashiels grays, supplied the ordinary country wear. Osnaburgs, and other low priced articles of that kind, employed a great number of hands in Angus, and were exported in large quantities, to the plantations. Scottish vessels, laden chiefly with Scottish produce, were beginning to be freighted to Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean; and a few ships were employed with great benefit to the nation in the African trade.† The interior communication with London was becoming more easy; the post went now regularly twice a-week between the capital of Scotland and the metropolis. The former mode of travelling on horseback was beginning to be superseded by coaches, and these were beginning to quicken their motions.‡

BOOK
XXVII1733.
Improvement in the
linen, &c.
trade,in foreign
commerce,in travel-
ling.

* There were stamped for sale in the year preceding the 1st of Nov. 1728, in the countries in the west and south of the river Tay, 1,047,254½—in the countries benorth Tay, 1,136,723½—total, 2,183,978 yards linen, value L.103,312, 9s. 3d. Year preceding 1st of Nov. 1732, south, 1,751,038—north, 2,633,794½—total, 4,384,832½ yards, value L.168,322, 14s. 10½d. This is besides cloth made for private use, of which large quantities of high-priced cloth for shirting, had been lately made.—Report of the Trustees, 1733.

† Interest of Scotland considered, Edin. 1733. Culloden Papers, p. 114. Caledonian Mercury.

‡ The following advertisement, copied from the Caledonian Mercury, June 3, 1734, shows the progressive improvement:—"A COACH will set out on the 6th of June inst. for London, or any place on the road, to be performed in nine days, or three days sooner than any coach that travels the road, for which purpose *eighty* stout horses are stationed at proper distances. Or you may

BOOK
XXVII.1733.
Highlands.Progress of
the military
road.

LVI. With regard to the highlands, circumstances appeared for the time to be reversed. While the lowlands were commoved with religious contests and mercantile fraud, they were tranquil, looking on with astonishment at general Wade's progress in executing the great military roads. The space between Fort Augustus and Ruthven being completed on his majesty's birth-day, the occasion was celebrated with great festivity in a little glen in the neighbourhood, where six oxen were roasted whole, and all the working parties, with a number of guests from the independent companies and surrounding country, were regaled by the general, and swallowed the health of his majesty and the royal family with much apparent cordiality.*

Proceed-
ings of par-
liament.

LVII. Invariable opposition to a government seems to partake more of faction than of patriotism; yet on no one occasion did sir Robert Walpole's administration meet the support of the "patriots." The parliamentary session of 1732 was an exercise of rhetorical gladiatorship exactly similar to that of the preceding year, and preparatory to a more furious attack in the succeeding one of 1733, on a project of the premier for converting the greater part of the customs into duties of excise. The idea seems to have been suggested by the reports from Scotland, which incessantly repeated the facilities the one afforded for fraud in comparison of the other. These were too gross and palpable to be denied, and too extensive to be defeated by any means the government then possessed. But the cry of "corrup-

have a by-coach at any time on acquainting Alexander Forsyth, opposite the duke of Queensberry's lodgings, Canongate." In the same paper, grass parks in Haddingtonshire were advertised to be let at 20s. per acre, and fifteen acres arable land near Tranent, at L.5 Scots per do.

* The general was much liked in the north, and gained mightily upon the affections of the chiefs, nor did he disdain, in his excursions, to mingle in the varied society of the hills. "On the day you left us at Ruthven," he tells the lord advocate, "the knight and I travelled in my coach with great ease and pleasure to the feast of oxen, which the highwaymen had prepared for us, opposite to Loch Gary; where we found four roasting at the same time, in great order and solemnity. We dined in a tent pitched for that purpose; the beef was excellent, and we had plenty of bumpers, not forgetting your lordship and Culloden; and after three hours' stay, took leave of our benefactors the highwaymen, and arrived at the hut before it was dark."—Culloden Papers.

tion and influence" which was raised against increasing the number of excisemen in England, excited such mobbing and violence, that the minister was forced to abandon the design, although it was calculated to render the revenue more productive, and lessen the temptation to crime. In Scotland, where the excise had always been hated with peculiar virulence, the news of this popular triumph occasioned the most extravagant joy, and the fair—who were then very ardent politicians—had their ribbons and ornaments inscribed with "no excise."* A vigorous but ineffectual attempt to procure a repeal of the septennial act, was among the last contests of the current parliament, which was dissolved April 18, 1734.

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XXVII.

1733.

Excise act
abandoned.

Joy at this
in Scot-
land.

LVIII. On the second of May the general assembly met, but of a very different complexion from the last. The orthodox party had exerted themselves strenuously to obtain members friendly to their views returned by the presbyteries, and the moderates who had brought the church into difficulty were willing to allow their opponents the honour of an attempt to bring her out. Conciliation was accordingly the order of the day. After declaring the acts of 1730 and 1732, forbidding the recording of dissent and for planting vacant churches, which had been the immediate causes of the dissension, to be no longer binding rules in the church, they proceeded to other measures of a healing tendency. Without reverting to what was past on either side, they empowered the synod of Perth and Stirling to "take the case of the seceding brethren, as it then stood, under their consideration, for uniting them to the communion of the church and restoring them their charges." But with this express direction, that their body "should not take upon them to judge of the legality or formality of the former proceedings of the church judicatories in relation to the affairs, or either
* to approve or censure the same," and appointed them to meet the first Tuesday of July next, and to use their utmost endeavours to bring the matter as soon as they reasonably could, to a final and happy issue. As restraining ministers

1734.

General as-
sembly.

Their mea-
sures, &c.

Their mea-
sures to
bring back
the sece-
ders.

* At the Hunter's ball in the great gallery of Holyroodhouse, this year, all the ladies were thus decorated.—Caledonian Mercury.

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XXVII.

1734.

They are
restored by
the synod
of Perth.

from bearing testimony against the defections of the church was a prominent feature in the process, it was also declared that due and regular ministerial freedom was not to be understood as in any wise impaired by the late assembly's decision in that business. In accordance with the decrees of the assembly, the synod met at Perth in July, and with one voice and consent took off the sentences pronounced by the commission against Messrs. Erskine, Wilson, Moncrieff, and Fisher, and restored them to communion with the church, to their several charges, and to the exercise of all parts of the ministerial function.

Publish
their testi-
mony.

LIX. All these concessions were now, however, too late about the time of the assembly's meeting the associate synod had emitted a testimony to the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the church of Scotland, in which their reasons for forming a secession, not from the constitution of the church, but from the prevailing party in her judicatories were stated; and they had expressed it as their opinion, that it was their duty to continue separate till the others were sensible of their sins and mistakes, and did reform and amend the same; the proceedings, therefore, for their reception again into the bosom of the church not containing any condemnation of the injustice they had suffered, nor asserting the truths for which they contended, they refused accepting the favour offered by the constituted authorities.

They refuse
the favour
offered by
the synod.

LX. With some reason their friends in the church complained that as they had appealed for redress to the first faithful general assembly, they should have delayed any such extraordinary step until the meeting of the next assembly then approaching; for considering how sensibly touched the whole church was with their case, and what preparations were making, they could not be sure but it might prove the reforming assembly they appealed unto. Their views, however, had, as usual with all separatists, expanded with their situation, and they aimed at a reformation more thorough and complete than they had previously contemplated, or than the state of the establishment would admit; they wished to revive the days of the covenant, and proposed the pattern of their ancestors, particularly in the years 1638, 1646, and 1648, when the practical beauties of presbytery were in their

Their views
of the re-
form neces-
sary in the
church.

bloom, as the exemplar for modern imitation ; forgetting or overlooking that the rigid presbyterians had at that time a complete ascendancy in ecclesiastical, and a weighty influence in civil affairs, which their orthodox brethren did not then possess, and that to obtain now the desired reform in the bosom of the church, would have required the united efforts of all friendly to it in their own proper assemblies. Whether by remaining, this object could have been attained, is extremely problematical ; that it was not attempted, occasioned a breach between the seceders and a number of excellent men who could not see it their duty to leave the communion of their mother church. The most sedulous efforts were, however, continued on the part of the latter, to lessen their differences.

BOOK
XXVII
1734.

LXI. A deputation of three, sent from the commission to solicit a repeal of the act restoring patronage—the cause of all the present mischief—being returned without effecting any thing, they obtained from the next assembly, 1735, that two ministers, Messrs. Anderson of St. Andrews and Gordon of Alford, with colonel John Erskine of Carnock, ruling elder, should proceed to London, and by every proper and legal method endeavour to procure redress of that grievance. This embassy was equally unsuccessful ; but the assembly exposed themselves to the charge of insincerity in their wishes to get rid of the obnoxious act, as they had the means in their own power for obtaining relief without any application to the legislature. It had been enacted by parliament, 1717, “ that presentations given by patrons to vacant churches should be of no effect, if the person presented did not accept or declare his willingness to accept of the presentation given him,” which no consistent presbyterian could conscientiously, and which it was supposed no professed one would have the effrontery to do. The supposition had been belied ; but it remained with the assembly to withdraw their licence from any preacher accepting without a previous call ; and while they neglected to do this, the inference was natural, that an address to his majesty, or a petition to the house of commons, was only a hollow pretext to serve a purpose, or to save appearances. Of this the seceders accused them ; and although they gave credit to a

1735.
Repeal of
the patron-
age act re-
fused by
govern-
ment.

Reasons
for suppos-
ing the ap-
plication in-
sincere.

BOOK
XXVII.

1735.

number of worthy men for the best intentions, they considered the majority of the ministers as persons who were entirely ruled by carnal policy, from whom it was in vain to expect any assistance or countenance in attempting to restore the church to its purity.* When the assembly rose they published their reasons for not acceding to the judicatories of the established church, but forbore for another year from any act which might finally close the door upon their return.

Protest
against the
election of
the Scot-
tish peers.

LXII. Government candidates, with little difficulty, carried the commons' elections in Scotland, but that of the peers was accompanied by several protests. Two lists had been handed about among the Scottish nobility, one as approved by the crown, and called the king's list, the other drawn up by an opposition, at the head of which were the duke of Hamilton and the earl of Stair; the former being carried by the dukes of Hamilton, Queensberry, and Montrose, and the earls Dundonald, Marchmont, and Stair, protested against the election, because "endeavours were made to engage the peers to vote for the king's list," by promises of pensions and places to themselves or their relations; by actually giving sums of money, or offices, of which several were nominal, and releases of debts owing to the crown, to such as engaged to concur in voting for those contained in the list—and because, on the day of election, a battalion of troops were drawn up in the Abbey court at Edinburgh, which might have overawed the electors, but which certainly rendered the election illegal.

LXIII. When parliament met in January, a petition was presented to the upper house by the protesting party, representing the undue methods that had been used as inconsistent with the freedom of parliament, dishonourable to the peerage, and contrary to the laws that direct the election, proof of which they offered to lay before their lordship

* In the "Reasons why Messrs. Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson, Alexander Moncrieff and James Fisher, have not acceded to the judicatories of the established church," they say, "if the difficulties that lie in the way of an accession to the judicatories of the church are not removed, we do not impute it to the intentions or inclinations of many of the worthy members of the assembly, but to the opposition they met with from some who had an active hand in carrying on or concurring with the former course of defection."

The charge being considered as too general, the petitioners were desired to state the facts, and name the persons they alleged to be guilty. The facts they re-stated as in the protest, but declined mentioning names; these they said, would appear in the course of the proof, and they did not wish to assume the office of public accusers, their object was to vindicate the constitution of the country, and to assert the dignity of the peerage, not to become the prosecutors of individuals, and thus incapacitate themselves from being witnesses in the cause, an issue which they perceived their antagonists desired, in order that all inquiry might be quashed about so shameful a transaction. The motion was notwithstanding carried, to name, and the petitioners persisting to refuse, the petition was laid aside, accompanied with a vigorous protest to remain in the journal as a caution for future negotiators to be more circumspect.

BOOK
XXVII.

1735.
Proceed-
ings re-
specting it
in parlia-
ment.

LXIV. A petition from the last general assembly, against patronage, was presented to the house of commons, praying for the repeal of the act of the 10th of queen Anne, and to restore the church of Scotland to the privileges she was possessed of at the union of the two kingdoms, and leave was given to bring in a bill for this purpose; which was accordingly prepared by the lord advocate, Duncan Forbes, Messrs. Erskine and Plummer, sir James Ferguson and Mr. Hume Campbell, and presented on the 18th by Mr. Plummer; but being coldly advocated and feebly supported, it fell to the ground. An attempt to assimilate the act for preventing wrongous imprisonment to the English habeas corpus act, attracted more attention, and was carried through the lower house, but lost among the lords, by means of the earl of Islay. This bill had originated chiefly from abuses at elections, where unmanageable voters, who had been arrested upon false pretences and fictitious debts, were sent to a distance from the scene of action, detained in durance till their services were unnecessary, and then dismissed without trial and without recourse. Islay contended that the law of Scotland as it stood, was sufficient for the protection of the subject, nor could any law be more tender of personal liberty; and he succeeded in persuading a majority of their

Bill abo-
lishing pa-
tronage
lost.

Bill re-
specting
wrongous
imprison-
ment lost

BOOK XXVII. lordships that any further provision for this purpose was unnecessary.

1736. **Parliament —acts against witchcraft repealed.** LXV. After the session closed, the king paid his annual visit to Hanover, whence he returned in November, and again met with parliament, in January 1736; their proceedings were remarkable for the repeal of the acts against witchcraft, which had so long disgraced the statute books of both kingdoms; and for refusing to repeal some clauses in the test act, which, if not quite so bloody, were equally unworthy a place among the enactments of an enlightened legislature. As usual, the king indulged his predilection for his native dominions, by returning to them during the recess, leaving his queen, Caroline, sole regent in his absence.

Breach in church widened. LXVI. This year, the breach between the seceders and the establishment was widened by fresh collision. Their accusation of the assembly's indifference to gospel truth was met by an "act concerning preaching," exhorting ministers to adhere to the scriptural definition of disputed or doubtful points laid down in the standards of the national church, to "make it the great scope of their sermons, to lead sinners from a covenant of works to a covenant of grace for life and salvation, and from sin and self to precious Christ; and to insist not only upon the necessity and excellency of faith in Jesus Christ for salvation, but also upon the necessity of repentance for sin and reformation from it, and to press the practice of all moral duties as indispensably necessary, in obedience to God's command, to testify our gratitude to him, and to evidence the sincerity of our faith." Unluckily, however, Mr. Campbell, professor of Church History, St. Andrews, in some works that he had published, had hazarded

Doctrines published by Campbell of St. Andrews. several very objectionable positions:—denying the ability of man, by his natural powers, to discover the being of a God; asserting that the law of nature was sufficient to guide rational minds to happiness; alleging that self-love was the sole motive of all virtuous and religious actions; and that the apostles had no idea of any other than a temporal reign of Christ upon earth till after his resurrection. These which,

Decision of the assembly regarding them. when taken by themselves might be construed to convey unsound doctrine, when considered in their connexion with the professor's main object, to exalt revelation;—and the ex-

planations which he gave to a committee, were pronounced by the assembly to be only unguarded and incautious statements in support of arguments pushed too far, and produced merely an admonition to Mr. Campbell, and others, "not to use doubtful expressions in their preaching, propositions, or writings, which might be construed in an erroneous sense." But the seceders, who would only admit of the worst sense of the insulated propositions, adduced this lenient sentence as an additional proof of the assembly's carelessness about their creed; and insisted that the act was a dead letter in their statute book, there being, they asserted, "as little of Christ to be found in fashionable discourses as in Plato or Seneca's morals."*

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Remarks of
the seced-
ers upon it.

LXVII. An act "against intrusion into vacant congregations" was also passed, but its merit was neutralized by the same assembly dismissing the complaint of the parishioners of Denny against a sentence of the commission authorising a violent settlement; and their appointing the enrolment of James Pursell, obtrusive minister of Troqueer, by the presbytery of Dumfries, among their members, under circumstances not very dissimilar to those of Mr. Stark of Kinross.

Assembly
render their
act against
intrusion
nugatory.

LXVIII. The associate presbytery having now waited for a considerable time to see if the judicatories of the church would lift up a particular testimony against the evils of the present and the sins of former times; from the conduct of this assembly, conceiving the expectation hopeless—for instead of going forward in reformation work, they had visibly gone backward—they emitted, at their meeting at Perth, the 3d of December, "a judicial declaration or testimony for the doctrine, worship, government, and discipline of the church of Scotland, agreeable to the word of God, the Confession of Faith, the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of the three nations, and against the several steps of defection from the same, both in former and

Declaration
of the se-
cession for
the doc-
trine, wor-
ship, &c. of
the church
of Scotland.

* The works from which the heretical propositions were extracted, are, "Oratio de Vanitate luminis naturæ habita, 2d April, anno 1733, in communi Universitatis Andreapolitanæ, auditorio quum Rectoris dignitatem annuam deponeret. Auctor Archibaldus Campbell, S. T. P. et Histor. Ecclesiast. Professor Regius, Ed. 1733; a Discourse proving the Apostles were no enthusiasts; and an Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue."

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present times." This, after the manner of previous testimonies, contained a brief historical sketch of the church of Scotland, from the reformation to the date of the testimony, noting the different appearances of God for the church, and the persecutions she had endured; and marking the various stages of her backsliding, particularly in doctrine and discipline which in their own day warranted their withdrawing from the communion of a corrupt majority—who had departed from the purity of principle and practice of the presbyterian church; to rear again the ensign of truth which had been lately trodden under foot, and rally round the standard which had been so shamefully deserted by those who had sworn to defend them. It may not, however, be concealed that among the trodden down truths, the divine right presbytery as the sole form of church government, was strenuously contended for, while the sin of toleration was deplored, and the repeal of the penal laws against witchcraft mentioned over.

Origin of
the Porteous
riot.

LXIX. As smuggling still continued to be viewed by the Scottish population in general rather with approbation than dislike, and involved neither dishonour nor disgrace, when contraband goods were openly retailed with large profit, persons not otherwise disreputable eagerly engaged in illicit traffic, and the dangers and risks attending it even presented allurements to daring spirits. Numberless instances of stratagem, seizure, and reprisal, are preserved in the traditional lore of our sea-coasts; but the affair of this kind following, will long be remembered as originating a riot which must stand singular for its concert, audacity and success beyond any thing of the kind upon record in the annals of any well regulated realm, of the actors of which no trace could be found, and for whose detection the most tempting rewards were offered in vain.

Wilson and
Robertson
rob the
supervisor
at
Pitten-
weem.

LXX. One Andrew Wilson, Pathhead, Kirkcaldy, who had lost considerably by seizures in the way of his business, engaged George Robertson, innkeeper, Bristo, Edinburgh, in an attempt to get back what he considered his own. Having hired some associates, they watched the collector of the district who had been upon his circuit, on the 9th of January, and breaking into the room where he slept at Pitte-

weem, robbed him of a sum about the same in amount that had been taken from themselves; but, acting without the smallest precaution, they were apprehended the same evening, and the whole of the property recovered. For this they were tried, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged—a sentence by no means in accordance with the popular ideas of justice, and which, tending to awaken pity for the offender rather than detestation for the crime, was calculated to defeat the purpose of a public example; but besides what was considered the peculiar hardness of the case, several circumstances concurred to interest the multitude more deeply in the fate of the criminals.

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1736.
Condemned.

LXXI. On a Friday preceding the Wednesday appointed for their execution, the attention of the public was attracted by a grand but ineffectual attempt to break the jail. Two horse-stealers, who were confined in the room immediately above where they lay, having obtained spring-saws and other instruments, cut through the thick iron bars that secured a window on the inside, and afterwards the cross grating on the out, and having opened a communication with their unfortunate companions by a large hole in the floor of their apartment, about two o'clock in the morning, hauled them up, and proceeded to pass through the window. One of the horse-stealers was let down in safety by a rope, but Wilson, in endeavouring to follow, being a stout bulky man, stuck in the grate, and before he could be disentangled, the guard was alarmed, and the others were secured. Thus cruelly disappointed, Wilson, the unfortunate cause of the failure, determined to make another desperate effort, at least to rescue Robertson, of whose misfortunes he considered himself the instrument. It was the custom at that time to carry the condemned prisoners to the Tolbooth kirk on the Sabbath, to hear sermon. Next day was the last, and he resolved to seize the opportunity. Thither they were guarded by four soldiers, but scarcely were they seated, when Wilson suddenly seized two in his arms, and after calling out, "Geordie, do for your life," snatched hold of a third by the coat neck with his teeth; on which Robertson tripping up the fourth, sprung over the seats with incredible agility—the audience opening

Disappointed in an attempt to break the jail.

Wilson's generous conduct—Robertson escapes.

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a way for him—got out of the church and clear off, the crowd who instantly gathered preventing all pursuit. Wilson was immediately hurried back to prison, to prevent his escape also, which the congregation appeared willing to favour—for his gallant generosity had excited their highest admiration.

Precau-
tions a-
gainst a res-
cue.

Wilson
executed.

Execution-
er stoned
by some
boys—
Porteous
fires among
the crowd.

LXXII. Next day it was the sole object of conversation, and the expressions of public sympathy were so strong, that the magistrates, dreading a rescue, doubled the sentinels on the prison, summoned the officers of the train bands and constables to attend the execution, and served out ammunition to the town-guard. In addition, a battalion of the Welsh fusileers, then quartered in the Canongate, were drawn up on each side of the Lawnmarket, while another body remained under arms at the guard. At two o'clock, the criminal was carried to the Grassmarket, where he died apparently penitent and resigned, expressing sorrow for the sins of his past life, but no particular sense of the crime for which he suffered. The crowd collected to witness the execution was immense; but every thing was conducted with solemn propriety, and without the most remote appearance of riot, till the executioner was ascending the ladder to cut the body down, when he was saluted with a few stones from some idle boys—an expression of popular feeling at that time not uncommon upon such occasions—and one or two of the guards being struck, captain Porteous, their commander, in a rage, without offering to read the riot act, or waiting for orders from the magistrates—who were in a room near the scaffold—levelled his piece and fired, and with an oath ordered the men also to fire, by which several of the spectators were killed and wounded. On marching home, some dropping shots were afterwards fired from the rear as they ascended the West Bow, which likewise did execution;—in all, four men were killed, and eleven severely wounded, of whom two died afterwards.

LXXIII. A precognition was immediately taken before the magistrates, and Porteous that same evening committed to jail. Three months after, July 19th, he was brought to trial, and, upon the direct testimony of several witnesses, convicted of having with a fusee which he received from a

soldier, shot one young man dead upon the spot, and ordered the guard to level their pieces at the crowd, which occasioned the death and wounding of several others, and sentenced to be hanged upon the eighth day of September.

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1736.
Tried and
condemned.

LXXIV. Porteous had upon some former occasions commanded the town-guard in scuffles, where several of the lieges had been wounded, particularly at a late violent settlement of Mr. Witherspoon, minister of the West Kirk, and had escaped without inquiry, through the influence, as was supposed of provost Campbell, whose housekeeper he had married. Application being now made through the same interest—the Argyle—to the queen regent, her majesty granted a reprieve of six weeks, till proper inquiry should be made; but the nature of such inquiry being perfectly understood, the arrival of the reprieve created the most indignant sensation, not only in Edinburgh, but throughout the whole country, who exclaimed against such impunity for military murderers, and the sin of allowing a wretch so guilty to escape. As an officer, the unhappy culprit had exercised his brief authority with harshness and rigour, all which was now remembered against him, and aggravated by a reported act of wanton barbarity towards the unfortunate Wilson, whom he was said to have tortured in his last moments by forcibly thrusting his hands into manacles too small for his size.*

Reprieved.

Universal
dissatisfaction
thereat.

LXXV. Though language of the most threatening nature had been used, no idea was ever entertained by the constituted authorities, of the possibility of attack other than from an infuriated mob, of whose gathering, the symptoms would have been sufficiently discernible, before the danger became overwhelming, to give time for bringing the guards in the town and the military in the Canongate to disperse them. But a plan had been secretly concerted that set all ordinary calculation at defiance; between eight and nine o'clock on the Tuesday evening preceding the day on which the execution had been originally appointed to take place, a number of persons seized the drum belonging to the suburb

A mob
collects.

* Porteous Trial; Wilson and Robertson's Trial; Life of Porteous; Caledonian Mercury.

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1736.

Take possession of the city.

Break open the jail, liberate the other prisoners, and bring out Porteous.

of Portsburgh, and pressing the drummer's son into the service, they shut the West Port, then collecting a mob by the beat of drum, after closing the Nether Bow Port also, to prevent the troops from the Canongate entering, they surprised the guard-house, and arming themselves with guns, halberds, and lochaber axes, sent parties to secure the other gates. Having made themselves masters of the city, they planted a guard across the High Street to stop all from passing who were not their associates, and proceeded to the prison, where they attempted to force an entrance with forehammers; while thus occupied, the magistrates, who had sent in vain to request general Moyle to come to their assistance,* went out in a body to quell the riot, but were forced, by a shower of stones, to fly from the threats of an armed mob; who, having procured a tar barrel, whins and links, set fire to the door, and some of the most forward, rushing through the flames, extorted the keys from the keeper, and liberated the other prisoners; but seizing the unhappy Porteous, they dragged him by the heels down the tolbooth stair, crying for mercy, for Christ's sake! then setting him upon his feet, they roughly carried him to the top of the Lawnmarket, where some of the crowd proposed to hang him over a sign-post at the Weigh House; others however, who appeared to be in the direction, ordering a march, he was hurried down the West Bow to the gallows-stone, where he was desired to kneel, confess his sins, particularly the havoc he had made at that place, and offer up his petitions to God; in the mean time, some of the rioters broke open a shop from which they took a coil of rope, leaving payment on the counter. About a quarter before twelve o'clock the rope was put about his neck—he entreating and struggling the while—and he was pulled up to a dyer's beam; but one of his hands having got free, he grasped the noose in fearful agony, when some one struck him with a paddle, and he was let down, his hands tied, and hauled up

* The general would not move without a written order, which, in their confusion, the magistrates had omitted to send, and the representative for the city, Mr. Lindsay, went to him; but still he refused to interfere, although Mr. Lindsay told him no person at that time would venture to carry a written order about them through the mob.

a second time; his face being uncovered, he was let down again, one of his shirts—for he had two—thrown over his head, and he was hauled up the third time; the rope was then nailed to the tree, and the principal actors, after saluting each other, grounded their arms and separated, apparently taking the roads for the country. The body hung till five o'clock next morning.*

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1736.

Hang him.

LXXVI. So deliberate an outrage upon the laws of the country produced universal amazement; and the magistrates, whose every effort during the disturbance had been frustrated by the precautionary measures of the ringleaders, sensible of the responsibility attached to their station, were anxious in their inquiries, and upwards of two hundred persons were examined; but no information respecting the perpetrators could be obtained. The only vestige of a track that gave the slightest hope of leading to a discovery, was a reported rumour that some relatives of one Ballantyne, a young gentleman from Dalkeith, who had been killed, had said they would be revenged for the murder of their friend; but it proved fallacious.

Magis-
trates un-
able to dis-
cover the
ringleaders.

LXXVII. A proclamation by the queen, offering two hundred pounds reward, produced no greater discovery; and it was forthwith circulated and believed, that the tumult proceeded from a deep conspiracy among persons of rank, enemies to government, in the Scottish capital, though the strictest investigation implicated no name of consequence, nor any known citizen of Edinburgh. The continued influence of lord Islay had, however, become irksome, and a considerable party would have been willing to attribute the whole to his mismanagement, or that of his friends; while they, on the other hand, would have traced, had it been possible, some secret connexion between this incomprehensible conspiracy and the plain downright mobbing that had taken place at the West Kirk settlement. Neither of these allegations solved the riddle; nor were the English politicians able to settle the matter much more satisfactorily. How a mob could resist the temptation of two hundred pounds

Offer of a
reward
equally in-
effectual.

* Trial of William MacIauchlane, printed Edin. 1817. Torbuck's Parliament. Debates, vol. xv.

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1736.

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Parliament.Motion for
an inquiry
into the
Porteous
riot.

was beyond conception ; and the members of government were not less puzzled than provoked at the unaccountable obstinacy, or still more strange fidelity of "a Scottish rabble." Riots had taken place in various places of England, attended with many circumstances of brutal and disgusting fury, but except the murder of Porteous, no act of rapine or outrage had been committed in the northern capital : it was therefore resolved to investigate the subject in parliament.

LXXVIII. Owing to his majesty's indisposition, the session of this year was delayed till February first, and then opened by commission. The royal speech, which was read by the chancellor, after congratulating the houses on the prospect of peace being soon re-established on the continent, directed their attention to the attempts made in different parts of the nation tumultuously to restrict and obstruct the execution of the laws, and to violate the peace of the kingdom. When the communication was debated, lord Carteret spoke of the English tumults as of ordinary riots, to be repressed by a due execution of the law ; but the atrocious riot and murder committed at Edinburgh, one of the most extraordinary that ever happened in any country ! deserved a very different notice ; being the more dangerous, because it was carried on with a sort of decency and rule, and the more to be dreaded, because attended with no disorder or confusion. He considered it impossible but that the names of the murderers must be known in Edinburgh ; and since the citizens would not discover them, he thought, if not deprived of their charter, they might be threatened with removing their courts of justice ; or that they should be divested of some of their privileges, as an example for other cities for the time to come ; and concluded by proposing to institute an inquiry. Lord Hardwicke thought it beneath the dignity of the house to inquire into that one riot, of which the cause was sufficiently plain, as was that of the whole—the want of sufficient power in the civil magistrate to prevent or punish, and a too great liberty in others to mislead the people, and promote mischief. He therefore thought that the inquiry should be general, that some general specific might be applied. Lord Islay did not believe that the magistrates or citizens of Edinburgh were deeply in-

volved in the transaction mentioned ; but whether they were or not, he did not conceive that that would warrant any arbitrary punishment like those that had been proposed. He however seconded the inquiry, and the house resolved—that the lord provost and four bailies, with the captain of the guard and commander of the forces, should be examined, and that his majesty should be addressed for all the documents necessary to elucidate the subject.

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1737.

Seconded
by lord Is-
lay—agreed
to.

LXXIX. When the documents were produced, they gave rise to long debates, in which it is difficult to say whether their lordships displayed greater ignorance or prejudice on the subject of Scottish law. The trial was assailed as unfair, because the forms differed from those of England, and the sentence as too severe, because the accused had not been allowed to prove in mitigation circumstances which the pursuer admitted as facts in his pleading. It being deemed necessary that the lord justice-clerk and two other of the justiciary lords should be brought from Scotland ; a longer and still more ungracious discussion followed respecting the manner in which the Scottish judges should be interrogated—whether on the woolsack, at the table, or at the bar. As this was a point which had not been settled by the articles of union, it was claimed as their right to be seated next to the English judges—which would have certainly been agreeable to the general rule of precedency arranged in the treaty—but the majority most ungenerously decided that they should take their station in their robes at the bar ; where they were exhibited accordingly, to gratify English vanity, and answer a few insignificant questions.

Discussion
respecting
the recep-
tion of the
Scottish
judges.

LXXX. A bill was then brought in “ to disable Alexander Wilson, Esq. lord provost of the city of Edinburgh, from taking, holding, or enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or any where in Great Britain ; and for imprisoning the said Alexander Wilson ; for abolishing the guard kept up in the said city, commonly called the town-guard, and for taking away the gates of the Nether Bow port of the said city, and keeping open the same.” From the examinations it was apparent, that without the gift of prescience no previous measures could have been taken to meet so unprecedented an occurrence, and

Bill for
punishing
the lord
provost,
and taking
down the
gates, &c.

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1737.

Strongly
opposed.It passes
the lords.Amended
by the com-
mons—a
fine impos-
ed on the
city.

the magistrates had provided against any ordinary riot ; during the tumult they could only be blamed for sending a verbal message to the commander of the forces, instead of a written one, a formality which might easily have been dispensed with in such an exigence ; nor could they afterwards resort to torture to force a discovery that money could not procure. The opposition of the Scottish lords was therefore vehement against the bill, as an unjust and cruel infliction upon a man and a town, against whom no positive charge could be brought. The duke of Argyle and the earls of Crauford and Findlater vigorously contested the clauses one by one, and insisted that, except upon an application from the people of Scotland themselves, the privileges of the burghs were placed, by the articles of union, beyond the legal power of a British parliament, and held under as sacred a guarantee as the established religion ; but on May 13th the bill passed by a majority of fifty-four to twenty-two, and was sent down to the commons, where a much stronger and more efficacious opposition awaited it, in which lord Polwarth and Duncan Forbes particularly distinguished themselves.

LXXXI. The whole circumstances which preceded or accompanied, or followed the hanging of Porteous, were minutely inquired into anew at their bar, and the result referred to a committee of the whole house, where the bill was entirely altered, or rather a new one substituted in its place. For the imprisonment of the provost, the demolition of the Nether Bow port, and disbanding the town-guard, a fine of two thousand pounds to Porteous's widow was imposed ; and even then, so little satisfied were the commons with the propriety of the measure, that the act as amended was only carried by the casting vote of the chairman, and would have been entirely lost but for the detention of two Scottish members, the solicitor-general, and Mr. Erskine of Grange, who were pleading an appeal case in the house of lords at the time, and could not obtain leave to be present at the vote.*

LXXXII. Thus after a violent struggle the business would

* Parliament. Register. London Magazine, 1737, Appendix A. not's History of Edinburgh.

have ended, but another act had been brought in for discovering the murderers of Porteous, by which concealing the guilty was made a capital crime; to this clause many objected, as bearing too near a resemblance to the tyrannous enactments of other days, but the Scottish members themselves occasioned a mode of proclaiming the act that led to more disagreeable consequences. The duke of Argyle and Mr. Lindsay, member for the city of Edinburgh, directly accused the popular ministers, and those who opposed the intrusion of disliked presentees upon an unwilling people, whom they classed with the seceders, if not as accessories, yet as obliquely the cause of Porteous's murder. Argyle, who entered early into public life, and spent the greater part of his youth and manhood in courts and camps, may perhaps be pardoned, as he must have taken his information at second hand, for not understanding the principles of the seceders, or the causes of riot, at violent settlements, and attributing a seditious tendency to the doctrines of "a few fanatical preachers sprung up lately." But the same excuse can hardly be extended to the other, who constantly resided on the spot, and yet, in the course of the debate, asserted, "that when the clergy were like to be defeated or disappointed in any particular view of disposing of any ecclesiastical benefice and preferment as they have a mind, because the law stands in their way, they abused the unwary people, and spirited them up to despise and disobey the law, by inculcating upon such occasions that whatever opposes them is iniquity established by law." "This," he continued, "cannot be charged upon the majority of the church of Scotland, but this seditious doctrine is preached up by these wild, hot-headed, violent, high-church clergy, who were not to be satisfied with any power unless they possess all; yes!" he continued, "we have high-church presbyterians, who have higher notions of clerical power than any protestant clergy whatever; who assert and maintain an absolute independency on the civil power." In consequence, the act was ordered to be read on the first Sabbath of every month for a twelvemonth, by the ministers, from the various pulpits, "under the pain of being declared incapable of sitting, or voting,

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XXVII.

1737.
Concealing
the mur-
derers made
capital.

Orthodox
ministers
hinted at
as the cause
of the riot.

Act order-
ed to be
read from
the pulpits

BOOK XXVII. in any church judicatory, and the penalty to be enforced by the civil power."

1737. LXXXIII. This injunction some of the ministers complied with, and others evaded or refused, as "an encroachment upon Christ's headship over his church, by the magistrates inflicting what was properly a church censure;" and "for ministers to become the magistrates' heralds, to proclaim the law upon the Lord's day, in such a solemn manner," they asserted, "would be a homologating of this encroachment, and a consenting to this erastian power of the magistrates:" but few of them gave up their livings for the cause, while it added another item to the testimony of the seceders, who consistently resisted this unscriptural interference with the ministerial functions.*

Objected to by some of the ministers.

Generally complied with.

Dialoyalty of the seceders hinted at.

They institute a professorship of divinity, &c.

The church professes reluctance to a final separation.

LXXXIV. Parties were now in that state of jealous watchfulness which blasted every hope of accommodation; and the majority who ruled the establishment, having succeeded in infusing into the civil power a suspicion of the loyalty of the seceders, began to evince less anxiety about their return, or even increase; the assembly, 1737, passed without any notice upon the subject, and several violent intrusions were sanctioned. The seceders, on the other hand, strengthened by the open accession of Ralph Erskine, Dunfermline; Thomas Mair, Orwell; Thomas Nairn at Abbotshill; and James Thomson, Burntisland; appointed a professor of divinity, and proceeded to take young men upon probationary trials, supplied reclaiming parishes with sermon, and used every possible method, by printing and preaching, to extend and to perpetuate the propagation of pure presbyterian principles; yet the church, although they must have seen the case desperate, preserved a show of tenderness in their procedure, and a reluctance to final separation, which afforded the orthodox party an excuse for considering the associated brethren as obstinate and unyielding, and the moderates a handle for accusing them of only wishing to arrogate pre-eminence and power. Upon representations and complaints laid before the assembly 1738,

* Willison's Fair and Impartial Testimony. Brown's Hist. of the Secession

they, "in the spirit of meekness, brotherly love, and forbearance," enjoined all the ministers of the national church, as they should have access, and especially the ministers of the synods and presbyteries within which these seceding brethren resided, to be at all pains, by conference and other gentle means of persuasion, to reclaim and to reduce them to their duty, to report the success of their endeavours to the commission, and upon their report the commission was empowered to do what they should think proper to prepare and ripen the case for the decision of the next assembly.

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XXVII.

1738.

Means adopted for reclaiming the seceders,

LXXXV. All endeavours, as might have been expected, proving fruitless, the seceders were "cited" to appear before the succeeding general assembly, which they did; but when the libel charging them with schismatical courses was read, and the moderator, the reverend James Bannatyne, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, had signified to them, that if they would show a disposition to return to their duty, and the obedience they owed to the church, the assembly was ready to forgive all that was past, and receive them with open arms, Mr. Thomas Mair, as moderator, produced, and was allowed to give in, "an act of the associate presbytery, finding and declaring that the present judicatories of this national church are not lawful nor right constitute courts of Christ, and declining all authority, power, or jurisdiction, that the said judicatories may claim to themselves, over the said presbytery, or any of the members thereof, or over any that are under their inspection, and particularly declining the authority of a general assembly now met at Edinburgh the tenth of May;" to which the whole having declared their adherence, they were ordered to withdraw, after being directed by the moderator to attend when called upon by the assembly.

1739.

fruitless—they are cited before the assembly.

They decline the authority of the church judicatories and of the present assembly.

LXXXVI. When called they refused to appear; and the assembly, in consequence of an inclination expressed by Mr. John Willison of Dundee, and several members, not to proceed to a final sentence against them, forbore for another year, and referred the whole to the next general assembly; but "with an earnest recommendation to inflict the censure of deposition, without further delay, against such of them as

Final sentence delayed.

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1739.

Assembly
publish a
narrative of
their pro-
ceedings
with regard
to the se-
ceders.

persisted in their unwarrantable conduct, and did not retract their pretended act and declinature; and, in the meantime, they appointed that the ministers of the church should be careful to exhort the people, both publicly and privately, to guard against all divisive courses, and to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, as they would consult the true interests of serious religion, and the quiet of their country;" and a plain narrative of the procedure of the judicatories, with relation to the seceders, was printed by order of the assembly, and circulated widely immediately after the assembly rose. The narrative was drawn up with great calmness, and was well calculated to impress those who did not thoroughly examine the subject, with a high idea of the christian temper and mildness of the venerable court towards brethren, who, whatever had been the original cause of offence, had become the offenders, by receding from all their advances, and refusing to be reconciled, except upon terms which they knew to be impracticable; although, to facilitate their return, this very assembly had deprived all commissions for the future of the power of executing sentences of sub-committees or correspondent meetings, and had instructed the present anew to make due application to the king and parliament for redress of the grievance of patronage, in case a favourable opportunity for so doing should occur.*

1740.

LXXXVII. The controversy now filled the length and breadth of the land, and, as almost invariably happens in public disputations which generally end in a struggle for victory, neither side carried conviction to their opponents. When the assembly met in May, the seceders had made no retractation, and it now only remained for that venerable court

* Registers of the General Assembly, MS. Printed Acts, Narrative, &c. Wilson's Defence of Reformation Principles, &c.—During these few years the press teemed with controversial pamphlets, in which Mr. Currie minister at Kinglassie, Mr. John Williamson minister at Musselburgh, and Mr. Willison of Dundee, inveighed strongly against the evil of schism, and the danger of rending the church and introducing confusion. They were replied to by Mr. Wilson of Perth, by the acts and testimonies of the associate presbytery, and by several anonymous writers, who insisted upon the duty of withdrawing from the communion of corrupt churches, and the necessity of maintaining the supreme kingship of Christ in his church; and each claimed to be contending for the prosperity of that kingdom which its head and founder had declared to be not of this world.

to finish the long pending process by their highest infliction. "AND THEREFORE the general assembly, in respect of the articles found relevant and proven, DID, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the sole king and head of the church, and by virtue of the power and authority committed by him to them, actually depose Messrs. Erskine, Wilson, Moncrieff, Fisher, and other ministers, from the office of the holy ministry, prohibiting and discharging them, and every one of them, to exercise the same, or any part thereof, within this church in all time coming, and the assembly did declare all the parishes or charges of the above named persons vacant from and after the date of the statute." Fifteen ministers and four elders entered their dissent, and their reasons were ordered to lie *in retentis*; what they were it would not be easy to conjecture, for the seceders had declined the authority of the church, and there was nothing left for the assembly to do but to deprive them of any legal official character, and of course of their temporalities, all right to which ceased when they threw off their connexion with the establishment.

BOOK
XXVII

1740.
Depose
them.

LXXXVIII. While the secession was gaining ground, two heretics of a more dangerous description, were treated with even more leniency—principal Wiseheart and John Glass. William Wiseheart, principal of Edinburgh college, had ventured not only to differ from the doctrine of the Confession of Faith, respecting the power and office of the magistrate in religious matters, but even appeared to favour "removing confessions and freeing persons from subscriptions thereto," and "was greatly concerned for a more free education of children by parents and other instructors than was consistent with the directories thereof approved by this and other protestant churches;" but he was allowed to explain; and notwithstanding these latitudinarian opinions, was admitted to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and furnished the brethren with another to add to the delinquencies of the church. Mr. John Glass, minister at Tealing, shortly after he was placed, while investigating the controversies of the times, in order to judge of the formula to which he had already set his name, was led to entertain some doubts respecting the obligations of the two covenants, national and

Different
conduct of
the assembly
towards
Wiseheart
and Glass.

BOOK
XXVII

1710.
Glass' opi-
nions re-
specting the
kingdom of
Christ.

He is de-
posed—
plants in-
dependent
churches.

Restored
by the as-
sembly.

solemn league, and having been challenged by Mr. Willison of Dundee for deserting the creed of his fathers, he openly, in a sermon he preached on a fast-day, when several ministers were present, asserted his belief:—that the kingdom of Christ was neither set up, advanced, nor defended, as the kingdoms of this world are, by human policy, the words of man's wisdom, or by worldly force and power; and added, "I confess my adherence to our fathers and martyrs in their testimony to the kingdom of Christ, in opposition to any earthly head of the church not appointed by the Lord Christ, and thus I acknowledge them to be the martyrs of Jesus; but as far as they contended for any such national covenants as whereby Christ's kingdom should be of this world, and such as he hath not appointed under the New Testament, but set aside, so far they were not enlightened." For these sentiments he was brought before the Dundee presbytery 1726, and after a protracted process, in which, according to all use and wont, the points of difference multiplied, Mr. Glass was deposed by the commission in the year 1730, and became the founder of a sect of independents known by his name.* But this year, without solicitation, he was, by an unlooked-for act of assembly,† restored to the character of a minister of the gospel of Christ, yet not to be esteemed a minister of the established church of Scotland till he should renounce the principles embraced by him, that were inconsistent with the constitution of that church."‡ And thus;—while the controversialists on their side, were fiercely contending that to depart from them was to depart from the only true church of Christ; and their opponents, who, with equal fury, insisted that they carried that church

* Glassites; from Mr. Sandeman, his son-in-law, sprung a section of the sect, called Sandemanians.

† Mr. Brown thus notices the fact: "The assembly's restoration to the office of the ministry, of Mr. John Glass, an impenitent and furious independent, who had plainly broken his ordination vows, and continued declaiming against presbyterian government, reproaching our national covenanting, and setting up as many sectarian congregations as lay in his power, attended their prosecution against the seceding ministers;—a notour evidence they were zealous for themselves, not for the truth."—Hist. Account of the Secession.

‡ Acts of Assembly. Life of Glass prefixed to the testimony of the King of Martyrs, Edin. 1813.

along with them, were calling upon God's people to separate from a corrupted body, that they might not partake of her plagues ;—the assembly, with a liberality which did them honour, and which it were to be wished they had always followed, rebuked both, and authoritatively declared it as their opinion, that a minister might be a minister of Christ although he followed not after either.

BOOK
XXVII
1740.

LXXXIX. Like the general assembly's concessions to the seceders, the British ministry's pacific overtures to Spain only produced new demands ; they disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, to gather salt on the island of Tortuga—and then, under pretence of preventing illicit commerce between the West India islands and the Spanish main, claimed a right of searching British merchant ships at their discretion ; and without paying the smallest regard to representations or memorials, maltreated and imprisoned the crews, and confiscated the cargoes. The report of these outrages roused the whole nation ; and the house of commons, in their session 1738, having gone into a grand committee, and examined evidence on the subject, instances of the most horrid and wanton barbarity perpetrated upon the unfortunate sailors, were elicited, which inflamed the public indignation beyond sufferance at the government's temporising conduct. Sir Robert Walpole, the minister—whose favourite policy was to avert what he justly considered the direst of all calamities—made one effort more, and during the recess of parliament, he concluded a convention with Spain, stipulating for reparation to the British merchants for their losses. But a powerful opposition treated with ineffable scorn the idea of obtaining any proper reparation in that manner ; and Spain having delayed paying the very inadequate sum promised, the minister was borne along with the popular torrent, and letters of marque and reprisal were issued. Hostilities immediately followed, [June 1739] whose commencement gratified the highest expectation of the nation. Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, was taken by admiral Vernon with a fleet of six ships only, and was hailed as the first fruits of a most ample revenge ; but the government received little credit for an achievement

Outrages of
the Spaniards
rouse
the nation.

A convention
concluded ;
they delay
in fulfilling
its stipulations.

War ensues.

BOOK XXVII. which was invidiously said to have been successful in opposition to their wishes.

1740. xc. Parliament, in consequence of the war, met in the month of November, and, what was rather an uncommon circumstance, several of the Scottish members were instructed by their constituents to vote with the patriots for pensioners being excluded the house of commons, and for the duration of parliament being shortened, before they consented to any money bill. The cities of Aberdeen and Dundee were conspicuously forward upon the occasion; and the latter thus concluded a pithy set of instructions, which they transmitted to the honourable John Drummond. "Hitherto you have knowingly acted in direct opposition to our sentiments with regard to septennial parliaments, the pernicious excise scheme, and the late dishonourable convention with Spain; yet we put it once more in your power to re-establish yourself in the good opinion of your constituents." Whether Mr. Drummond complied with their desire is not known; but the abuses complained of remain unreformed, and owe their duration not a little to the apostacy of the very patriots who declaimed most lustily against them.

Instructions of Dundee to their representative.

xc. To these noisy brawlers, too, a dread of whose opposition prevented the execution of one of the wisest schemes perhaps ever suggested, for now attaching the highlander to the interest of the present family, the country most probably owed the calamitous insurrection which soon followed. Duncan Forbes, who had been raised to the dignity of lord president of the court of session in the year 1737, still took not only a deep interest but an active share in political affairs. In the end of autumn 1738, so strongly was he impressed with the importance of securing not only the peace of the kingdom but the affection of the mountaineers, that he waited upon the lord justice clerk, [Milton] who acted as sub-minister to the earl of Islay, one morning before breakfast, at his country house, in order to communicate his plan to him in the then important juncture. "A war with Spain," said he to his lordship, "seems near at hand, which it is probable will be soon followed by a war with France, and there will be occasion for more troops than the present stand-



Engraved by J. Ramsay

DUNCAN FORBES.

OF CULLODEN

LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COURT OF SESSION

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE ADVOCATES' LIBRARY, EDINBURGH

ty; in that event, I propose that government should
 or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an
 or Scottish officer of undoubted ability to be colonel
 regiment, and naming the lieutenant-colonels, ma-
 jors, and quartermasters, from his list in my hand,
 comprehends in the lists and maintains of the dis-
 cians, who are the very persons whom France and
 will call upon in case of a war to take arms for the
 r. If government pre-engages the Highlanders a
 ner I propose, they will not only serve well against
 ty abroad, but will be hostages for the good sens-
 their relations at home, and I am persuaded it will
 utely impossible to raise a rebellion in the high-

The plan was transmitted to Sir Robert Walpole, and was warmly recommended by him to the cabinet council, and was unanimously adopted, and assigned as their duty that if it were adopted, the patriots would renounce the "who was always resigning to subvert the British constitution, and who, in addition to the standing army, was a night and day to enslave them" and the scheme was set aside for the time. In the year following, however, it was declared, another plan was brought forward which it was thought would give no offence to the friends of the constitution. The six independent companies were augmented by four additional ones, and the whole formed a night and day regiment under the command of John, Crawford and Landsay. In this arrangement Lord had been left out, and he consequently became an object of great dislike to the king, and a new plot for the overthrow of the Stuart's.

Early in the year one thousand seven hundred and
seventy nine, when war with France was inevitable, a few
of the maritime provinces began to desert themselves.

page 3. — General Stewart says: 'Some highlanders had been captured by the rebel marauds. While you appointed commanders to guard them it was not to be our above mentioned 1799 or 1780. They carried off the highland commanders receiving pay.' Skene also says: 'But General Stewart is his report shows that they were bound and enslaved and he mentions in 1799, 1780, were regularly paid, continued in that state were stationed in various parts of the highland and in the valley in 1799 &c.

BOOK
XXVII

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 Tenuis
 Clato
 m. 12. 12.
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 m. 12. 12.
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 m. 12. 12.

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Living in
appreciation.

BOOK
XXVII.

1740.

Corre-
spondence
opened
with the
pretender.

and in the beginning of the next an association was formed at Edinburgh, consisting of his lordship, Drummond, nominal duke of Perth, lord John Drummond his uncle, lord Traquair, and his brother sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Cameron of Lochiel, who subscribed an engagement to adventure their lives and fortunes in support of the pretender's right, and agreed to take arms if France would afford them effectual assistance. This bond was delivered to Drummond of Bohaldy, appointed their ambassador to carry their allegiance to the pretender, who was residing neglected at Rome, to be by him delivered to "his majesty." Besides which, he carried a list of all those who were judged friendly to his cause—the very men the president's plan would have secured—and who were ready to rise upon the landing of a sufficient force. These papers were immediately forwarded by the chevalier to the court of Versailles, the correspondence with which was from this date renewed.*

Dreadful
storm at
the com-
mencement
of the year,

XCIII. This year had been ushered in by one of the most tremendous hurricanes, accompanied by lightning, that had been known for a long while in Scotland. At Edinburgh the damage was extensive. The roofs of the chapel, arsenal, and magazine in the castle were destroyed, and the leads rolled up and blown over the walls. Those in the parliament house, about twelve hundred weight, were carried into the middle of the square. The spire of the Magdalene chapel, and the fine portico of the Canongate church, were levelled. Several houses were blown down; and in the midst of this terrible night—for the storm began at midnight, January 13—the alarm of fire was added to the horrors of the tempest, and the wind, which increased the flames, rendered the engines useless. Throughout the country the damage was immense; the corns were scattered about the fields, and great numbers of cattle perished in the ruins of their stables; the young plantations were destroyed, and the havoc among those farther advanced was deplorable: about a thousand full grown trees were rooted out at Yester alone. On the west coast the loss among the shipping was severe;

* Lovat's Trial, pp. 12, 74—80.

res were strewed with wrecks, and many people per-
Nor was the close less remarkable. An intense
in on Christmas day, which lasted till the latter end
February. The Forth was completely frozen over above
Alloa, and there was even a crust of ice at Queensferry.
The mills every where being stopped, a great dearth suc-
ceeded, and the depth of snow preventing coals being car-
ried to any distance, many of the poor perished with cold.
But the distresses of the times were accompanied with an
uncommon spirit of liberality. The magistrates of Edin-
burgh and a number of societies distinguished themselves
upon the occasion; and the bank of Scotland, and royal
bank, advanced money without interest to purchase provi-
sions, which were sold at low prices, to the necessitous.*

BOOK
XXVII.

1740.
And most
intense
frost at the
close.

xciv. Towards the end of the year, the death of the em-
peror of Germany involved the continent in war; his eldest
daughter Maria Theresa's succession to his Austrian domi-
nions, although guaranteed by almost all the great powers
of Europe, was immediately opposed, and her territories
parcelled out with the most unblushing iniquity;—Prussia
claiming Silesia, Spain the Italian provinces, and France
the Netherlands, as the price of assisting Bavaria to the im-
perial crown. The beautiful, unfortunate but high-spirited
princess threw herself upon the loyalty of her Hungarian
subjects, who, rallying around her with enthusiastic devo-
tion, enabled her to meet and repel her assailants; the sym-
pathies of Britain accompanied her, and the house of com-
mons voted a subsidy. The Spanish war, after the capture
of Porto Bello, was only distinguished by a series of misfor-
tunes and blunders, which increased the outcry against the
minister, who it was said had squandered the revenue in
peace to purchase votes, and in war spent it to purchase dis-
grace: the duke of Argyle now openly joined the opposition,
at the head of which was the prince of Wales;† and upon
several motions, increasing minorities showed the minister
that his power was in the wane.

1741.
War in
Germany.

The Bri-
tish es-
pouse the
cause of
Maria The-
resa.

The Spa-
nish war
disastrous.

xcv. When the parliament rose [April,] it was dissolved

* Scots Magazine and Caledonian Mercury, 1740.

† The prince had been long out of favour with the court; so much so, that
he had not been allowed to visit his mother on her death-bed November 1737.

**BOOK
XXVII.**

1741.

A new parliament.

Sir R.
Walpole
resigns.State of
the con-
tending
parties in
the church.Awakening
at Cambus-
lang.

by proclamation; and at the ensuing elections verance of his enemies succeeded in procuring for the Whig party a preponderance in the lower house. Sir Robert Walpole exerted himself strenuously in Scotland, and a majority of northern representatives were procured against the falling minister; but the peers were returning to the court list. The new parliament met the first; in it the opposition had obtained a victory, which Sir Robert, finding it vain longer to struggle, retired himself from an impeachment by a timely flight [Feb. 1742,] and withdrew from the scene of his triumphs to repose under a title in the upper house to an ill-arranged coalition the burden of an onerous war with Spain, and the prospect of engaging in a contest on the continent, against which they had directed their thundering philippics.

xcvi. While these revolutions were convulsing the world, the religious public was scarcely less agitated by new dissensions. Between the establishment and the dissenters nothing now remained to be done but for the dissenters to see their sentence properly carried into execution, and their legal rights supported by the civil power. Sir Robert Walpole accordingly ordered by the general assembly in 1742,* and the seceders prudently did not attend respecting the temporalities of a church from which they were voluntarily separated; but a more unseemly division took place between the orthodox party and their disjoiners upon a revival of religion which took place in Scotland, and which ought to have been matter of contention to all who professed to have for their chief object the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

xcvii. It commenced under the ministry of Thomas Macculloch at Cambuslang, a man of exemplary piety whose sermons—good plain scriptural discourse—were distinguished by no powerful embellishments; nor was his manner—rather awkward—calculated to have given them effect; yet the strength of conviction they excited, and

* The assembly 1741 passed over without any thing particu-



JOHN CAMPBELL.
DUKE OF ARGYLL & GREENWICH.

*Engraved by M. Page,
From a Painting by Aikman.*



common bodily affections in their subjects as the most striking representations of objects of immediate overwhelming personal danger could have produced; and under the irresistible impulse of terror, many fell down, or cried out like the jailor at Philippi, "What must I do to be saved?"* For nearly a twelvemonth he had been preaching upon the nature and necessity of regeneration, and for some months before the remarkable events which gave rise to so much speculation, the people appeared to listen with more than ordinary attention. At length, at the request of a number of the heads of families in the parish, a weekly lecture was begun in the month of January 1742: this was immediately followed by a general concern about their spiritual interest. Prayer meetings and meetings for mutual edification were begun, and rapidly increased; and the number of inquirers became so great, that the minister was engaged almost night and day in praying and conversing with them, till in February he began to have sermons regularly every day. People from the neighbouring parishes were attracted, and before the month of May, it was reckoned that upwards of three hundred persons were under conviction.

xcviii. At first Mr. Macculloch was only relieved by the ministers in the neighbourhood, to whose parishes the work also extended; but the report spreading, the most eminent men in the church resorted eagerly to the spot to behold and assist in the work of the Lord. About autumn the sacrament of the supper was dispensed twice within five weeks, upon the last of which occasions three thousand communicated, and it was computed that upwards of thirty thousand people were hearers. About twenty preachers officiated, for they had several tents, on the Sabbath; among whom were

BOOK
XXVII
1742.

Spreads to
other pa-
rishes.

Extraordi-
nary com-
munion—
ministers
who assist-
ed.

* These bodily agitations gave occasion to the clamour that was raised against the work, as a device of Satan; and because some, so affected, returned like the dog to their vomit, all was said to be delusion. But bodily agitations were never considered by the defenders of the work as necessary adjuncts to real conversion, although they often accompanied it; nor would they allow that the hypocrisy, apostacy, or backsliding of several of those affected, could prove the delusion of those who continued steadfast. When Paul preached, Felix trembled; but none ever alleged that this trembling was the work of the evil, because it was a bodily affection, or his convictions delusion, though they came to nothing.

BOOK XXVII. Messrs. Webster of Edinburgh, M'Laurin and Gillies of Glasgow, Robe, Kilsyth, Willison of Dundee, and many others besides, whose names are still remembered as the most godly and zealous of their generation: one episcopalian was of the number, George Whitfield.* After this the commotion subsided, and the work of conversion was neither so frequent, visible, or extensive; but nine years after Mr. Macculloch possessed a list of four hundred who had been awakened during this season, whose lives continued to adorn their profession, or who had died in the faith and hope of the gospel.

Fruits of
this awak-
ening.

xcix. Of a work, whose fruits were, as its chief promoters constantly affirmed, and its opponents durst not deny—"a visible reformation of life, and a conscientious discharge of relative duties in those who had formerly neglected them; the keeping up divine worship in families; ardent love to the holy scriptures; a vehement desire after ordinances, together with fervent prayer for the spread of the gospel; a forgiving of injuries, and all desirable evidences of love to each other and to all men:"—it might naturally have been expected that it would become the object of calumny and derision among the profane; but that it should have been opposed, reviled, and anathematized by persons who were undoubtedly sincere in their contendings for the doctrines of grace and the influence of the spirit, could not have been anticipated; and can only be accounted for upon the principles which they themselves so strenuously asserted, "the deceitfulness of the human heart," and the "inherent depravity" of our common nature. The associate presbytery, without waiting to observe the moral product of this remarkable awakening—the only certain criterion in such cases—adopted a test of more questionable authority—the alleged "practice of scripture converts, and the expe-

* Whitfield's portraiture is beautifully drawn by Cowper, under the name of
"Leuconomus,—beneath well-sounding Greek,
I slur a name a poet must not speak,—
Stood pilloried on infamy's high stage,
And bore the pelting scorn of half an age,
The very butt of slander," &c.

Hope.

rience of the saints of God in this land; who, upon their conversion, still espoused the *testimony of their day*, and contended for the *present truth*:" and because the Cambuslang converts adhered to their ministers, and their ministers adhered to a church which they had borne testimony against and pronounced irreclaimably corrupt, they, by an act dated Dunfermline, July 15, 1742, appointed a solemn fast to be held on account "of the awful symptoms of the Lord's anger with this church and land, in sending them strong delusion that they should believe a lie; particularly when a *judicial testimony* for the reformation principles of this church was emitted, after all other means had proved ineffectual." One of these awful symptoms was, "this church and land being left to give such an open discovery of their apostacy from him, in the fond reception that Mr. George Whitfield has met with, notwithstanding it is notourly known that he is a *priest of the church of England*, who hath sworn the *oath of supremacy*, and abjured the *solemn league and covenant*."* This controversy did much harm to the cause of the secession: it alienated from them the affections of their orthodox brethren, and the most thinking part of those who remained in the church, who were now led to consider their opposition as too much tainted with selfish and party feeling, and as carried beyond all propriety in bitterness of spirit and virulence of language. Its being carried on with so much acrimony, was attributed in part to some young men of violent tempers who had obtained admission, and now formed a majority of their courts, and who,

BOOK
XXVII.

1742.
Regarded
by the as-
sociate
presbytery
as a delu-
sion.

Their cause
hurt by the
controversy
on this oc-
casion.

* The act of presbytery was followed by "a warning against countenancing the ministrations of Mr. George Whitfield, by Mr. Adam Gib, minister of the associate congregation, Edinburgh," who very bluntly gives his opinion of Mr. Whitfield, "This man I have no scruple to look upon as one of those false Christs, of whom the church is forewarned," &c.; and confirms it by a charge of breaking the fourth commandment, in a manner the most singular perhaps in which it ever was broken since it was a commandment, unless the apostles occasionally might have trespassed in that way. "It is well known that Mr. Whitfield's ministrations here are of uncommon frequency, ordinarily every day, and oftener than once. For my part, I do not see how this is reconcilable with the tenor of the fourth commandment, which, as it enjoins the proper exercise of a seventh day, so it not only *permits* but *enjoins* the proper work of the intervening *sabbath*." Mr. Whitfield had never preached at Cambuslang, when the awakening began; he only assisted afterwards.

BOOK
XXVII.

1742.

Moderates
keep free
of it.Foreign
Politics.

it was alleged, struggled for the power as well as the principles of former times ; for the fathers of the secession were friendly to Mr. Whitfield, and corresponded with him before he came among them, and Mr. Ralph Erskine had admitted him into his pulpit upon his first visit to Scotland. Nor did his being a "priest of the church of England" form any obstacle, till he refused to give up connexion with pious men in the national church ; and then it was discovered that he pled for sinful toleration, was an apostle of Satan, and the work at Cambuslang was the work of the devil.* The moderates stood aloof from the combat, but their side gained a strong accession ; and as what the high-flyers styled the operation of the Spirit, was by their former friends branded as the delusion of Satan, they treated the whole as enthusiastic reveries, and were more confirmed in the propriety of their own mode of preaching the morality of the gospel ; while their hearers approved of their not intermeddling with such incomprehensible subjects.†

c. Hardly were the new ministry seated on the treasury benches ere they forgot all their patriotic promises ; the war with Spain, which was the principal subject of interest with the nation, was equally mismanaged as before ; and the war on the continent, in which the country had little concern,

* Mr. Whitfield, who gives the particulars of his conference with the associate presbytery at Dunfermline, says—"I only urged, as I do now, that, since holy men differ so much about the outward form, we should bear with and forbear one another, though in this respect we are not of one mind. I have often declared in the most public manner, that I believe the church of Scotland to be the best constituted national church in the world ; at the same time, I would bear with and converse freely with all others who do not err in fundamentals, and who give evidence that they are true lovers of the Lord Jesus." Having asked why he should only preach for them? [*i. e.* the seceders] he was answered, because they were the Lord's people ; then, replied he, I think the devil's people have more need to be preached to ; and added, if the pope himself would lend his pulpit, I would gladly mount it to proclaim the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ. He never saw the associate brethren as a body more, but when they had split, some of his old friends renewed their acquaintance. The venerable Ralph Erskine met him some years after, and they embraced each other, Mr. Erskine remarking, "they had seen strange things."—Gillies's Life of Whitfield, p. 64, *et seq.*

† Narratives of the Extraordinary Work at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, &c. Glasgow. 1790. This volume contains the most important of the tracts published at the time in the defence of the work. Scots Mag. 1742. Statist. Account, vol. v.

engrossed the entire attention of the government, who, to please his majesty, under the name of an ally, soon rendered Great Britain a principal in the contest; and an army of sixteen thousand men, commanded by the earl of Stair, was sent to meet the French in the Netherlands, who, also, under the name of allies, were acting for themselves in that quarter. The call for money thus became urgent, and the house of commons were liberal; but the people became doubly disgusted with the "coalition," on finding all their hopes disappointed, and their burdens increased.

BOOK
XXVII.

1742.

Dissatisfaction
of the
people.

ci. Foreign hostilities were peculiarly unfavourable to Scotland, they checked the appearances, small as they were, of improvement, and revived the restless spirit of the jacobites. Profusion in the home department, under Walpole, for the few last unstable years of his administration, had left little means available for encouraging the Scottish manufactures; and the public revenue of the kingdom had gradually declined since the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three. The permanent annual civil expense amounted to from between fifty-one thousand to fifty-two thousand pounds, of which twenty-nine thousand went to defray the charges of the courts of justiciary, session, and exchequer; upwards of ten thousand to pay the annuities due upon the equivalent, and two thousand were appropriated to the manufactories. To meet this, the chief dependence had been upon the excise properly so called, or the duties arising from beer, ale, and spirits.* These, in the former year, amounted

Deficiency
of the re-
venue in
Scotland.

* It is highly amusing to observe the worthy president's wrath diverted from brandy, and directed against tea, as the chief cause of the mischief. Ale it would appear had at this time formed the breakfast beverage of the country, as well as their noon drink; and he bitterly complains that from the low price of tea, which was "run" from Holland, and sold at 2s. 6d. 3s. and 4s. per lib. the meanest families, even labouring people in burroughs made their morning meal of it, and that "the same vile drug" supplied all the labouring women with their afternoon's entertainment, to exclusion of the twopenny. The good wife was fond of it because her betters made use of it; and, "at present, there are very few coblers in any of the burroughs of this country, who do not sit down gravely with their wives and families to tea." The remedy which he proposed for this "villanous practice" was to prohibit, by act of parliament, all persons whose incomes were under L.50 or L.100 sterling from using tea, or levying a capitation tax on the families who did.—Culloden Papers, p. 190, *et seq.*

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to forty-one thousand five hundred pounds; the duties on leather, candles, and soap, to about nine thousand more, making a total of upwards of fifty thousand pounds, which required but little aid from the other taxes to enable the exchequer of Scotland to clear her current expenses; but the whole proceeds for the last year scarcely exceeded thirty-one thousand pounds, nor did there appear much prospect of amendment, as the chief deficiency was in the department of excise; and the war had nearly annihilated the infant trade with the plantations.

Government resolves to send the highland regiment to Flanders.

CII. The highlands continued quiet, but the lord president watched over them with an anxious eye; and although it was impossible but that such a man must always have had great weight, yet, as he had invariably remained attached to the duke of Argyle, he was in some measure involved in that nobleman's politics; and his grace being in opposition, his lordship's influence with government was not what it had been, nor what the state of affairs, and his knowledge, services, and experience demanded. Without consulting him upon the subject, the ministry, to increase the army on the continent, with which his majesty was to rival the fame of Marlborough, resolved to remove the highland regiment to Flanders.

President Forbes' expostulation on its impropriety

CIII. No sooner was his lordship apprized of the design, than he communicated his sentiments in a strain of prophetic expostulation, which it is impossible to read, knowing what followed, without feeling the most lively indignation at the little attention it met with. "When I first heard," said he, "of the orders given to the highland regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern, because I supposed the intention was only to see them; but as I have lately been assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences." "What moves me is not the many disorders and depredations that naturally will ensue upon removal of that regiment, in the northern parts of this country, those consequences are too obvious not to have been thought of; and I dare say, as the strongest equity requires, measures have been devised, and will be pursued, fit to prevent

that evil." But supposing, that in the event of war with France, an attempt would be made in favour of the pretender, he earnestly requested the attention of government as to what was fittest to be done. "The case of Scotland," he proceeds, "so far as I understand it is, that jacobitism is at a very low pass compared with what it was thirty years ago; yet, I will not be so sanguine as to say, that the fire is totally extinguished, or even that what lurks may not be blown up into a flame, if France, besides words which she has always ready, will give some money; and the countenance of force, I say the countenance of force, because I fear a small one, seconded with money and promises, might spirit up unthinking people, who cannot perfectly judge what force may be sufficient to secure the execution of his designs. Should he fling but half a dozen battalions into the highlands, and these be joined by three or four thousand banditti, what sort of confusion must that make on the island; what diversion to his majesty's troops; what interruption to his designs. The enterprise, I verily believe, would at last be baffled, and the invaders would be lost to France, but still an infinite deal of mischief would be wrought at a small expense to that crown, and this is what distinguishes an attempt in the highlands of Scotland, from one in any place to the southward. A small number would suffice to raise, with those that might be brought to join them, a lasting and a very dangerous confusion.

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1724.

His dread
in case of a
war with
France.

"Having thus stated to you the danger I dread, I must, in the next place, put you in mind, that the present system for securing the peace of the highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, along the chain of lakes, which, in a manner, divides the highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and by a body of disciplined highlanders, wearing the dress and speaking the language of the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manner of the other troops are proper. These highlanders, now regimented, were at first independent companies, and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the low country against depredations, yet, that was not the sole use

Plan for se-
curing the
highlands.

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1742.

Benefits
from their
remaining
in the
country.

Danger if
sent away.

of them ; the same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch ; they served for all purposes of hussars, or light horse, in a country where mountains or bogs render cavalry useless ; and if properly dispersed over the highlands, nothing that was commonly reported or believed by the highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people, and the sameness of their language.

“ Now, let me suppose that France was to attempt an insurrection in the highlands, which must be prepared by emissaries sent to cajole, to cabal, to promise to pay, to concert, and by arms and ammunition, imported and dispersed ; and let me suppose this highland regiment properly disposed and properly commanded, is it not obvious, that the operations of such emissaries must be discovered, if not transacted with the utmost secrecy ? that the highlanders, who suffered themselves to be tampered with by them, must do so under the strongest apprehension of being taken by the neck by detachments of that regiment, if their treason were heard of ? and that, of course, they must be shy of meeting or transacting with the agent of the pretender, or of caballing, mustering their followers, or receiving or distributing arms ? Now, on the other hand, let me suppose the same attempt to be made, and the highland regiment in Flanders ; let me beg to know what chance you could have of discovering or promoting the attempt of any tampering in the highlands. Could any officer, or other person entrusted by government, go through the mountains with an intention to discover such intrigues, with safety ? Would the pretender’s emissaries, or the highlanders who might favour them, be in any apprehension from the regular troops ? Could you propose, with any probability of success, to seize arms or attainted persons ? Nay, suppose that government had direct intelligence of the projects carried on, where and by whom could they hope to surprise or lay hold on any one person ? These questions, I dare say, you can easily answer, and with me can see, that if France should stumble upon such a design as I have been supposing, remove but that regiment, and there is nothing to hinder the agents of that crown to have their full swing, and to

tamper with the poor unthinking people of the highlands, with as great safety as if there were no government at all in the island. I will say more; I doubt not but in many places of that country, if the people could be prevailed with to rebel, they might receive arms, and be in some sort disciplined for many weeks before the government could have certain notice of it."

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civ. In spite of these demonstrations of the impolicy of the measure, it was persisted in, and carried through in the worst of all possible ways, by fraudulently kidnapping the men for foreign, who had only enlisted for home service; and a mutiny, that cost three of the poor fellows their lives, was a tragical prelude to the complete fulfilment of the president's predictions—for at the very moment he was supposing a case, it was actually in train.

The measure persisted in.

cv. Early in March 1743, the regiment was ordered to London for the purpose, as was given out, of being reviewed by his majesty. A body of handsomer men never left Scotland; and in their route through England they every where excited the highest admiration, and were gratified by the most unbounded hospitality; but on the 30th of April, the day the last division reached the capital, the king and the duke of Cumberland sailed from Greenwich for the continent. This afforded an opportunity for designing men to practise upon them, and as they saw they had been deceived in one particular, they were easily induced to credit the stories that were told them, of their being brought from their own country to be transported to the plantations, the fate of so many of their countrymen taken at Preston. On the 14th of May they were reviewed by their old friend, general, now marshal Wade; and delighted, by their fine appearance, and the promptitude and correctness of their military exercise, a numerous assemblage of distinguished personages, whom curiosity had attracted to witness the novel scene.

1743.
They are marched to London on a false pretext.

Reviewed by marshal Wade.

cvi. But their suspicions were far from being allayed by the praises they received, as none of the royal family had honoured them with their presence; and from that moment they bent their thoughts upon returning to their native country. On the night between the 17th and 18th, a consider-

Discovering the deceit,

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XXVII.1743.
March for
Scotland.

able body assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their retreat for the north ; hoping, by their superior agility and capacity for enduring privation and fatigue, to out-manceuvre whatever troops might be sent in pursuit. Orders were immediately issued by the regency, to the commanders stationed between them and Scotland, to intercept them, and a proclamation for their apprehension as deserters, offering a reward of two pounds sterling above the parliamentary allowance, for each man.

Are pur-
sued.

CVII. Their departure had occasioned the most alarming and ridiculous reports in London, which were heightened by the lapse of two days, during which nothing certain was known of their progress ; for it was not till the evening of the 19th that they were discovered in Lady-Wood, about four miles from Oundle, Northamptonshire, by captain Ball, whom general Blackney sent in search of them with a squadron of Wade's horse. Soon after, the general himself arrived with a force sufficient to guard every outlet. When the highlanders saw themselves inclosed, they requested a parley, to know what terms would be granted, on which captain Ball was ordered to inform them, that they were required to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion. This they positively refused to do, and declared, they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general would send them a written promise, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. With this it was impossible to comply ; but general Blackney authorised the captain to promise, that if they peaceably laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the lords-justices ; again, they protested they would rather perish than agree : "Hitherto," answered the captain, "I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you ; but if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left, and for my own part, I assure you I shall give quarter to none." He then demanded that two of their number should be given him as guides, and two, brothers, were ordered to accompany him out of the wood. From their discourse by the way, finding that they were in-

Parley with
general
Blackney.

clined to submit, he assured them both of a free pardon, and retaining one, sent the other back to overcome, if he could, the obstinacy of the rest; the messenger quickly returned with thirteen, and in a short time after, the whole surrendered.

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1743.
Surrender

CVIII. Under the circumstances of the case, it would have been perhaps only justice—at all events it would have been generous—to have pardoned the misguided men, who had been deceived on every hand; but military law knows little generosity; they were marched back to the Tower, three of them tried by a court martial and shot, and the others, about two hundred, were distributed in the Mediterranean stations, and in the West Indies. The rest of the regiment, known as the Black Watch, afterwards the “Forty-second,” were embarked for the continent, where they distinguished themselves not less by the correctness of their conduct in quarters, than by their bravery in the field.*

Three of
them shot
—disposal
of the rest.

CIX. Scarcely had the “Watch” been withdrawn, when the president was tormented with applications from the north, for obtaining relief from the “masterful depredations that destroyed the neighbourhood of the highlands;” and from a letter addressed to the lord lyon, his suspicions of what was actually going forward appear to have been strengthened and kept alive. After expressing his sense “of the danger of permitting a gang of ruffians—disaffected, if any in the whole highlands are so—to range and lord it over the whole country without restraint,” he asks, “who can answer at this day whether there are or are not emissaries from beyond seas, trying to corrupt the minds of those poor highlanders, who not long ago were favourable?” and adds, “But as I am left out of the play, I doubt it would not be any part of my province to meddle in such matters, or to give any advice before it is asked.”†

State of the
highlands.

President
Forbes ap-
prehen-
sions.

CX. The active part Great Britain was taking on the continent, had already set these emissaries the president so much dreaded, in motion.‡ Fleury, who had promised to

* Lond. Mag. 1742. Scots Mag. id. An. Stewart's Sketches, vol. i. p. 257, *et seq.* Caled. Mercury.

† Culloden Papers.

‡ This year the doubtful victory of Dettingen was gained, and the earl of

France was acquainted with the object of his mission, that his majesty had the interest of the [ex] king as much at heart as any of those gentlemen who had sent him, and that as soon as he had an opportunity he would put the plan they proposed in execution. With this answer Murray returned to Edinburgh, and the Scottish conspirators employed themselves through the year 1743 in caballing and attempting to influence their tory English coadjutors to come forward, but without success;—the scheme not appearing sufficiently alluring to induce them to risk their lives and fortunes without some better prospect.*

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1743.

The result.

CXII. The French cabinet were however sincere. A fleet had been collected, and troops assembled upon the coast, but as no declaration of war had been issued between the countries, the British ministry never supposed that their French friends would be so unpolite, as to attempt a visit without any previous advertisement; the first intelligence, however, they had of the proposed invasion, was from the arrival of the pretender's son at Antibes, on his route to join the expedition, in the end of December.

Prince
Charles ar-
rives at
Antibes.

CXIII. It not being thought worth while to refit the old gentleman, who had been for some time laid up in ordinary at Rome, Charles, nominal prince of Wales, was rigged out for the occasion. When the preparations were completed, a messenger was despatched with an invitation for him to come to Paris, and under pretext of hunting the boar—a diversion of which he was very fond—he left his father's court privately, and embarked at Genoa for Antibes, whence he proceeded on horseback. His incognito was however but ill preserved, for before he reached the end of his journey, the British government were apprised of his destination; and their resident Mr. Thomson was ordered to require, that in pursuance of the treaties between the two kingdoms, he should be ordered to quit the French territory. M. Amelot replied, that when the king of England caused satisfaction to be given for the infraction, by his own orders, of those very treaties of which he now demanded the fulfil-

British de-
sire him to
be sent out
of France.

Reply of
the French
minister.

* Lovat's Trial, pp. 79, 80.

BOOK XXVII. ment, his most christian majesty would explain himself upon the demand then made by Mr. Thomson.*

1744.

The French
sail from
Brest.

British
fleet ap-
pearing,

they return
to port.

Prepara-
tions at
Dunkirk
interrupted,

cxiv. All concealment of their object being now useless, the French fleet, consisting of twenty-three sail, under M. Roquefeuille, were ordered, in the month of January 1744, to leave Brest and proceed up the English Channel, to prevent two British squadrons, equipping at Portsmouth and Chatham, from joining; but intelligence of their motions being instantly brought by a cruizer to Plymouth, sir John Norris anticipated them, and was quickly in the Downs with a fleet considerably superior both in strength and numbers. The French admiral, supposing that the British would never be able to face him, having despatched M. Barail with five sail to Dunkirk, where the transports were, to cover the embarkation of the troops, and convey them on their passage, cast anchor himself off Dungeness to watch sir John. While lying here, a look-out frigate [February 24] made signal for a numerous fleet advancing from the Downs, which they soon discovered to be the British, though sailing against the wind, making fast towards them with the flood. M. Roquefeuille, not a little surprised at this unexpected phenomenon, immediately called a council of war, when it was resolved, as the enemy had lost ground with the ebb, and had anchored at two leagues distance, to remain where they were till the beginning of the evening tide, then silently, without firing a gun, weigh anchor, and get under sail for Brest, nor wait farther orders. The darkness of the night favoured, and a fresh breeze that increased to a gale from the north-east, drove them down the Channel with incredible celerity, and they reached their ports without encountering an enemy.

cxv. At Dunkirk, where the young chevalier had arrived in high spirits, to witness the long wished for expedition, the same storm suddenly interrupted their operations. Already seven thousand troops had embarked; an equal number were waiting, all confident of success; twenty thousand stand of arms, with a great quantity of artillery, ammunition, and

* Correspondence between the duke of Newcastle and M. Amelot. *Lond. Mag.* 1743.

every kind of military stores, were shipped, and thirty-three transports had left the harbour for the roads ; when the violence of the tempest, which continued for several days, forced them from their moorings, and drove a number on shore. Some were completely wrecked, with all their crews, and the whole so shattered, that the expedition for the time was reluctantly abandoned. The British being now superior in force, and awake to their danger, no new attempt could be speedily undertaken ; the troops were therefore dispersed to their cantonments, and the young pretender returned to Paris to brood over the unexpected disappointment of his first and fairest expectation.*

BOOK
XXVII

1744.
And the
transports
wrecked.

cxvi. The sailing of the Brest fleet struck the British government with the greatest consternation. The country was emptied of soldiers ; the main fleets were on distant stations ; and the ships at home were scattered in different harbours. Parliament then sitting were apprised of the fact by a message from the king, which was answered by the customary loyal addresses ; the habeas corpus act was suspended, the militia ordered to be called out, and the nation put in a state of defence. Earl Stair, forgetting the usage he had met with, volunteered his services, and was named commander-in-chief. A requisition was immediately sent to Holland for auxiliaries, and to the continent, to bring back part of the troops. The marquis of Tweeddale, now secretary, sent expresses to Scotland to the lord justice clerk, the general of the forces, and to the lord president, to communicate their fears that the expedition might reach Scotland, as the vessels had been observed sailing north. The president assured him of his prompt endeavours to procure intelligence, and referring to his former letter, asked whether he was not now convinced of the justice of his advice, and whether the king's service did not absolutely require that a force of the kind he had suggested should remain established in the highlands ? But the advice was forgotten, and the " patriot ministry," when the

Measures
in Eng-
land for de-
feating the
invasion.

Forbes'
answer to
Tweed-
dale.

" On Tuesday the 21st, several French officers were busy about exchanging French money for English, declaring they expected to be in England on Friday or Saturday next at farthest."—Authentic Information concerning the Proceedings of the French. Lond. Gazette, 1744.

without reference to the christian doctrine of accept-
through a mediator, or of the necessary influence of the
spirit. Soon after his admission, an elder brought his
under notice of the Glasgow presbytery, but before
pronounced upon it, the professor carried the subject
complaint before the synod, who, after hearing his ex-
tion; found that he had removed any cause of offence.
this decision the presbytery appealed to the assembly.
professor's defence was, that the publication was in-
d as an answer to a late pamphlet which represented
r as an absurd, unreasonable, nay a blasphemous prac-
and as the pamphlet only attacked one part of prayer,
ring up our desires to God," but not the other part of
fering them up in the name of Christ, the discourse was
ly limited to the application and vindication of this part
ayer, without touching the second part, which he con-
ed as a separate, or at least a different branch of the
subject; and that the omissions complained of did not
ed from any disregard of these important and funda-
al doctrines of christianity, but from a persuasion that
necessary to convince men of the reasonableness of offer-
p their desires to God, before you can convince them
it is a reasonable thing to offer them up in the name of
st. And if any of the expressions were so incautiously
ed as to lead any person to think that he meant to as-
that the merits and propitiation of Jesus Christ were not
only grounds of a sinner's acceptance with God, he dis-
ed them:—these doctrines he avowed when he sub-
ed the Confession of Faith, which he was again ready
gn, if required, as the confession of his faith. The as-
sly, in consequence, without a vote, declared that the
ssor had given abundant satisfaction concerning the
odoxy of his sentiments, and that there was no ground
ny further trial of the said professor, in respect of that
on; at the same time, they did not mean to express any
oval of the sermon as a whole. Some were satisfied
the professor's declarations, but the sentence did not
e all the evangelical party. Mr. Willison thought
it, let his after declarations, when in hazard of censure,

His de-
fence was
tained.

Mr. Willi-
son's opi-
nion.

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XXVII.

1744.

be never so sound, yet the foresaid omissions in a printed sermon were so very culpable, and such a bad example to students of divinity in one that is their teacher, that the sermon ought to have been disapproven, the professor admonished, and all preachers warned against such a Christless way of preaching."

Dissen-
sions in the
associate
presbytery.

CXIX. When the seceders left the establishment, they carried with them the favourable opinion even of those who could not go the length they did; but the virulence of their opposition to what was considered by the most eminent ministers of the church as the work of God,* had greatly cooled this friendly feeling towards them among the only portion of the people who took an interest in these matters. Of this the associate presbytery appear to have been sensible, and, to regain the ground they had lost, they passed an act concerning the doctrine of grace, and determined upon a solemn renewal of the covenants; with which commenced their first dissensions among themselves, Mr. Nairne upon

Mr. Nairne
leaves
them.

that occasion withdrawing from their communion. They however proceeded notwithstanding, and on the 28th day of December 1743, which they observed as a day of public fasting, the ministers present, with uplifted hands, swore and afterwards subscribed a bond and engagement, to which was prefixed a long confession of sins, "of which," says Mr. Brown, "it is probable few of their people could fully know the import and certainty." By an act of the presbytery at Edinburgh, in the month of February following, they determined that the renovation of the national covenant of Scotland, and the solemn league and covenant of the three nations, in the manner now agreed upon and proposed by the presbytery, should be the term of ministerial communion with that presbytery, and likewise of christian communion in the admission of the people to sealing ordinances, seclud-

Renewing
of the co-
venants
made the
term of
commu-
nion.

* The ministers who particularly examined the subject upon the spot, and who attested the narratives of the proceedings at Cambuslang and Kilsyth, and whose attestations were printed and widely circulated at the time, were men of as solid judicious piety, and of as discriminating minds as any that ever adorned the church of Scotland. It is sufficient to name Dr. Gillies of Glasgow, Dr. Alexander Webster, Edinburgh, Mr. Willison, Dundee, Mr. Gillespie of Carnock, and the late venerable Dr. John Erskine.

ing therefrom all opposers, contemners, and slighers of the said renovations of our solemn covenants. BOOK XXVII.

cxx. This act was greatly condemned by a number of themselves. "It was thought by many," the historian of the secession informs us, "quite unreasonable, that a person zealously attached to divine truth, nay, to our subordinate standards and covenants, and of an eminently holy practice, should be excluded from church fellowship with them, merely because he could not understand the meaning or certainty in this bond and acknowledgment of sins, or would not confess or swear to God what he understood not. Not a few of the seceding ministers were afterwards sensible of the sinfulness of this act; nor do I know that ever the most zealous for covenanting did, with respect to the admission of their people to sealing ordinances, act up to the tenor of it."* 1744.
Condemned by many of themselves.

cxxi. Silently, yet steadily, the remnant of the old consistent covenanters, who refused to turn to the right hand or to the left, had continued under the ministry of Mr. M'Millan, when Mr. Nairne—perceiving that if the original reformation attainments of the era between 1638 and 1649 were to be revived and maintained in their purity, it must be in conjunction with the almost-forgotten society-men—joined them. Nor is it easy to perceive how any person can conscientiously contend for a renewal of the covenants, and separate the civil and ecclesiastical obligations they contain, can assert and bear testimony for reformation principles in the church, and forego striving for reformation principles in the state; in short, reckon it a sacred and bounden duty to abjure prelacy in the one, and acknowledge lords spiritual in the other. About this Mr. Nairne and the seceders split: yet once admit that the covenants were the vows of God ratified on high; that they were holy irrevocable bonds, in which the fathers engaged for the children, according to the commandment of the Lord; and then they allow of no compounding; circumstances must bend to their imperative injunction: nor is it lawful to recede in any situation from any *one* point of reformation to which the fathers had reached. Mr. Nairne joins the Cameronians.

* Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession, by John Brown, late professor of divinity under the associate synod.

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XXVII.

1744.
The re-
formed
presbytery
constituted.

Upon the accession of Mr. Nairne, Mr. M'Millan and he, with some elders, constituted themselves into a presbytery, under the name of the "reformed presbytery," a title they still bear; "not," say they, "that they consider themselves as any better than other men, or as having in their own persons arrived at higher degrees of perfection; but purely for this reason, that it is at least their honest intention faithfully to adhere to the *whole* of our reformation attainments in both church and state, without knowingly dropping any part of these."*

War with
France.

CXXII. Open war between Great Britain and France immediately followed the abortive attempt at invasion; and a new revolution in the British cabinet, which transformed some of the most turbulent oppositionists into courtiers, produced what was elegantly termed "the broad-bottomed ministry." Mr. Pelham was at the head, as first lord of the treasury; and the other appointments comprehended the earls of Harrington and Chesterfield, the duke of Bedford, Mr. afterwards sir George, then lord Littleton, sir John Hynde Cotton, and sir John Phillips. The measures which, when out of place, they had violently condemned, they now as vigorously pursued, but with this advantage, that public opinion had changed; the national hatred to France had been awakened; the interesting struggle of the lovely queen of Hungary had stirred up some latent chivalrous feeling in their bosoms, and they were no longer disposed to sit quietly and see the Netherlands overrun; the nakedness of the land was forgotten, and the whole disposable troops of Britain were committed to the care of the duke of Cumberland,—a general of one year's standing—whose talents poorly compensated for his inexperience, and who at Fontenoy, by an immense waste of blood, established his claim to courage at the expense of his generalship. This last event gave rise to, or urged on an enterprize, the most wild and romantic that ever the thoughtless temerity of youth attempted, or that men, not altogether devoid of rationality, ever engaged in.

Duke of
Cumber-
land sent
with an ar-
my to the
continent.

* Short Account of the Old Presbyterian Dissenters, published by authority of the reformed presbytery in Scotland. Glasg. 1824.

cxxiii. The young pretender, under the name of chevalier Douglas, had passed the summer of 1744 in restless privacy, and his Scottish partizans in fretful suspense. All communication between them had been interrupted, and each remained ignorant of the other's motions, till about the beginning of autumn Murray was again requested to go to Paris to procure intelligence. On this occasion he was introduced to Charles, who had repaired to that capital personally to enforce his solicitations on the French ministry. In a private interview, Mr. Murray, who had learned that there was no immediate prospect of any effectual assistance, assured him that the persons about him were imposing upon his confidence, when they represented success as probable without such aid: he told him, the undertaking, unless supported from abroad, was desperate; for, supposing every friend in Scotland whom he expected were to join him, he would not be able to muster above four or five thousand men, and the consequence of their rising would only be the ruin of many noble families, and an useless destruction of the country. But he was deaf to every argument; the misery and wretchedness he was about to inflict upon the infatuated adherents of his house, had no weight with him. Adverting to the association, he said he did not doubt but his most christian majesty intended renewing the invasion in the spring, and added—with the unfeeling headstrong selfishness of his race—at all events he was determined to come to Scotland, and throw himself upon their loyalty.

**BOOK
XXVII**

1744.

Murray again sent by the jacobites to Paris.

His representations to the prince,

who determines to come to Scotland.

cxxiv. With this intelligence, Mr. Murray returned to Edinburgh, and reported the success of his embassy to several members of the association, who all concurred—with the exception of the duke of Perth—in deprecating the project of the young pretender's coming to Scotland, and Murray was directed immediately to dissuade him from so rash an adventure. A letter, urging the fatal consequences likely to arise, was accordingly entrusted to a gentleman in the month of January 1745, to be forwarded; but owing to neglect or accident, it was never sent; and in the month of June a communication was received from Charles, announcing

1745.

The chiefs deprecate his making the attempt at present.

BOOK
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1745.

cing that, in the latter end of the month, he expected to be with his friends in the west, and appointing signals for his landing. Murray instantly conveyed the information to the duke of Perth, and set off himself for Lochiel; Lovat, being consulted, declared that it was a mad and foolish undertaking, that if he came none of his men should join him; and all the highland chiefs coinciding in this opinion, it was resolved that he should not be suffered to land, but desired to return. By their direction Murray addressed a representation to him, detailing the wretched state of the country, the difficulties and disadvantages of an unsupported rising, and intreating him to leave them till some more favourable opportunity; which was intrusted to a confidential agent, to be delivered in case he should make his appearance on that coast.

Receives
little encour-
agement
from
France—
two mer-
chants fit
out the
expedition.
Its amount.

cxxv. Meanwhile Charles, who imagined from the accounts current in France, that the allied army was entirely cut to pieces, and that no troops could be spared from the theatre of war for the defence of Scotland, buoyed up with the belief that the whole population was friendly, and conceiving that no such favourable opportunity might again occur, informed the French ministers of his fixed determination to commit himself to his fate. From them he received but little encouragement, and he owed to two merchants, Messrs. Walsh and Rutledge, sons of Irish refugees, the armament, such as it was, with which he sallied forth to conquer a kingdom. It consisted of the Elizabeth, an old man of war of sixty guns, and a privateer, the Doutelle of sixteen: they carried a corps d'elite of one hundred men, raised by lord Clare, two thousand muskets, and about five or six hundred French broad swords. The exchequer contained not quite four thousand pounds. His retinue was suitable to his finances rather than his situation, for, with the exception of the marquis of Tullibardine, who had forfeited the dukedom of Athole for his family, it contained not one man of influence, experience, or talent. Four Irishmen, sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been his tutor; sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Kelly, formerly Atterbury's secretary, and Sullivan; two Scottishmen, Æneas

His retinue.



General Charles Edward Stuart

Engraved by W. K. Sturt from the celebrated Portrait by Sir James O'Neil painted at Paris in 1758.

Macdonald and Mr. Buchanan; one Englishman, Strickland; and an Italian valet—composed the hopeful company.* BOOK
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cxxvi. In the latter end of June one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, the expedition left France—Charles and his party on board the *Doutelle*—and steered for the *Æbudæ*; but they had not proceeded far, when unluckily a British sixty gun ship, the *Lion*, crossed their path. Leaving the *Elizabeth* alone to encounter the enemy, which she did so determinedly that both were obliged to part disabled, the frigate bore away for the Western Islands, and found shelter from three suspicious sails in the sound between North Uist and Eriska, on the latter of which Charles landed as an Irish priest, and lodged that night in the house of the tacksman. Learning that the chief of Clanranald and his brother, Macdonald of Boisdale, were at South Uist, he despatched a messenger to Boisdale, who immediately obeying the summons, was received in state on board the vessel to which the adventurer had returned. The chieftain frankly informed him of the resolution of the highlanders, and advised his departure; nor could he be prevailed upon to introduce him to his nephew, young Clanranald, who was not far distant on the main land; but after fruitlessly reiterating his advice to Charles to desist from his rash and ruinous undertaking, left him. 1745.
Leaves
France.

Lands at
Eriska.

Boisdale
strongly ad-
vises him
to return.

cxxvii. To return with the stamp of folly on his forehead, and add disgrace to dependence, was impossible. Charles chose rather to face danger than encounter ridicule, and went forward. From the bay of Lochnanuagh, where he next anchored, he sent ashore *Æneas Macdonald*, who quickly returned, bringing with him his brother, and young Clanranald, accompanied by the Macdonalds of Glenaladale, and Dalily and another gentleman of the clan, whose journal is printed in the second volume of the Lockhart Papers. A large tent was erected on the deck for their reception, plentifully supplied with a variety of wines and spirits, where Tullibardine, styled by his friends duke of Athole, acted as He is visit-
ed by other
chiefs.

* There were besides, three other menials, whose names are not mentioned, probably French or Italian.—Journal of P—— C——'s Expedition into Scotland, &c. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii.

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master of ceremonies. While the others were regaling themselves, Charles, retiring with Clanranald and Kinlochmoidart, addressed them with earnest emotion, and conjured them to assist their prince, "their countryman," in the hour of his extremity.*

CXXVIII. At first they positively refused, and depicted strongly the certain destruction they would pull down upon their own heads, and that of their friends, were they to take arms without concert and without assistance; but arguments were vain: neither the folly of the attempt, nor the misery of the failure, had the least effect on "their prince:" he entreated, implored, and insisted; and when he found all unavailing, after pacing the deck for some time in almost hope-

* The following account of his first appearance, by one who was present, is curious: "After being three hours with the prince, Clanranald returned to us, and in about half an hour after, there entered the tent a tall youth, of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes. At his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. We were immediately told by one O'Brian, a churchman, that this youth was also an English clergyman, who had been long possessed with a desire to see and converse with highlanders. When this youth entered, O'Brian forbid any of those who were sitting to rise, and we only made a low bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediately started up again and caused me sit down by him upon a chest. I, at this time, taking him to be only a passenger, or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habit? (*viz.* the highland garb.) I answered, I was so habituated to it, that I should rather be so if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartily, and next inquired how I lay with it at night? which I explained to him. He said that by wrapping myself so close in my plaid, I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered, that in such times of danger, or during a war, we had a different method of using the plaid, that with one spring I could start to my feet, with drawn sword and cocked pistol in my hand, without being in the least incommoded with my bed-clothes. Several such questions he put to me; then rising quickly from his seat, he calls for a dram, when the same person whispered me a second time to pledge the stranger, but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirmed in my opinion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to us all round, and soon after left us.—*Journal and Memoirs of P. C.'s Expedition into Scotland, &c. 1745-6.* By a Highland Officer in his army. *Lockhart's Papers*, vol. ii. p. 479, *et seq.*

less agitation, he abruptly turned to a younger brother of Lochmoidart, who had been listening, and asked him,—
 “Will not you assist me?” Ronald, who was strongly excited at the moment, unhesitatingly replied, “I will! I will! though not another in the highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you.” Charles’ acknowledgments were unbounded, and he uttered a wish that all the highlanders were like him! The two chiefs perceived and felt the reproachful allusion, and, overcome by a weakness not unexampled, they allowed their feelings to usurp the throne of their judgment, and in an evil hour consented to peril their own fortunes, and sacrifice the happiness of their country, for the sake of a justly forfeited family, and at the passionate urgency of a presumptuous boy. Three days were spent in deep consultation, the result of which was, that Clanranald undertook an embassy to sir Alexander Macdonald of Slate in Skye, and Allan to the laird of M’Leod, to induce them to join in the enterprise, and notice was sent to the other friendly chieftains. On the twenty-fifth of July, Charles Edward Stuart planted his ominous foot for the first time in Scotland: he landed near the farm of Boradale, on the south shore of Lochnanuagh.

BOOK
XXVII

1745.
He over-comes their resolution by his importunity.

Lands at
Boradale.

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XXVIII.

George II.—Chiefs of Skye refuse to join prince Charles.—Lochiel declares for him.—Secrecy of his movements.—Commencement of his operations.—A party of the royals surprised.—He raises his father's standard at Glenshanan.—Publishes his manifesto.—State of the country favourable to his enterprise.—Forbes apprises General Cope of the intended invasion.—A reward offered for Charles' apprehension.—He retaliates.—Forbes informs government of his landing.—Sets out for the north.—Cope follows.—Difficulties on his march.—He proceeds to Inverness.—Charles strikes south.—The Pretender proclaimed at Dunkeld and Perth.—Rebels enter Perth.—Seize money and warlike stores at Dundee.—Their army increases.—Charles appoints Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General.—Joined by Cluny.—Passage of the Forth.—Advance to Edinburgh.—Preparations to defend the capital.—Negotiations with the magistrates.—Lochiel enters the city.—Charles takes possession of Holyroodhouse.—Joined by Hepburn of Keith.—Proclaims "JAMES VIII."—Cope lands at Dunbar.—Treachery of Lovat.—Important services of President Forbes.—Causes of Cope's detention in the North.—State of the rebel army;—of the royal army.—Battle of Prestonpans.—Royal army defeated.—Charles returns to Edinburgh.—His conduct there.—Refuses to call a parliament, but collects taxes.—His dependence on the highland chiefs disappointed.—Rebels advance into England.—Take Carlisle.—Determination of the country to support the government.—Rebels arrive at Preston.—At Manchester.—At Derby.—Retreat.—A party of the royal army defeated at Clifton by Lord George Murray.—Charles arrives at Carlisle.—Retreat continued.—Passage of the Esk.—Interim proceedings at Edinburgh.—At Glasgow.—Rebels arrive there.—Exactions from the City.—Remissness of the government.—Unwearied exertions of Forbes.—Proceedings in the north.—Lovat seized by the earl of Loudon, escapes.—Dissensions among the rebels at Perth.—Charles arrives at Bannockburn.—Hawley marches to meet him.—Battle of Falkirk; the royalists defeated.—Dissension among the rebel chiefs.—Forced to abandon the siege of Stirling Castle.—Hawley's conduct at Edinburgh.—Duke of

land takes command of the army.—Charles opposed in his desire to fight a battle; retreats north.—His followers begin to desert him.—Charles arrives at Perth.—Excesses of his troops.—Hessians sent to Perth.—Charles narrowly escapes being taken at Moy castle.—Loudermont retreats to Ross.—Charles enters Inverness.—Fort Augustus taken.—Loudon arrives from France.—Loudon retreats to Skye.—Rebecca surrenders posts in Athol.—Repulsed before Blair castle.—Forced to raise the siege of Fort William.—1745-46.

BOOTHDALE, where Charles waited the return of his messengers, was exactly such a spot as the lord president in his negotiations with the marquis of Tweeddale had pointed out as well adapted for organizing in secrecy the rudiments of a rebellion. Situate in the bosom of the west of Scotland, it was surrounded by friendly clans, and inaccessible to the emissaries of government, though not above a few and fifty miles distant from the capital. But at first the prospects were bleak and cheerless; the chiefs of Skye, from whom he had reckoned with certainty, determined not to throw themselves in a game, doubtful at best, but without any aid desperate; and for some time Clanranald was alone.

BOOK
XXVIII.

1745.
George II.

Description of
Boothdale.

Chiefs of
Skye refuse
to join the
prince.

At length, after repeated invitations, Cameron of Lochiel consulted with Lovat, determined to pay him a courtesy, to explain to him the hopelessness of his situation and persuade him to return: he had been the soul of the party, was present at all their deliberations, and the decision of his family was attested by the attainder of his father. At the interview which followed, his arguments were perfectly fruitless; every suggestion of prudence was treated as cowardice, and with the clearest perception of his situation, the brave and generous Cameron allowed himself to be overcome by the idle taunt of an unfeeling Italian. "In my days," said the young pretender in answer to his invitation not to involve himself and his party in ruin, "in a few days, with what friends I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, to die or to perish in the attempt. Lochiel, whom my father has often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince."

Lochiel vi-
sits him.

Declares
for him.

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1745.

"No," replied Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power." When Lochiel yielded, the die was cast—for upon his decision depended the conduct of the rest; and when he returned to raise his own men, orders were issued, August the sixth, by Charles, for the other friendly chiefs to repair to Glenfinnan on the nineteenth, when the royal standard was to be raised.

Secrecy of
his move-
ments.

III. Uncertain rumours of the landing of "the prince," and the gathering of the clans, were quickly spread over the highlands; but as all the sources of intelligence were in the possession of friends, the officers of government were late in procuring information, and what reached them was generally dressed up to answer a purpose; while on the other hand, the rebels had the earliest and most accurate accounts of every movement that was going forward, and in consequence the latter were enabled to achieve a surprisal, which, with a little exaggeration, gave to their commencement a romantic character suited to the extraordinary nature of their enterprise. The governor of Fort Augustus, acting upon some vague report, despatched two companies of the royals, commanded by captain, afterwards general Scott, to reinforce the garrison of Fort William. They had set out early in the morning along the military road—in that quarter almost a continued pass of twenty miles, with mountains on the one side and the lochs Oich and Lochry on the other—and had reached a "high bridge" thrown across the Spean, where the country becomes more open, within a few miles of their destination, when they were startled by the sound of the bagpipe, and the appearance, at a little distance, of a party of highlanders skipping before them and flourishing their swords. Captain Scott, not greatly delighted with the spectacle, ordering his detachment to halt, sent forward a serjeant and his own servant to ascertain their intentions, when two active fellows sprang out from the performers, and fairly carried them off to their companions on the other side of the bridge. The captain, ignorant of the number of his opponents, as his men were chiefly raw recruits, faced about and commenced a retreat. The highlanders, who were not above a dozen, headed by Macdonald of Tierndreich, who

Com-
mencement
of hostili-
ties.

had previously been observing the march of the troops, and had sent for assistance, did not immediately follow; but after allowing them to get fairly entangled in the narrowest part of the road, with the agility of mountaineers took the nighest cut through the hills to the wood of Longanachdrom, and from a post, where his small band was concealed by the trees, commenced firing upon the soldiers, who quickened their pace to escape an enemy their fears rendered formidable. The report of the pieces quickly collected reinforcements; and captain Scot, on reaching the east end of loch Lochy descrying another party of highlanders on a hill at the west end of loch Oich, marched across the isthmus that divides the lakes, with a view of taking possession of Invergarry, a strength belonging to the chief Glengarry; but he had not gone far, till he perceived the clan advancing against him. Pursued by his original assailants, now joined by Macdonald of Keppoch, and fronted by the Macdonnells of Glengarry, he still marched on in a hollow square, when Keppoch, advancing alone, offered him the alternative of quarter or destruction. Surrounded on every side, and himself wounded, he preferred to lay down his arms. Lochiel, who arrived, shortly after the surrender, carried the prisoners along with him, and treated them with the greatest kindness. Two of the royals were killed; the highlanders suffered no loss.*

BOOK
XXVIII

1745

A party of
royals taken
prisoners.

iv. From Boradale Charles removed to Kinlochmoidart, whence, on the 19th of August he proceeded to Glenaladale, preparatory to unfurling his father's standard. On the morrow, accompanied by about twenty-five attendants, in three boats, he sailed to Glenfinnan, the scene of this important ceremony, and landed in that wild and sequestered glen about noon; but no one waited to greet his arrival, and he spent two hours of impatient expectation, in a small hovel, till at length, Lochiel, with his Camerons, nearly eight hundred, marching in two lines, each three deep, with their disarmed prisoners between, relieved his anxiety. The standard was then raised by the marquis of Tullibardine—who, himself, needed to be supported during the operation—

The pre-
tender's
standard
raised.

* Home's History of the Rebellion, 4to. p. 46. *et seq.*

**BOOK
XXVIII.**

1745.

A manifest-
to publish-
ed.

amid the tumultuous rejoicing of the highlanders;* a commission from the pretender, duly constituting his son sole regent, was then produced, and a manifesto published, enumerating the grievances of Scotland, in being reduced to the state of a province by the union, loaded with taxes, her trade ruined, her highlanders disarmed, and a military government introduced; promising pardon to those who had deserted their duty, and happiness to all who should return to their allegiance, in the common style of such proclamations. Both were of the same date, Rome, 23d Dec. 1743. In about an hour after, Keppoch arrived with three hundred retainers; and a few stragglers also coming in, Sullivan was appointed adjutant and quarter-master-general of "the prince's army," amounting to at least one thousand men.

v. At no period could fairer trial have been made of the strength of the adherents of the house of Stuart. They had succeeded in lulling the suspicions of government; they in general had retained their arms which their rival clans had not; there was hardly a veteran soldier in the kingdom, and neither money, muskets, nor ammunition at the command of the Scottish servants of the crown. In the scramble for power at the seat of government, the highlands had been forgotten, and some of their most influential chiefs overlooked and affronted; while those who had advanced cash on the former occasion had not been repaid, much less rewarded. The party friendly to the protestant succession were divided among themselves, and many of their leading men were careless about the principles, and lukewarm about the cause for which their father's had bled; above all, there was a strong propensity in the multitude to believe, that the number and power of the jacobites was greater than it really was, and a feeling of sympathy for a family known only as unfortunate, was spreading among a generation who had never felt that they deserved to be so.

State of the
country fa-
vourable to
this enter-
prise.

vi. Lord President Forbes, to whom his country had ow-

* "Such loud huzzas, and schimming of bonnets up into the air appearing like a cloud, was not heard of of a long time."—Letters from Mr. Ter. Mulloy in the Culloden Papers, p. 387. Honest Terrence adds a very natural circumstance respecting the release of captain Sweetnam, who had been unexpectedly made prisoner, and all that he had taken from him: "The prince had ordered him a pair of horses in lieu of his own, but that was neglected."

ed so much in the year 1715, was destined to lay it under still greater obligations in 1745. He not only prevented the chiefs of Skye, sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of M'Leod, from taking any active part in the rebellion, convinced them both of their real interest, and kept them steady to the house of Hanover, but had converted them into partizans. From M'Leod he learned, so early as July, that the young pretender meant to hazard his person in Scotland, and, although he reckoned it an unlikely project, he communicated it to sir John Cope, who transmitted the intelligence to the regency, and anxiously pressed upon them the propriety of being provided for exigencies; but they treated his apprehensions as groundless, and appeared more anxious to guard the lieges against alarm than against danger. When the fact, however, had already taken place, and the clans were in motion, but before any certain account from Scotland had reached London, the government were apprised of the sailing of the expedition: and the lords justices issued a proclamation, in terms of the act of parliament, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds for the apprehension of the young chevalier. The paper quickly reached Charles' head quarters, and was answered from "our camp at Kinlochiel," by the offer of a similar sum for the capture of the elector of Hanover, then in Germany, and for preventing him from landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions.

BOOK
XXVIII.
1745.

Forbes ap-
prises gen.
Cope of the
intended
rebellion.

Reward of-
fered for
Charles.

He retali-
ates.

VII. M'Leod also communicated to the president the first authentic information of Charles' actual arrival and Clanranald's embassy, but misled him with regard to the probable risings, being himself deceived by the assurance of the latter, that neither he nor his friends would assist in so rash an attempt. The president, however, instantly carried his letter to sir John Cope, on the 9th of August; and, in conjunction with the lord advocate and solicitor-general, gave it as their united advice, "that the most effectual way of putting a stop to wavering people joining with the disaffected, so as to make a formidable body, was immediately to march and stop their progress," for, although they never imagined that Charles had ventured alone without certain assurances of support, yet they believed that a great

Forbes in-
forms go-
vernment of
the prince's
landing.

BOOK
XXVIII.

1745.
Sets out
for the
highlands

Cope or-
dered to
follow.

His diffi-
culties,

number of the clans were friendly to the settled government, or at least doubtful, and would, from motives of prudence, join with the party who could first take the field with a show of force. That same day his lordship set out for the highlands, and the commander-in-chief having communicated his intentions to the marquis of Tweeddale, made dispositions for instantly following. The regency, who took it for granted that it would only be necessary for a king's force to make their appearance in the north in order to maintain an irresistible ascendancy, sent sir John, in return, express injunctions to follow out the plan he had proposed, and without losing a moment, transport himself and his soldiers to the heart of the highlands, march direct for Fort-Augustus, and attack and disperse the rebels, wherever they could be found.*

VIII. Could his forces have been put in motion with the celerity of later times, there seems little doubt but that the insurrection would have been crushed in the bud, even with such troops as he might have been able to muster. But every article was to provide, and his commissariat was not arranged for doing things in a hurry. Money, the grand sinew of war, had been with difficulty procured;† and as it was necessary to carry his provisions with him through a country that furnished none, he was detained nearly a fortnight till bread could be furnished. His army, when assembled at Stirling, consisted of twenty-five companies of foot, about fourteen hundred men of the youngest regiments in the service, a train of four field-pieces, one and a half pounders, and four cohorns, but without artillery men. The troops, having been totally unaccustomed to take the field, were quite unprepared for active service; their means of transport being extremely deficient, rendered it an arduous task to put them in motion, and yet more difficult to keep them in marching order when they were. Small as was their number, the general was obliged to start in two divisions, the first of which only left Stirling on the 20th, and

* Culloden Papers, p. 385. Marquis of Tweeddale's Letters, printed in the Appendix to the Report of General Officers. Lond. 1749.

† On his examination, general Cope stated, that he only got money on the 19th, the night before he set out for Stirling.

had to halt at Crieff to wait for the second with a supply of biscuit, which did not arrive till the night of the 22d.

BOOK
XXVIII

1745.

ix. Before he left Edinburgh, the duke of Argyle* had expressed a doubt how far he could legally put arms into the hands of his clan without a new act of parliament; at Crieff he perceived more clearly the futility of all aid he must expect from the highlands; his grace of Athole and lord Glenorchy, upon whom he reckoned for considerable reinforcements, sent, the one fifteen men, and the other a promise of five hundred, if he would wait three days. Disappointed in this material object, he ordered back seven hundred of a thousand stand of arms he carried with him, and would himself willingly have returned; but his instructions were so explicit, that he durst not venture to discontinue his march.† As he proceeded, fresh difficulties arose at every step. They carried no provender for their baggage horses, who, after a day's march, were turned out to the open fields to graze, and could scarcely ever be collected before noon next day. The drivers, too, were disaffected, and in one night, at Trinifur, they lost two hundred of their cattle, with as many bags of biscuit. About fifty men of lord Loudon's regiment, joined him at Tay Bridge, but, in a few days, he only retained some fifteen, the rest having deserted in the course of his progress, carrying intelligence of his every motion to the rebels; and at Dalnacardoch, he learned that an army, superior to him in number, scarcely inferior in appointment, and infinitely better fitted for mountain warfare, was assembled, and in possession of the commanding positions of the country.

Increase
upon his
march.

x. When he reached Dalwhinny the intelligence was con-

* Late Archibald, earl of Islay. John died September 1743.

† Sir John Cope seems always to have been afraid of acting beyond the line of his instructions, and by his own account appears to have constantly walked in fetters; to this perhaps may be attributed his want of success at the outset. Instead of inviting the highlanders to come in families under their own leaders, he wrote to the duke of Athole and lord Glenorchy to get a body of men to list into the regiments which were to march northward, and promised to give it under his hand to every man who thus enlisted, that they should have their discharge at the end of three months certain, and sooner if the service did not require their continuing. Report, &c. p. 16. The lord president, when too late, recommended the former plan. Culloden Papers, Ad. p. 384.

BOOK
XXVIII

1745.
He holds
a council
of war.

firmed; and he assembled a council of war, to consider whether they should continue the route to Fort Augustus, across the Corryrack, diverge to Inverness, or return to Stirling. The first was over an immense mountain, almost perpendicular, before reaching whose summit the army must pass along seventeen traverses in face of an enemy, who might render each a separate entrenchment; and if gained—which was highly improbable—the descent was nearly as hazardous, while further progress could have been easily stopped by destroying the bridges. To return would be to give up the north, without obstructing the march of the rebels south; for the highlanders, unincumbered and light, by crossing the mountains, had it in their power either to proceed in different directions, or to intercept their opponents' retreat, by breaking up the roads, cutting off their provisions, and harassing them at every step. To take the more practicable route to Inverness by Ruthven alone remained; by this they would advance upon friendly clans and supplies, while their presence would encourage their adherents, fix the unsteady, and, by threatening the lands of the rebels, force them to return for the protection of their property. This last, which was the unanimous opinion of the council, was adopted by the general.*

Marches to
Inverness.

Charles'
movements.

xi. Charles commenced his march simultaneously with Cope, and on the 20th moved to the head of Loch Lochy, where he remained till the 23d, the night of which he spent at Fassifern. On the 26th, he rested at Moy, in Lochaber,

* "At this time," he told the board, "I was in hopes that this assistance I expected from the well-affected clans upon our marching northward, would have been so considerable, as to have enabled us to march one body of them into the country of the rebels, to drive their cattle, and distress their families, and thereby force them to return home, while, with the remainder, joined to the king's troops, we marched in quest of the rebels wherever we could come up with them. The clans we had reason to expect at Inverness were the duke of Gordon's, Grants, Macphersons, M'Intoshes, Frasers, M'Kenzie, Monros, Ross, Sutherlands, M'Kays, and from the Isles, M'Donalds and M'Leods; major M'Kay informed lieutenant-colonel Whiteford of an association between lords Sutherland and Rae; and that Major said he could raise 500 of these men who had been disciplined in the Dutch service." Report of the proceedings and opinion of the board of general officers on their examination into the conduct, &c. of lieutenant-general sir John Cope, &c. Lond. 1745, p. 28, *et seq.*

and was joined by Steuart of Ardshiel, with two hundred and sixty of the Appin men; in the evening an express from Gordon of Glenbucket informed him, that his adversary was approaching Dalwhinny in full march for Fort Augustus; and the resolution was instantly adopted of seizing the Corryarack. His small army increased as they went forward, the Macdonnells of Glengarry, with the Grants of Glenmorriston, arrived, on the 26th, at Aberchaloder; and they numbered upwards of eighteen hundred, when they halted on the top of the mountain, to await the arrival of the adverse army. A deserter brought them notice that the royal general declined a meeting upon the terms they offered, and they instantly descended to pursue; but at Garvymore, the first stage, a council of war, influenced by Murray of Broughton, who now acted as secretary to the adventurer, determined to march south, and attempt to surprise the capital; a measure recommended not less by the necessity of procuring supplies, than by its boldness, as calculated to encourage their friends and strike terror in their enemies. Meanwhile, a detachment of three hundred men were sent from their bivouac to surprise the barracks of Ruthven, and seize Macpherson of Cluny, who had been with sir John Cope, and gone home to raise his men for the king's service. The post was successfully defended by twelve soldiers and a lieutenant, who beat off the assailant party with loss, after they had fired the sally port; but their associates, who had seized Cluny, returning at night, they stripped the hamlet of what provisions they could lay hold on, and overtook the main body at the inn of Dalwhinny.*

BOOK
XXVIII.
1745.

His army
increases.

Strikes
south.

A detach-
ment re-
pulsed at
Ruthven
barracks.

xii. Thence they continued their route by the Blair of Athol, where they rested for two days, and were joined by lord Nairn and several gentlemen of the county. The marquis of Tullibardine took transient possession of the castle in absence of his brother, and spent with his prince an hour of ephemeral splendour in the ducal palace, which but for him he might have called his own. Lochiel and Nairn were sent forward to proclaim the pretender at Dunkeld and Perth, which latter place Charles entered with the remainder of

Pretender
proclaimed
at Dun-
keld and
Perth—
Charles en-
ters Perth.

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 443. Report, &c. App. No. 24.

BOOK
XXVIII

1745.
He holds
a council
of war.

firmed; and he assembled a
council, in which they should continue

the Corryrrack, dⁱ

The first was or
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giving

re

Robertson
arrives.

Character
of lord
George
Murray.

Appointed
lieutenant-
general.

Cluny joins
the rebels.

When he reached the last guinea, and he his coffers and organizing his army, which was reviewed on the neighbourhood in smaller parties, to his army, which was reviewed on the its accessions, by no means equalled when chevalier Johnstone, in the ferocious attachment, added himself to the number disappointed at the difference between the rumour and the reality of the insurgent force. Though several of the gentry were attracted, there was no enthusiasm in the cause; the people looked on and wondered, but few offered to swell the ranks, and their landlords fortunately had no power to compel. The duke of Perth, however, who came in here, brought with him about two hundred of his tenantry; Robertson of Struan, one hundred; and lord George Murray some Athole-men, whose numbers are not accurately mentioned.

xiii. But lord George was himself an host; he possessed a natural genius for military enterprise, was judicious both in the formation of his plans, and prompt and vigorous in their execution. Of the most daring courage, he was the first in advance and the last in retreat, and altogether such a man as was admirably adapted to supply the deficiencies of Charles, and to lead a desperate expedition. He was, in conjunction with the duke of Perth, named lieutenant-general of the forces. His appointment gave umbrage to the pretender's Irish friends, and a party was formed against him from the first moment of his entering upon the command, which included the prince's secretary and tutor, with the most of his earlier advisers, who could not brook the superiority that Murray too proudly claimed, and envied the confidence which they knew he merited, but did not always obtain from the pretender. Cluny, however, by his elo-

* The journalist says, they were sent up the Tay, but they must have been either very poorly laden, or they never reached Perth, as the rebels continued only half armed, till after the battle at Prestonpans. Lockhart Papers, v. ii.

ance, was induced also to embark in the undertaking, and was despatched to bring up his men whom he had promised to raise for the government.

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xiv. Being now joined by all they had reason to expect in the neighbourhood, and having levied contributions as far as exigible, the rebel army on the eleventh started for the capital. About a hundred of the western tribes of Glencoe and Macgregor falling in by the way, the whole halted that night between Dunblane and Stirling; on the 13th they crossed the Forth at the fords of Frew, and Charles dined with his officers at Leckie house, the owner of which had been hurried off prisoner the night before on account of the reparations he was openly making for their entertainment.* The army passed this night in an open field near Saughie, their chief being accommodated at a house in the vicinity. Next day the insurgents moved forward, and were saluted on passing by a few harmless shots from Stirling castle. They lodged in the evening in Callendar parks, the adventurer himself enjoying in "the house" the hospitality of the Earl of Kilmarnock, who was, unfortunately for his family, seduced by this visit from his early allegiance. Colonel Gardiner, with his dragoons, fell back at the approach of the rebels, but sent pressing requests for a reinforcement, having determined, if at all equal, to attack them upon their march, or make a stand at Linlithgow bridge. The rebels being apprized of his intention, Lord George Murray, with a thousand highlanders, set out about two o'clock on the morning of the fifteenth to attempt a surprisal; but no reinforcement having come, the colonel had continued his retreat to Kirkliston;† and Lord George took quiet possession of the burgh, where he waited till Charles arrived with the rest of the army after ten o'clock. The evening, Sunday 16th, they spent a few miles to the eastward. Next morning they marched towards Edinburgh—the dragoons preci-

Passage of
the Forth;

arrive at
Callendar.

Colonel
Gardiner
retires.

Rebels ad-
vance to
Edinburgh.

* Previously to pursuing his route, he sent an order at night, dated Leckie house, upon the city of Glasgow, for fifteen thousand pounds, which not being duly honoured, upon reaching Edinburgh, he despatched Mr. John Hay, Esq. with summary diligence, when the magistrates offered a composition of ten and eightpence in the pound, part to be taken in goods, which the agent accepted.

† Doddridge's Life of Gardiner. Lockhart Papers, v. ii. 415. Home's Hist.

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Terror in
the city.

Prepara-
tions for
defending
it.

A volunteer
corps form-
ed.

pitately fleeing before them—but, to avoid the fire of the castle, struck off to the right at Corstorphine, and Charles pitched his head-quarters at Gray's Mill, while his followers, wrapt in their plaids, took possession of the fields.

xv. Nothing could equal the confusion the neighbourhood of their unwelcome visitors occasioned in Edinburgh. At first they had been led to believe the rising so trifling, that the mere presence of the king's troops would be sufficient to quell it, nor could they imagine that a few ragged highlanders would dare to face a regular regiment, and as they heard nothing for a week after the army went north, began to think the business settled; but when an express brought the startling intelligence that the royal army had taken the road to Inverness, and that the rebels were in full march south, affairs began to assume a more serious aspect. The magistrates had previously determined upon measures of defence, and were deliberately waiting for the formality of his majesty's warrant, when the approach of the enemy was announced. The city walls were rather higher, but not much more substantial than those of a common garden, and their only defenders were the redoubtable town-guard and the municipal militia, or train bands, whose arms were become as useless as they were unfit to use them; it was therefore proposed to strengthen the fortifications and mount them with cannon, and to raise a regiment of one thousand men by voluntary subscription; but no answer had been returned from London, and the enemy was at Perth, within two or three days' march.

xvi. At this juncture, a messenger arrived from sir John Cope to procure transports, and inform the inhabitants that he was hastening to their relief. Probably reckoning upon his speedy assistance, a number of citizens presented a petition to the lord provost for arms, and liberty to form themselves into a volunteer corps; his lordship, after being assured by his majesty's advocate and the solicitor-general that he might legally do so, granted the prayer of the petition, only retaining his right of nominating the officers. Unluckily, in the midst of this bustle, the election of magistrates came on, and "the trades" became so much occupied in the important preliminary of choosing their deacons, that they

could not spare time for attending to the walls. Professor Maclaurin, who had undertaken to prop the fortifications, was thus left with a handful of "honest folk" to mount the cannon, repair the bastions, and barricade the gates, as he best might, even the provost himself being unable to procure him assistance. Full of zeal, the volunteers, already four hundred strong, received their arms in the college yards, the day after the rebels left Perth, and immediately began "to toss their firelocks, and take a lesson from their drill-serjeants;"* but here also burgh politics interposed. Stewart and his friends had ousted Drummond and his party in 1740, and kept possession of office for five years. The ex-provost, who wished to regain his seat, became of course the warmest supporter of every measure about which the present chief magistrate appeared cool. Stewart, who never seems to have entertained any very high idea of the capabilities of soldiers of four days' training, was by no means willing to risk the citizens in actual contact with men before whom regular troops had retired; but Drummond, who knew that he could at any time prevent all risk of this kind, got himself named captain of one of the companies, and affected a courageous forwardness, to recommend himself to the whigs, while the other's prudence, he foresaw, would incur the imputation of favouring the jacobites. Accordingly, when a report of the rebels' advance reached the city on Sabbath, and the volunteers had assembled, Drummond, without consulting with the provost, proposed that a detachment should, with a party of the town-guard, support the dragoons in an attack upon the enemy, or wait for them at Corstorphine. General Guest, who was left in command at Edinburgh, approving of the proposal, ordered Hamilton's dragoons, who were encamped on Leith Links, to form a junction with the other regiment at Corstorphine. The fire bell, the appointed signal, was then rung, and the volunteers marched to the rendezvous in the Lawnmarket; this alarm being given during divine service, the churches were instantly emptied, and the congregations assembled where the armed citizens were waiting the arrival of the heroic

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Their proceedings.

* Home's History.

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dragoons. As soon as they appeared clashing their swords mutual cheering took place, and the horseman passed on Captain Drummond, with a selection of his company, followed, attended by a crowd of mourners, lamenting a fate upon which the captain was too wise to rush. When the Spartan band had forced their way to the West Port, they found themselves alone, and sent back a lieutenant to learn the line of march of their associates. To his astonishment he found them without officers, surrounded by their wives, sisters, and relatives, and could only prevail with about hundred and forty to proceed as far as the Grassmarket where a fresh muster took place; the whole body, now including ninety of the town-guard, and the recruits of the regiment, amounting to upwards of three hundred, were addressed by principal Wiseheart, who conjured them by what they held most sacred, to stay within the walls, and reserve themselves for the defence of the city. The captain, who had pushed the joke as far as it would well go—for a number of the young students had expressed their determination to proceed—sent a message to the provost to inform him that without his approbation they would not stir, and received for answer, as he expected, that he had never approved of their march, and was happy to learn their resolution to stay.

They retire
to the city.

Town-
guard, &c.
put under
col. Gardi-
ner's com-
mand.

xvii. After the volunteers had retired, provost Stewart, who had got the royal warrant and legal power to act, ordered the town-guard and the men of the Edinburgh regiment to proceed and put themselves under colonel Gardiner's command; and a guard, sufficiently strong, had they been either disciplined or true hearted, was placed that night upon the walls and at the gates, now rendered tenable against such a force as the insurgents could have brought against it; but the indefinite terror which the highlanders inspired, increased by the various and contradictory reports of their fury and numbers, precluded all hope of an effectual defence, even had the town been provisioned for a siege, and the suburbs run no risk of being set on fire. A negotiation might, however, have been protracted for a few days, and time allowed for the forces from the north to arrive; but the dragoons, upon whom the chief, and indeed, the on-

ly reliance was placed, by their conduct rendered this impracticable.

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XVIII. Colonel Gardiner had remained, during the whole Sabbath, at Corstorphine till sunset, when, posting a rear-guard, he retreated with the regiments, to a field between Edinburgh and Leith, and the city detachment returned to their quarters. Brigadier Fowke, arriving that same evening from London, the cavalry were placed under his command. Next day he was ordered by general Guest, to take up a position at Colt Bridge, then at a distance of two miles from town. Thither he went, accompanied by lords Home and Napier, and reviewed the troops early in the morning; but the rebels advancing, and two or three, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre the guard at Corstorphine, having fired their pistols, they, without waiting to see the number of their assailants or return a shot, turned their backs, and carried their panic to the main body, who, between three and four o'clock, were seen pass in quick time along the north side of the town towards Musselburgh. A message from the young pretender, promising protection if quietly admitted, but military execution if opposed, had been carefully disseminated by a Mr. Alves, in the forenoon; and now the people, dreadfully alarmed at the flight of their heroes, and dreading the horrors of a sackage, implored the provost not to expose the town by a useless attempt at resistance.

The cavalry retreat to Musselburgh.

Charles offers protection to the city if quietly admitted.

XIX. His lordship went immediately to a meeting of the magistracy and principal inhabitants, in Goldsmith's Hall, and in this dilemma sent for the justice-clerk and crown lawyers to assist by their advice, but they had left the city; and the terror and uproar increasing, the meeting adjourned to the New Church aisle, which in an instant was filled by the clamorous inhabitants. In the midst of the uproar, an unknown person on horseback galloped along the Lawnmarket, crying out that the highlanders were coming! he had seen them, and they were sixteen thousand; the volunteers all the while standing in stupid amazement, Drummond at length proposed they should carry back their arms to the castle, and leading the way, was obeyed with more alacrity and less dissension than on the former occa-

Meeting of the magistrates, &c.

Volunteers return their arms.

BOOK XXVIII. sion, though some who had enrolled in sincerity of soul, shed tears of vexation at the cowardly burlesque their officers had played them.

1745.

Charles' letter to the magistrates.

They desire a time to prepare an answer.

His reply.

xx. While the volunteers were piling their arms, the crowd in the church aisle, after much debate, obtained, that a letter addressed to the magistrates, should be read; it was dated from Our camp, 16th September 1745, and signed Charles, P. R. "Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the town-council, and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition now in it—whether belonging to the public or private persons—to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the king and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war." The clamour against resistance, became universal after this letter was read, and at eight o'clock in the evening, a deputation, consisting of four members of the council, was sent to the rebel headquarters, to request that hostilities might not commence till the citizens had been consulted, when a proper reply should be sent. At ten they returned with an answer from "his royal highness the prince regent," informing them that he thought "the king" his father's manifesto and declaration a sufficient capitulation for all his subjects to accept with joy, and demanded to be received and obeyed as his representative. He hoped that no arms or ammunition had been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and gave them till two o'clock in the morning to return their answer.

xxi. About the time the deputies were treating with Charles,

accounts being received of the arrival of sir John Cope off Dunbar, where, as the wind was adverse, he intended to land, the tone of resistance was resumed ; and the deputation was again despatched to request a further suspension of hostilities till nine o'clock next morning. This Charles peremptorily refused, and ordered them instantly to depart. Their carriage belonged to the Canongate, where coaches for hiring were only kept in those days ; and, whether from a knowledge of this circumstance or by accident, it so happened that when the Nether-Bow port was opened to allow it to pass home, Lochiel, with about eight hundred highlanders, were there at the moment, and rushed in with a hideous yell as if going to an attack ; but all was quiet, and without obstruction they passed along the High Street, took charge of the city-guard house, and, planting guards upon the several gates, the main body drew peaceably up in the Parliament Close.

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1743.

They re-
quire a fur-
ther delay.

Lochiel en-
ters the ci-
ty.

xxii. Charles quickly learned the issue of the stratagem, and about eight o'clock moved from Slateford with the rest of his army, making a circuit, to avoid the range of the castle guns. He entered the King's Park from Duddingston, and having sheltered his troops in the deep valley behind Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags, accompanied by his principal officers and suite, he proceeded along the Duke's Walk to take possession of the long-deserted palace of Holyrood House. The park was crowded, and the young chevalier, with great condescension, not only indulged the people by stopping to be gazed at, but, being a graceful rider, he mounted his charger, and exhibited himself on horseback for their gratification.* When he had dismounted, and

Charles
takes pos-
session of
Holyrood-
house.

* His appearance upon this occasion is thus described by Mr. Home, who was one of the spectators, and may be compared with that given in page 336. " The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion ; he had a light coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front : he wore the highland dress, that is the tartan short coat, without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. The jacobites were charmed with his appearance, and compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom they said he resembled in his figure, as in his features. The whigs looked upon him with other eyes ; they observed that even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his fa-

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1745.
Joined by
Hepburn of
Keith.

was walking along the piazza towards the duke of Hamilton's apartments, Mr. Hepburn of Keith stepped forward, and, with his sword drawn, mounted the stairs before him, the first accession the rebels had in Edinburgh. He was a landed proprietor to no great extent, but, as an accomplished country gentleman, his character brought weight to the cause, for he was a known enemy to the tyrannous acts of the Stuarts, and no blind zealot for their indefeasible hereditary right; but he abhorred the Union, which had annihilated the importance of his rank, and had engaged in the rebellion in 1715, in which he lost a brother, [vide p. 129] since when, indignation at the wrongs of his country and his own had kept him a jacobite.

James
VIII. pro-
claimed.

xxiii. At mid-day, king James the third and eighth was proclaimed at the cross, the commission of the regency, and the royal manifesto read, with a proclamation in the name of Charles prince regent, offering pardon to all offenders in the present or former rebellions, the same or higher ranks to naval or military officers who should join him, and a gratuity to the men; promising a free parliament whenever quiet was restored, and, in the interim, security to the established churches, and protection to all protestants: all the civil authorities were continued, and the whole fencible population called out. An immense multitude assembled on the occasion, exhibited the common and faithless demonstrations of popular huzzaing; but the windows were filled with the youth and beauty of the capital, the waving of whose handkerchiefs betokened a more enchanting, and as it proved, a more seductive and lasting loyalty.

Cope ar-
rives at
Dunbar.

xxiv. Next day, on the seventeenth, sir John Cope arrived at Dunbar. When he took the route for Inverness, both he and the president had been imposed upon, and misled by the reiterated professions of loyalty to the reigning family,* which all the mountain chiefs had ostentatiously made; by the assurances of those esteemed doubtful, and by the apparent folly of a few unsupported highlanders attempting to

thers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy; that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror."—*Hist of the Rebellion*, chap v.

* Report of the Board of Officers, &c. p. 33.

overturn the British throne, which rendered it their interest to remain quiet, and gave to their professions a character of prudence, in perfect unison with the usual politics of the clans—but chiefly by the arts and influence of that old incorrigible traitor Lovat. For the fickleness of the younger chiefs, and their open disregard of their pledged faith and promised allegiance to the house of Hanover, some wretched apology may be framed from the strength of their attachment to the fortunes of the Stuarts, and the very accommodating morality of the jacobite school; but that hoary villain, who headed one of the most powerful clans in the north, acted upon deceit as a system, and was treacherous by rule. He owed his all to the president and to the government; but the illusion of a ducal coronet, for which he had the pretender's patent, destroyed his usual acuteness, and led him to rupture at once the ties of gratitude and safety. He had early sent Fraser of Gortuleg to congratulate Charles on his arrival, and assure him of his assistance, while he waited personally on the lord president Forbes at Culloden, to tender his services to his majesty, and request his direction; and he continued a juggling correspondence with him, intended to keep up appearances, till he saw which side was likely to preponderate.

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1745.

Treachery
of Lovat.

xxv. It has been asserted, that if he and the others who were favourable, had acted at the beginning with promptness and decision, Charles might have proclaimed his father at London with as much facility as he did at Edinburgh. Without contesting an imaginary supposition, it may safely be asserted, that the service which Forbes rendered his country at this juncture, by keeping them inactive, rendered such a consummation impossible; and saved the unprofitable effusion of much more blood, and the infliction of much wider desolation and more lasting calamity than attended the disastrous day of Culloden, had the consequences been more cruelly extensive than the wildest romance of jacobitism has ever yet portrayed. The king's army, however, when it reached Inverness, received no reinforcements to enable sir John to follow out the president's plan, and the negligence of government in not forwarding military stores, perhaps, fortunately, did not supply those with arms who

Important
services of
Forbes.

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1745.

Cope's efforts in the north paralyzed.

expressed their willingness to rise; but their withholding money, and obliging their friends to advance or to borrow it on their own credit, paralyzed every effort to create a diversion in that quarter, the Munros having alone engaged to the amount of two hundred, but only for fourteen days, on account of their harvest; and the whole increase was one company of Guyse's, and some incomplete companies of lord Loudon's regiment.*

State of his army on returning south.

Shameful conduct of the cavalry.

xxvi. Provisions again run short, and all the bakers of Inverness were employed, which, with other difficulties, detained sir John another inactive week in the north. Having resolved to return by sea, he marched to Aberdeen, where he embarked on the 15th. After a prosperous voyage, he arrived off Dunbar in the evening of the 16th, and next day, Monday, commenced landing. Compared with his opponents, the general's motions had been tardy and ineffective; but the infantry he commanded had all the incumbrances without the advantages of regular troops, their slow formality without their discipline. He was joined, on disembarking, by cavalry yet more deficient, and who, during their short campaign, had only acquired a facility of flight, and lessons of terror. The two regiments of dragoons who retreated from Colt Bridge, in the manner already related, stopped at Musselburgh, and after recovering in some sort from their panic, proceeded a few miles further, when again halting at a field not far from the scene of their future exploits, they dismounted as they supposed for the night, and colonel Gardiner, bowed down by ill health, and heart-broken by their conduct, retired for a little repose to his own mansion in the neighbourhood; but between ten and eleven o'clock, a private, in search of fodder for his horse, chancing to stumble into an old waste coal-pit full of water, the noise he made struck his neighbours—who could dream of nothing but the highlanders—with such affright, that, remounting without inquiry or order, they fled for Dunbar, whither their commander followed next day, filled with the most fearful foreboding; for the road was strewed with the arms the cow-

* Report, Colonel Whiteford's Evidence, p. 47.

ards had thrown from them.* By the 18th, the disembarkation was completed.

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XXVII. The general was quickly joined by the law-officers of Scotland—who came to be spectators of a battle—and lord Home, with two servants, the modern representative of a border chief, the sound of whose ancestors' bugle would have terrified to their hills the whole of the wondering celts, who were now lost in amazement at their easy capture of the Scottish capital.† Mr. Home, too, hastened with loyal expedition to give every requisite information concerning the number and appearance of the rebels, respecting which there had been so many discordant accounts. The historian, who had personally examined their encampment, reported their numbers at not two thousand, but strong, active and hardy men, about the ordinary size, whose muscular limbs the kilt showed to great advantage, and of fierce countenance, to which their bushy uncombed hair give a barbarous aspect; for cannon they had only one iron gun, that lay upon a cart, and was drawn by a highland poney: about two-thirds were armed with firelocks, a variety of all sorts, and broad swords, some of French make; the remainder were either not armed, or armed chiefly with scythe blades, fastened to pitch-fork handles; but their numbers, he said, would soon be increased by fresh arrivals from the north, and the arms they had seized at Edinburgh would fully equip them. Such a description was not calculated to inspire the general with any very terrific idea of the enemy he was to encounter, and he commenced his march next day in a manner calculated to produce the most imposing effect. His cavalry, infantry, and cannon, with a long train of baggage carts, extending for several miles along the road, which he probably expected would strike the highlanders with dismay, only attracted useless crowds of the unwarlike peasantry, who gazed with fearful interest on the unwonted spectacle. The army encamped that night in a field north-

State of the
rebel army.

Cope
marches to
meet them.

* To a person from Edinburgh, who visited him the day before the engagement, the colonel said, "I cannot influence the conduct of others as I could wish, but I have one life to sacrifice to my country's safety, and I shall not spare it."
—Doddridge's Life, sect. 149.

† Journal, &c. Home, ch. v

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Charles ad-
vances
eastward.

west of Haddington. A small body of volunteers, under Mr. Drummond, having joined them on the march, they were employed through the night as patrols between Haddington and Duddingston, to give information of the movements of the enemy, and prevent a surprise—a service they performed with the loss of two of their number, who were themselves surprised in their vocation.*

XXVIII. There being no interruption in the intercourse between Edinburgh and Dunbar, the rebels, who had the earliest intelligence of all that was going forward, improved their short repose in refreshing their men, and preparing for action; but their requisitions were slowly complied with by the inhabitants of the city, who began to hope the royal army would speedily rid them of their expensive guests. Charles paraded with his guard every day, from the royal residence to the camp, where he regularly reviewed his small army: on the evening of Thursday he held a council of war, in which it was resolved to march next morning, and meet the enemy. Naturally anxious about the issue, he asked the officers how they thought the men would behave against regular troops? Keppoch, who had served in the French army, replied, it was not easy to answer for the privates, who had never been tried; but he would venture to assure his highness, the gentlemen would be in the midst of the enemy, and the men who loved their chiefs would certainly follow.

XXIX. Sir John Cope also put his troops in motion on the morning of the 20th; the quarter-master-general, accompanied by the earls Loudon and Home, and colonel Whiteford, being sent forward to reconnoitre the ground, and mark out a proper place for encamping, near Pinkie, the proposed boundary of their day's march; the royal army followed in high glee, and, delighted with their own regularity and show, indulged in the most gasconading anticipations and sarcastic ridicule, against an undisciplined half-armed enemy, for whom their martial appearance and array would be sufficient! But they had just entered upon the small

* Report, p. 48. Home, *ut supra*. He omits Drummond's name; but it is curious that their services were discontinued when most wanted, after the enemy were put in motion.

plain, afterwards so well known, when lord Loudon returned with the intelligence that the despised army was rapidly advancing. The place where they were being deemed by the general and his staff the best spot that could be selected for a battle-field, where both infantry and cavalry would have full room to act, there it was determined to await the enemy. It is a level tract for about a mile in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth, extending from Seaton castle on the east, to Preston on the west, the north bounded by the sea, the small village of Cockenzie on the shore about the middle, and the south by a deep morass which then run along the bottom of the acclivity on which the village of Tranent stands. Expecting the enemy to advance by the direct road, sir John drew up his men in line fronting the west; but they, preferring the high grounds, took rather a different route. After passing the Esk by Musselburgh bridge, they struck off to the south, and making a sweep by Fawside hill, re-entered the post-road a little to the west of Tranent; they were received by a huzza from the king's troops, which they as heartily returned. Their manœuvres were by no means complicated; in marching, their columns, formed three deep, were led off by files, and when they wished to engage, they had merely to halt, and face to the right or left

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1745.

The armies
in sight of
each other.

xxx. In doing so upon the present occasion, they formed a line fronting the north, which unexpected direction obliged Cope to alter his station, and wheel his men into a line fronting the south. And thus the two armies, or rather brigades—for neither much exceeded the full strength of two modern regiments—stood looking at each other, at the distance of not half a mile; separated by the morass, which neither could pass without imminent danger, nor venture upon an attack from any other quarter, but with palpable disadvantage. The rebels occupied the rising ground, secured among pits and enclosures from a charge of cavalry; the king's troops, drawn up on the plain, were defended on the west by the village of Preston, and the park walls, on the east by the grounds of Seaton, and in front by a deep ditch or drain, that run along the whole length of the bog.

Their positions.

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Manœu-
vres.

Colonel Gardiner's house stood a little to the south-west of Preston. Lord George Murray, eager for the attack, sent an officer, Ker of Graden, to examine the ground, which he did with the greatest deliberation, by riding between the two armies, and reported Cope's position to be impregnable. The rebels then made a demonstration as if to attack from the west, and sir John sent his baggage to Cockenzie, and resumed his former position; but perceiving they could make no impression in this direction, the highlanders returned to their old post. Sir John did the same, and the afternoon was spent in various movements, in the course of which the highlanders, having taken possession of Tranent churchyard, were dislodged by the artillery with the loss of two or three killed.

Gardiner
proposes an
instant
attack.He is over-
ruled—as
also in the
order of
battle.

xxx. Evening now approaching, dark and cold, as at that season of the year, colonel Gardiner addressed his regiment, and they expressing an eager wish to be instantly led against the enemy, he proposed to Cope, and earnestly pressed on him the propriety of commencing an attack—which, from his knowledge of the ground, he was well qualified to direct—in preference to allowing the courage of his raw troops to evaporate, by keeping them inactive, and under arms during the whole of an October night; but in this he was overruled, as he was likewise in the order of battle, for he wished the guns in the centre before the foot, some of whom had been in action, and not on the wing beside the dragoons, who never had yet stood fire; but they were placed altogether upon the right notwithstanding, immediately before his own horse. When night closed, the line remained formed along the morass; the infantry, composed of five companies of Lee's regiment, Murray's regiment complete, eight companies of Lascelles', and two of Guise's, was flanked on the right by two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons in line, with a third in the rear, and on the left by the same number of Hamilton's, similarly disposed; the cannon and cohorns placed upon the left, were guarded by one hundred men, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Whiteford. To secure the troops from surprise, picquets and advanced guards were placed along the morass, and large fires kindled in front. The military chest was sent after the bag-

gage, under a strong guard, to Cockenzie, accompanied by all the highlanders of the royal army.

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xxxii. As soon as it was dark, the rebels, leaving lord Nairn at Preston with five hundred men, to prevent Cope from retreating upon the capital, moved from the west to the east side of Tranent, whence the position of the enemy appeared most accessible; the common men then wrapping themselves in their plaids, went to sleep among the furze, and the officers, in a council of war, determined, with the dawning, to attack through the morass. The events of the day elevated their spirits in proportion as it tended to depress that of the king's army. Sir John Cope had acted throughout on the defensive, endeavouring with a cautious timidity to preserve his local advantages, and evidently trusting more to the strength of his position than the courage of his men; while the rebels had sought in every direction to provoke an engagement, and were now inflamed with the desire of attacking, and the confidence of beating an enemy who so pusillanimously shunned them. The chiefs had separated to snatch a short interval of rest, when a partizan of the name of Robert Anderson,* who was well acquainted with the localities, told Mr. Hepburn of Keith that he would undertake to point out a place, which had escaped notice, where the army might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and form without exposure to their fire. Hepburn directed him instantly to lord George Murray, with whom he was acquainted. When Anderson came to headquarters, in a field of pease that had been lately cut, he found lord George asleep, and awakening him, repeated his information, adding that he was willing to lead the way. Struck with its importance, his lordship awoke Charles, who ordered Lochiel and the other chiefs to be summoned. As soon as they heard the plan, they unanimously declared their approbation, and prepared to carry it into instant execution; lord Nairn was called in, and before day-break the highlanders began to move, led by Anderson, but in the utmost silence; and their advance was concealed in the beginning

Previous
operations

of the re-
bels.

* The son of Anderson of Whitbrough in East Lothian, who had been engaged in the rebellion in 1715. Johnstone says, he was proprietor of the ground.

BOOK XXVIII. by the darkness, and at dawn by a frost mist. The picquets, first perceived them when about to enter the morass, and challenged, but receiving no answer, rode off, as before, without firing, to carry the alarm to the camp.

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Of the royalists.

Battle of Preston-pans.

Dragoons flee.

XXXIII. Cope immediately altered his position, wheeling into line south and north, with his front looking east, the inclosures which had protected his right now covering his rear. The rebels, after passing the marsh, marched straight on towards the sea, till the whole body, amounting to about 1800, got on firm ground, and then drew up in two lines, or rather wings, the right nearest the sea, led by the duke of Perth, and the left nearest the enemy, by lord George Murray. The reserve, under lord Nairn, formed a second line of six hundred and twenty. Charles took his station with them, or between them and the right wing. The sun had now risen, and the king's troops ranged in regular order, with their polished arms glittering in his rays, presented to the rebel officers a formidable front, which some of them did not hesitate afterwards to say, struck them with lively apprehension: but it was only for an instant. Lord George, having despatched an aid-de-camp to the duke of Perth, to inform him that he was ready, without allowing a moment for thought, ran forward on the enemy. The Camerons on the left were opposed to the artillery; but the artillery-men, consisting of three invalids, took to their heels without waiting for an attack; and carrying off the very powder flask, colonel Whiteford could only fire five of the pieces before they were in the hands of the highlanders. The capture of the cannon had thrown the highlanders into some confusion, and Whiteford called out to colonel Whitney of the dragoons, "Now's your time, charge." The lieutenant-colonel advanced, but not a man of them would follow; upon the rebels firing a few shots, they retreated; and, notwithstanding the exertions and entreaties of Gardiner, who, although wounded in the breast, attempted to rally them with the third troop, they instantly fled, as did their comrades on the left, and were only stopped by Mr. Erskine's inclosures on the rear; and "there they stood," said sir John, "with their croops to the enemy; and here they received a good many shot, but they could not be prevailed upon by all their

officers could do to rally. The foot, deserted by the dragoons, made a short resistance, and fired repeatedly; and one party, left without officers,* attracted colonel Gardiner's attention, who was left alone with colonel Whitney upon the field without men. "These brave fellows," said he, "will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" and rode up to them, calling out, "Fire on my lads, and fear nothing!" but scarcely had he spoken, when he was cut down with a scythe, and mortally wounded. When he fell, the route became universal, and throwing away their arms, the panic-struck soldiers sought each to preserve himself. The highlanders, according to their custom, after the first fire, threw away their muskets, and, mingling with the crowd of fugitives, cut them down with their swords like sheep. The strength of their position completed the ruin of the royal army, for multitudes, attempting to escape, had their flight arrested by the high walls of the Preston inclosures, and were killed without resistance while attempting to scramble over. The dragoons were once or twice attempted to be rallied, but on the first appearance of a highlander, their tremour returned, and with difficulty general Cope, assisted by the earls Loudon and Home, collected about four hundred and fifty, with whom they fled by the way of Lauder to Berwick, expecting the arrival of the Dutch auxiliaries. The shreds of the infantry, of which any account was received, were about two hundred, of whom one hundred and five got into Edinburgh castle, and about seventy or eighty found their way, at different times, to Berwick, before the end of the month. The number left upon the field has been estimated from two hundred to twelve; the most probable is between four and five hundred; and among these, beside colonel Gardiner, was captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, who, disdaining dishonourable safety, met death where he stood. This defeat, as decisive as the battle was short, appears to have been entirely owing to the invincible terror of the dragoons, and the consequent panic of the foot, from which it is difficult to believe that the commander was altogether exempt, notwithstanding his bravery upon former

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Colonel
Gardiner
falls.

The route
complete.

Cope es-
capes to
Berwick.

Cause of
the defeat

* Report, &c. Jack's Evidence, p. 96.

BOOK XXVIII. occasions, and the testimony of so many of his friends and fellow-soldiers to his good behaviour upon this.*

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* The numbers of the combatants, and circumstances of this battle, were at the time the subject of much misrepresentation, both by victors and vanquished. I have stated in the text the circumstances on which they all agree, or to which they may be reconciled without violating probability. The numbers now are pretty accurately ascertained to have been nearly equal, but what superiority there was, was on the rebels' side, who however did not need it, as their first line cleared the field so effectually of fighting men that the second never engaged. When they entered Edinburgh they were about 2000; next day they were joined by 150 M^r Lauchlan's; and before they left Duddingston by 250 men more,—making a total at Preston of 2400 or 2500. The royal army did not exceed 2100, of whom 600 were dragoons; the party with the baggage perhaps from 300 to 400.—The conduct of general Cope is, I think, rendered more doubtful by the strong attempts made to exalt it by his witnesses, in their statements to the board of officers, than by the sarcasms of his enemies. It appears to me that not one of them escaped the infection, although only one, Hew Dalrymple, lord Drumore, had the honesty to confess it. When the dragoons fled, his lordship says very candidly, "I concluded all was lost, and that it was full time for a pen-and-ink gentleman to provide for his safety; which I did by riding off." The finale of his letter is equally fair, "I shall only add, that the fire of our foot was infamous, puff, puff, no platoon that I heard; though I have heard others who were in the action, and nearer the right, say they heard two. Whether Murray's were attacked, and gave their fire, I know not; they had not fired when I left them." The earl of Loudon's account of the battle, which Home has chiefly followed, differs only from the text in saying, that sir John Cope attempted to rally the foot, which I do not think perfectly consistent with his having attempted to rally the dragoons at Preston wall. I have therefore preferred Dr. Doddridge's information on this point, which is corroborated by the evidence of Mr. Jack, a mathematician, who was examined by the board. His lordship accompanied the dragoons to Lauder, and states, "that there was no other way of getting them to make a decent retreat but by keeping on their head, in order to keep them back!" Report, &c. p. 137, *et seq.*—Of the opposite nominal leader, chevalier Johnstone, after mentioning that the prince accompanied the reserve in the march, adds, "at the end of the marsh there was a deep ditch three or four feet broad, which it was necessary to leap over, and the prince, in making this leap, fell upon his knees on the other side: I laid hold of his arm, and immediately raised him up. On examining his countenance, it seemed to me, from the alarm expressed in it, that he considered this accident as a bad omen. The journalist again tells us, that the prince accompanied the duke of Perth and Clanranald in the march, and adds, "but returning to his guard, as I happened to pass near by him, he, with a smile, said to me, in Erse, 'Gres-ort, gres-ort;' that is, Make haste, make haste. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. 491 His courage, however, was extolled by his partizans beyond all bounds, and in the hour of victory no one dared dispute it. I shall only remark, that a man may be brave, yet not courageous, for bravery is a species of instinct, while courage is a virtue; and bravery, as it is often mechanical, and dependant upon the animal frame, is subject to great variation, while courage, a noble and lofty senti-

xxxiv. The rebels lost, by their own accounts, forty killed, and not quite double the number wounded. The baggage, military chest, and a great number of prisoners fell into their hands. Charles remained upon the field till noon, and, with affected humanity, gave orders for care being taken of the wounded, and moderation shown towards the prisoners, who were next day sent to Edinburgh—the officers on parole, and the private soldiers to the Canongate church. That evening he spent at Pinkie house, and on the following morning returned to his lodgings at Holyrood, whence he despatched messengers in every direction with accounts of his victory at Gladsmuir, as he named the battle, and resumed his functions as regent, by nominating a council, and issuing a variety of proclamations. He forbade all rejoicing on account of the victory, and invited the ministers of the city to continue their public duties,—the whole having deserted their charges except two. To the farmers, and all others, he proffered protection in their intercourse with Edinburgh, and prohibited any of his soldiers or officers from appropriating private property without a regular order,—a mandate necessary from the known propensities of the mountaineers, but excused by the allegation that a number assumed the character for the sake of plunder who did not belong to their army.

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Charles returns to
Edinburgh.

His attention to the
peace, &c.
of the city.

xxxv. His men, who had now procured the accommodation of tents, encamped at Duddingston, whither Charles, who took great delight in visiting them, frequently resorted, dining and sleeping in his tent, and returning to his palace in the morning, to transact business. The usual routine of his few fleeting hours of royalty, commenced in the mor-

His manner
of spending
his time.

ment, exists at all times and on all occasions. A man is often brave in proportion as he wants thought, and does not calculate upon consequences. Of this kind of bravery Charles certainly was possessed: to courage his claims are more disputable.—I cannot help subjoining, as a specimen of jacobite accuracy, the account the journalist gives of the battle. "The enemy's artillery played furiously upon our left, especially upon Lochiel's battalions; their cannon also racked our right wing, but did little execution. Their great guns were followed by a very regular fire of the dragoons on the right and left, and this again by close platoons of all their infantry, which our men received with intrepidity and a huzza—a thing most extraordinary in a militia army," &c. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 190.

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ning by a levee; then followed his council, which often was prolonged to a late hour, by the various and discordant opinions and projects of his advisers. To it succeeded a public dinner with his officers: he then rode out, accompanied by his guards; and when he did not remain in the camp, returned to Holyroodhouse and held a drawing-room, at which he received the ladies who were introduced. He afterwards supped in public, and concluded the evening with music and a ball.

Puts an end
to hostilities
from
the castle.

xxxvi. But the gaiety of the court was disturbed by the vicinity of the castle; the intercourse of the garrison with the town being interrupted, general Guest fired upon the city, and several of the inhabitants as well as the rebels, were killed by his shot; till Charles, allowing a free communication, had the honour of putting an end to the wanton hostilities which Guest afterwards excused as a ruse to engage the rebels in a siege; and by detaining them in Edinburgh, prevent their marching to England, until the people had recovered from the panic occasioned by the route and dispersion of the royal forces, and the expected assistance from the continent should have had time to arrive.

His coun-
cils' objec-
tions to his
proceeding
to Eng-
land.

xxxvii. This rash and imprudent measure Charles himself is said to have wished, but his council objected to the proposal of entering England with an army not much exceeding three thousand men;—that so incompetent a force would rather diminish than increase the number of his friends, and urged the necessity of waiting the arrival of those reinforcements the news of his victory would procure; and their arguments were backed by the extensive desertion which took place among the victors, from the return of so many to their mountains to secrete their spoil, but whose display of the riches they had acquired, would act as a powerful stimulant to their hesitating friends to descend and share in the lucrative harvest. It was also debated in his council, whether it would not be advisable to summon “a free Scottish parliament,” and declare the union of the two kingdoms dissolved. The battle of Gladsmuir, it was said, had put him in possession of the whole kingdom of Scotland, except a few castles; and his chief object should be to secure himself in it, without attempting for the present to extend his views far-

Advise him
to call a
parliament.

ther ; and, besides, a parliament would enable him to impose taxes in a legal way, and obtain supplies for the support of his army ; but the prospects which he had of obtaining both, prevented Charles from listening to a proposal as detrimental as impracticable, which, with a divided kingdom, must have renewed the intestine contests of Charles II.'s time, and would have dashed at once and for ever, without a trial, the expectations he had built upon the promises of the English Tories. He collected the taxes by a more summary process, and ordered levies and supplies by his own authority, wisely preferring the chance of obtaining ultimately the sanction of a British parliament. About the same time, the spirits of the highlanders were cheered by the arrival of three vessels in the north, with some artillery, and other military stores, accompanied by artillery-men, and a few officers, chiefly Irish, in the French service ; the court, too, was enlivened by a Mons. Boyer, marques D'Equillez, who was received by Charles and treated as the French ambassador, a character which, like his title, appears to have been a *nom de guerre*.*

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He refused.

Military
stores ar-
rive in the
north.

XXXVIII. To the north both parties however turned, as the quarter where the accounts of the victory were expected to produce the most important consequences, and whence Charles was to obtain the most efficient aid to carry his ulterior object. Three days after the battle, a trusty messenger was despatched to the island chiefs, to assure them that their delay was not imputed to their want of loyalty, and if they would still come forward, they would be received as kindly as the most favoured. Macleod wavered, and on a visit to Lovat was induced to enter into a solemn engagement to support "the prince." That lord, when informed of the victory, exclaimed that it was not to be paralleled in history, —"as sure as God was in heaven his right master would prevail !" and, aged as he was, proposed leading a force worthy of a dukedom, to assert his pretensions. With the assistance he expected from Skye, he counted upon mustering five thousand men at Corryarack ; but Sir Alexander Mac-

His depen-
dence on
the north-
ern high-
landers dis-
appointed.

* He is styled Monseigneur de Boyer, in the Caledonian Mercury ; M. d'Arguelle, brother to the marquis d'Argens, by chevalier Johnstone ; and the marquis de Guilles, by Smollett. I have followed Home.

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More
proofs of
Lovat's
treachery.

donald, the better genius of his friend, prevailed :—M'Leod broke his rash vow ; and his lordship was under the necessity of apologizing, by a message to Charles, for his disappointment, and promising to send his eldest son with the clan, as a stronger proof of his attachment than if he had gone himself.* Still he kept up his correspondence with the president, who, although he must have seen through the artful duplicity of Lovat, did not, till the last moment, give up the hope of convincing him that his interest would be best promoted by his continuing quiet.† He endeavoured to prevail upon him to accept of an independent company for his son, as government at last had forwarded a number of blank commissions for him to dispose of, which was declined ; but he was more successful with some of the lesser chieftains ; and when lord Loudon returned to Inverness, their united exertions prevented the Frasers, and other dis-

* In a letter to Lochiel, Lovat raves most furiously against M'Leod. "The base and treacherous behaviour of our cousin, the laird of Macleod, has almost cost me my life already. The night before he took his journey to the Isle of Skye from this house, sitting by me, he looked up seriously, and swore to me, that, as he should answer to God, and wished that God might never have mercy on him, and that he might never enter the kingdom of heaven, but that his bones might rot on earth, be burnt, and his ashes blown up in the air, if he did not come with all speed imaginable, and with all his men that was already prepared." In spite, however, of this terrific oath, within a few days he wrote him, that, after deliberating fully with his neighbour sir Alexander, they both had resolved to stay at home, and not trouble the government. "In reading this line," adds Lovat, "I had almost fainted, and my body swelled with grief and vexation."—*Lovat's Trial*, p. 138.

† In the midst of all these professions, a most treacherous attempt was made upon Culloden house, by a party under Fraser of Foyers ; but the president was too much on the alert, and his house too well fortified, to be easily surprised : he had, however, a number of his sheep and cattle carried off, and his gardener and weaver robbed. One of the assailants was wounded, and as they stopped rather impudently "to taste his mutton in day-light," the whole was discovered. He complained to Lovat, but without accusing him of being concerned, and the chief in return denied all knowledge of an affront which he declared he "detested as much as any man."—*Culloden Papers*, p. 230, *et seq.* And in another epistle upon the same occasion, he tells the first law officer in the kingdom not to be in the least apprehensive about his tenants being robbed by his people ;—"for I solemnly swear," [swore] he adds, "to Gortuleg, that if any villain or rascal of my country durst presume to hurt or disturb any of your lordship's tenants, I would go personally, though carried in a litter, and see them seized and hanged !" Such was the state of the highlands at that period.—*Ibid*, p. 234.

affected clans, from gathering till after the young chevalier had marched for England.

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XXXIX: While waiting the effects of his embassy to the north, Charles' adherents in the south were not hastening to his standard with that alacrity which the flaming professions and exaggerated vaunting of the zealous jacobites promised. Few partizans from the Lothians joined, and none of consequence, except the earl of Kilmarnock and Arthur Elphinstone, afterwards lord Balmerino. The lowlanders of the north, bordering on the highlands, were more productive:—Lord Ogilvy, son of the earl of Airly, brought six hundred men; Gordon of Glenbucket, four hundred; and lord Pitsligo, six companies of foot, and a body of cavalry, consisting of gentlemen from the shires of Aberdeen and Banff, with their servants, whose native caution had been betrayed by the wary character his lordship sustained in a country distinguished for prudence. Tullibardine also produced an additional quota of recruits from Athole, and several petty chiefs and private gentlemen prevailed upon their dependants to follow, or procured dissolute and desperate characters to enlist.

1745.
Few in the south join the rebels.

The northern lowlands more productive.

XL. Yet, with every exertion, their army was so palpably inadequate to carry the war into England, that, when the Macdonalds and Macleods failed, and the mighty promises of Lovat evaporated in apologies, the debates in the rebel council were long and perplexing respecting their future procedure; a majority being persuaded, that without some encouragement from the English, nothing could be more ridiculous than an invasion of England with such a handful of men, especially since the government had been allowed time to bring over their troops from the continent, together with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, and a spirit of zealous unanimity had been awakened in the nation. But Charles was entirely bent upon the expedition; the hazardous chances had already turned up so luckily, that, with the determined obstinacy of a dashing gamester, he insisted upon staking his friends' and his own fortune on the doubtful issue of a desperate throw: he pretended that he had received letters from English lords, assuring him that they would meet him in arms on the borders, and that an invasion from France

An advance into England determined.

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would soon be effected; and at last, a majority of the chiefs allowed themselves to be again persuaded against their more sober judgments, to push the enterprise to the uttermost. Some of the more inexperienced or sanguine, needed little persuasion; so wildly were they elated with their unexpected success, that they thought their own strength sufficient to cut for their prince a way to the throne.

Amount of
the rebel
force.

XLII. Preparations were made in the latter end of October for marching south, and having named lord Strathallan commander in Scotland during his absence, Charles joined his army, assembled at Dalkeith, on the first of November. Next day, Macpherson of Cluny, Menzies of Shien, and some other highlanders, arrived with between 900 and 1000 men, the last reinforcement the rebels received before they set out. Their number did not amount to quite six thousand, of whom five hundred were cavalry; the clan regiments, or real highlanders, the strength of the army, were not quite four thousand, dressed in their own garb. Of the horse, two troops were guards commanded by lords Elcho and Balmerino; one troop light horse, or hussars, under the earl of Kilmarnock, for scouring the country and procuring intelligence; the remainder irregulars. To distract the enemy, the rebel army set out in three different parties, the one by Hawick and Moss-paul, another by Peebles and Moffat, Charles himself marching by Kelso, whence he might proceed either for Newcastle, or for the west; and the secret was so well kept even from his own soldiers, that they knew not the line of march of each other, till they re-assembled, November 9th, on a heath within a short distance of Carlisle.

They
march.

XLIII. The capital of Cumberland had been formerly a place of considerable strength, and its fortifications were, if any thing, still better than those of Edinburgh, though they had latterly been allowed to go to decay. Its castle was garrisoned by two companies of invalids, some volunteer citizens and a body of the Cumberland and Westmoreland militia lined the walls—a force respectable enough in point of number, but, like the citizens of the northern capital, deficient in every other requisite; and dreadfully terrified by the reports actively circulated by the jacobites before the

advance of the rebels, which they increased by ordering billets for thirteen thousand men, and disposing their troops in such manner as to conceal their real amount.* On the 10th they sat down before the city, but upon a rumour of the royal army approaching, Charles marched to Brampton with the greater part of the army, and continued for several days; when ascertaining its falsehood, he sent back the duke of Perth to press the siege. His grace returned on the 13th, and it surrendered on the 15th, the third day after opening the trenches, "rather," says chevalier Johnstone, "from our threatening to fire red hot balls upon the town, and reduce it to ashes, than from the force of our artillery, as we did not discharge a single shot, lest the garrison should become acquainted with the smallness of their caliber, which might have encouraged them."† The garrison had fired upon the besiegers, but did no mischief; so ill were the guns pointed, that the highlanders in the trenches waved their bonnets at them in derision. The garrison were discharged on swearing not to bear arms against the pretender for a twelvemonth, and all the military stores in the castle were delivered up to the rebels, among which were one thousand stand of arms, besides the spoil of the country around, whose valuable effects had been lodged in the castle for safety. Marshal Wade, who was stationed at Newcastle, with an army much superior to that of the rebels, but had never stirred to oppose them, the very day that the surrender took place began a march for Carlisle, and had reached Hexham, when, hearing of the catastrophe, he measured back his footsteps, if not with the full measure of disaster, at least with not much less dishonour than general Cope.‡

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Take
Carlisle.

* While the rebels succeeded by their manœuvres to deceive the people of England with regard to their numbers, they never succeeded in imposing upon government; and it is a curious circumstance, that the news circulated upon the continent respecting them were more accurate than those circulated in many of the English periodical works at the time. The "Journal Universel," published monthly at the Hague, in the month of August, announced the young pretender's expedition, gave the names of his companions, and a pretty true account of his reception, almost as soon as it was known at Edinburgh! The "Gazette Française," published at Utrecht, noticed it sooner.

† Memoirs, p. 59.

‡ Home, ch. vi. Ray's History of the Rebellion, 104.

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Misunder-
standing
between
Perth and
Murray.

Perth's
honourable
conduct.

The coun-
try comes
forward to
support the
king.

XLIII. Carlisle had surrendered, but no attestation of strength nor show of friendship appeared among the English, while considerable desertion had taken place upon the march among the Scots. A misunderstanding likewise had arisen between the two lieutenant-generals;—the duke of Perth having communicated with “the prince” alone, without consulting lord George Murray respecting the operations of the siege, his lordship, conceiving that this was not done without private instructions, threw up his commission, yet offered to serve as a volunteer. The army, too, murmured at the duke of Perth, a papist, appearing ostensibly as their commander-in-chief, imagining perhaps that this appointment might have had some detrimental effects upon the service: but Perth nobly removed every cause of dispute by retiring to the command of his own regiment, and lord George became henceforth sole lieutenant-general, and momentary partial union was restored. But the circumstances of the invaders were critical, and the young chevalier summoned a council of war to determine on their future procedure.

XLIV. King George, on his arrival from the continent, [August 31,] had been greeted with loyal addresses in every direction, and the parliament which he had assembled shortly after, [October 16,] gave him every assurance of fidelity and support. These professions of attachment to the house of Hanover were in entire accordance with the general wishes of the nation, who cordially and almost unanimously seconded, where they did not outrun, their provisions for the public safety; the county regiments were quickly completed, and volunteers were incessantly employed in military exercise; and what was perhaps of even greater importance, the monied interest had come forward to support public credit in this emergency, by agreeing to take the bank of England paper in payment as usual. Large contributions were besides raised cheerfully throughout the country, both in money and in clothing, for the troops. The protestant clergymen of all persuasions united in zealously exhorting their people to exertions and sacrifices in the common cause; and the dissenters, as in all cases of real danger, forgot “their disabilities” when their services were required. Government at last, roused from their lethargy, were bestirring

themselves. Besides the army under marshal Wade at Newcastle, general Ligonier was advancing with another towards Lancaster, of which the duke of Cumberland shortly after assumed the command, and a third was forming on Finchley Common, to be headed by the king in person, with the earl of Stair as his lieutenant. All this was well known to the council, and the majority were for returning to Scotland, and defending their homes, or waiting the assistance of France, as there were no symptoms of any rising in England; but Charles, still insisting upon the promises of his English friends, and seconded by lord George Murray, who ever advocated the boldest measures while there was the least rational glimmering of success, their opposition was overcome, and it was again resolved to push their adventure to the extreme.

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Forces in
the field.

Charles re-
solves on
advancing.

XLV. After settling their disputes, and refreshing their men, the army on the 20th threw down the gauntlet to all England. Having garrisoned Carlisle, the cavalry marched to Penrith, and next day the main body followed; and proceeding through Shap, Kendal, and Lancaster, the van always a day a-head, the whole rested on the 27th at Preston, where, to avoid a "superstitious fret," yet a very natural and melancholy presentiment, that they would never get beyond a spot "so fatale to the Scots," lord George crossed the bridge, and quartered a great many men on that side of the water.* No recruits appearing, "the prince" expressed his hopes of being more successful at Manchester; and they were so, owing to a strange instance of careless rashness, at once ludicrous, daring, and successful. A serjeant Dickson, of chevalier Johnstone's company, who had been beating up for recruits at Preston without obtaining one, requested his captain's permission to try Manchester a day before the army arrived; but being denied on account of the danger, he of his own accord quitted that place in the evening with his mistress and a drummer. Having marched all night, he arrived next morning at Manchester, and immediately began to beat up. The populace at first did not interrupt him, conceiving the army to be near the town; but as soon as

Arrives at
Preston.

* Account of the Young Pretender's Operations. Lockhart vol. ii. p. 457.

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Adventure
of serjeant
Dickson.

they knew that it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner alive or dead. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, which was charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle which a crowd of people had formed round them. Having continued for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester who were attached to the house of Stuart took arms and flew to his assistance, to rescue him from the fury of the mob, so that he had soon five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. He now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, proudly paraded the whole day with his drummer, and, at the expense of three guineas, procured a hundred and eighty recruits, whom he presented to the chevalier on the 29th, when the rebel army entered Manchester. Before they left it on the 1st December, somewhat more than another hundred were added, who were formed into the Manchester regiment, and contained nearly the whole of the English who openly declared for the prince.*

Rebels
reach Man-
chester.

Derby.

XLVI. Derby, one hundred and twenty-seven miles from London, which they reached on the 4th, was the ultimate point of the adventurer's progress. They had interposed between the duke of Cumberland's army, which lay at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Lyne, and the impression of the army was, that they were to defeat Cumberland, and advance in triumph to the capital; and exulting in their former success, and proud of their fancied invincibility, the highlanders were impatient for the combat, when two couriers arrived which entirely altered their destination. The one brought intelligence of the encampment on Finchley Common, stating the number of men assembled at thirty thousand; the other announced the arrival of lord John Drummond in the north of Scotland, with reinforcements from France;—that a number of highlanders, who could

* Memoirs of the Rebellion, p. 55, et seq.

not follow the army, had come to him, and that he was at the head of three thousand men, waiting for the whole Irish brigade, and several French regiments, who had embarked and were hourly expected. Another council was, in consequence, held on the 5th, when the subject debated at Carlisle was resumed, and Charles stood alone in his wish to proceed. The absolute aversion of the English to his cause was no longer doubtful, and the impossibility of cutting his way to the throne evident to all but himself. While the highland chiefs saw only a choice of destruction, they were willing rather to die bravely on the road to the capital than sink ingloriously in a retreat; but when they imagined that a rational prospect of terminating the insurrection honourably in their own country still remained, they wisely adopted the safer alternative of prolonging the contest, and lord George Murray giving his weight to the proposal, it was decided to return.*

BOOK.
XXVIII.

1745.
Council of
war held.

A retreat
determined
on.

XLVII. Defeat itself could scarcely have been a greater disappointment to the highlanders than their retrograde movement, but as lord George took his station in the rear, they marched with rapidity, if not without murmuring; and as it was wholly unexpected by their opponent, they gained two days upon Cumberland's army, and proceeded without obstruction. At Lancaster they halted a day, and when they reached Kendal, they learned that marshal Wade had been left behind, and considered themselves in no danger of having their retreat interrupted; but the roads were beginning to be rugged and mountainous, and their baggage carriages, ill adapted for rapid marches, were constantly breaking down. The van of the army, with the prince, arrived at Penrith on the 17th; lord George Murray, with the rear and the baggage, was detained by untoward inci-

It is com-
menced.

* *Memoirs of the Rebellion, &c.* p. 67, *et seq.* The editor of Johnstone's *Memoirs* has, p. 73, in a note, given very satisfactory reasons for preferring the chevalier's account to Home's; his statement is farther confirmed by the journals, &c. in the *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 459, but particularly by the journalist, p. 494, where he says, "the fourth the whole army went to Derby, where they stayed all the fifth, and in a council of war held in his royal highness's presence, [despatches of importance being received] it was resolved to return to Scotland;" which I think decisive as to the date when the despatches were received.

1745.
XXVIII.

cents, at Shap till 18th at break of day, when they set out to overtake their companions. Scarcely, however, had they got half way, ere they were surprised at seeing some light horsemen, and at the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums before them: but they could not succeed in learning the number or description of their enemies, who disappeared at their approach, and a messenger was despatched to Charles to inform him of the circumstance, and require assistance. A detachment was sent.

Lord G.
Murray ap-
prised of
the near ap-
proach of
the Eng-
lish.

XLVII. When they reached Clifton, lord George was first apprised, by the capture of Cumberland's footman, of the duke's approach, who, with four thousand horse, had, by forced marches, come up within a mile. Anxious to give him an effectual check, he sent Roy Stuart to the chevalier with an urgent request for a thousand men. Charles, however, though upon other occasions "he was always for fighting,"²⁰ had already commenced his retreat to Carlisle, and sent express orders to lord George to follow: but this was now dangerous, if not impracticable, without shaking off the enemy; therefore, desiring Stuart to say nothing to any person, his lordship proceeded with his arrangements to extricate himself. The road, after passing the small village of Clifton, run between the earl of Lonsdale's extensive inclosures of Lowther Hall on the right or east side, and the Clifton inclosures on the west or left. Having sent forward the baggage and artillery, he posted his men, the Macdonnells of Glengarry and John Roy Stuart's regiment, in the highway, and the Stuarts of Appin, with the Macphersons under Cluny, in the Clifton inclosures. The duke, who had drawn up his troops upon Clifton-muir, in two lines, sent forward a body of dismounted dragoons in the dusk, to attack the rebels. The sun was set and the night was cloudy, but lord George, by the light of the moon, descried their approach through the Lonsdale inclosures, and putting him-

Skirmish at
Clifton-
muir.

²⁰ "The prince," says chevalier Johnstone, who knew him well, "having acquired a strong relish for battles, from the facility with which he had gained the victory at Gladsamuir at so small an expense, was always for fighting, and sometimes even reproached lord George for his unwillingness to incur the risk of an engagement when no advantage could be derived from a victory."—*Memoirs*, &c. p. 84.

self at the head of the Macphersons along with Cluny, anticipated them: moving forward with the party from the Clifton inclosures, after receiving and returning the enemy's fire, he rushed on them sword in hand, drove them from the hedges back upon the main body, and returned shouting to the ground he had left; another party were, at the same time, repulsed with equal gallantry, by the Macdonnells, who cleared the highway, and the whole body proceeded without farther molestation, to Penrith. The rebels in this affair acknowledged the loss of upwards of twelve killed and four wounded, among the latter captain Hamilton; some English accounts state that of the royal army at forty, of whom four were officers.*

BOOK
XXVIII.

1745.
English de-
feated.

XLIX. The main body of the rebels marched all night, and arrived at Carlisle next morning:† there they rested twenty-four hours. With considerable difficulty the garrison, augmented to three hundred by the Manchester regiment and a few French and Irish, were prevailed upon to remain as a forlorn hope, upon the assurance of being speedily relieved when the reinforcements under lord John Drummond should enable the prince to return in triumph! But the very day after Charles left it, it was invested by the duke of Cumberland, and as soon as cannon were procured to mount the batteries, it surrendered at discretion, and met the common mercy shown to insurgents.

Charles ar-
rives at
Carlisle.

Duke of
Cumber-
land takes
it.

L. Pursuit ceased when the rebels left Carlisle, yet they did not consider themselves secure till they once more set foot on Scottish ground. The river Esk, which here forms the separating line, had been swoln by several days successive rain, and its deep rapid tide presented a formidable obstacle; but the passage was effected by an admirable arrangement. One division of cavalry formed about twenty-five paces above the ford, to break the strength of the stream,

Rebels
continue
their re-
treat.

Passage of
the Esk.

* Macpherson of Cluny's Letter. He lost, he says, twelve men, one serjeant killed, four wounded; the royal, according to report, one hundred and fifty killed.—Home's App. No. 34. Lord George Murray's, ib. No. 42.

† Marchant states that they took one hundred of the inhabitants of Penrith with lanterns along with them to show them the way.—Hist. p. 222. The journalist says, "This was one of the darkest nights I ever saw, yet did his royal highness walk it on foot and most part of the way without a lantern, yet never stumbled, which many of us did often."—Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 296.

BOOK
XXVIII.

1715.

then the highlanders, in ranks ten or twelve a-breast, with their arms linked in such a manner as to support each other, passed over, while another detachment of the horse formed line at a little distance below, to pick up any that might be carried away by the force of the current; and thus, without the loss of a man, the army safely reached the opposite bank.

Observations.

LI. Such was the conclusion of an expedition not the least extraordinary in modern times, in which a body of men, never amounting to six thousand, had, from the remote highlands of Scotland, penetrated to within a short distance of the English capital, through a hostile population; and in the face of an enemy double their numbers, had raised contributions, levied taxes, spread universal terror, and shaken the kingdom to the centre; then, bearding a second army of veterans, had, after triumphantly routing the only force that ventured to show itself, and accomplishing, in severe winter weather, a march at which the best British troops gazed in hopeless astonishment, reached their native land with a loss of not more than forty men.

Proceedings at
Edinburgh
on Charles'
advance.

LII. As soon as the rebels had left the coast clear, and there seemed no chance of their immediate return, the legal authorities adventured to re-enter the deserted capital; accompanied by the sheriffs of East Lothian, they returned in state to resume their functions, and were received with the ringing of bells, a salute from the castle, and the huzzas of the mob. Lord justice-clerk Fletcher, in name of his brethren, recommended measures for the immediate training of a body of men for the defence of the country, and informed the citizens—with whom he condoled upon the loss of their magistracy—that proper orders had been given by marshal Wade for arming those of approved loyalty; but in the meanwhile his excellency had despatched a military force for their immediate protection. Next day the heroes of Preston, Gardiner and Hamilton's dragoons, arrived from Berwick, with two infantry regiments, Price and Ligonier's. Volunteering and recruiting for the Edinburgh regiment recommenced with spirit, and the city once more resounded with the note of preparation. The magistrates of Glasgow, with the zeal which has always characterized the west, were more prompt, but less noisy in their motions; and when it was

deemed necessary to guard the passage of the Forth to prevent the advance of any northern recruits, their regiment, commanded by the earl of Hume, was ready to act with the king's troops at Stirling by the twelfth of December. When the news arrived that Charles had crossed the Esk in his return, before the direction of his march was ascertained, the authorities at Edinburgh were in the utmost perplexity, expecting a second visit; and the troops were ordered to concentrate in the neighbourhood of the city, which it was again resolved to defend. Their resolution to commit their fate once more to untried militia and the well tried dragoons, was fortunately superseded by the exhilarating intelligence that general Hawley was on his way to their assistance with the veterans from Wade's army and the duke of Cumberland's, upon whom the others were directed to fall back.*

BOOK
XXVIII.

1745.
Glasgow
regiment
ready to
take the
field.

LIII. After crossing the Esk, the insurgent army proceeded in two divisions for Glasgow; lord George Murray, accompanied by Tullibardine, Ogilvy, and Nairn, with the first, took the route by Moffat; Charles, with the other, attended by the duke of Perth, lords Elcho, Pittsligo, and the highland chieftains, went to Dumfries, where—in revenge for the capture of some baggage waggons, an achievement of the old dissenters, who had surprised and carried to that town about forty on the march south—he imposed a contribution of two thousand pounds, seized a number of necessities for the use of his troops, and stript the town of their arms and ammunition. Of the contribution he obtained the half, but carried off their provost, and a Walter Riddle as hostages for the remainder. Passing by Drumlanrick, his followers vented their barbaric wrath by destroying the paintings of William, Mary, and Anne, which the latter

Rebels levy a contribution at Dumfries.

* Marchant tells us, that a regiment of dragoons and a party of country volunteers under the lord justice-clerk and sir John Inglis, pursued a body of rebels to the castles of Lochleven and Inchcolm, and that the "horse and foot came up most furious to the castles, having first secured all the avenues, and with very little loss made them surrender!"—Hist of the Present Rebellion, p. 270. Who would imagine that Inchcolm had then stood in the middle of the Firth of Forth, or that the account of these amphibious gentry's exploits could be transmitted from Edinburgh? Yet so the historian has it.

BOOK
XXVIII.1745.
Arrive at
Glasgow.Further
exactions
from that
city.Remiss-
ness of go-
vernment.Unwearied
exertions of
Forbes.

princess had presented to the duke of Queensberry for his services at the Union; at Hamilton the young chevalier spent a day in the more harmless sports of the chase, whence proceeding to Glasgow, the whole posse met on the twenty-seventh of December. A city so distinguished for unvarying attachment to the principles that had driven his family from the throne, was made to feel the weight of his resentment, and but for the interference of Lochiel, it is said, would have suffered a more terrible infliction.* In addition, however, to the former five thousand five hundred pounds, it was compelled to furnish twelve thousand shirts, and six thousand coats, bonnets, and shoes, for the troops. Their future destination was wisely kept secret, but messages were sent to hasten the recruits and reinforcements from the north.

LIV. During the absence of Charles in England, his adherents had been struggling to raise their quotas for the army of reserve which lord Strathallan was endeavouring to assemble at Perth, and for which two months of indecision and inactivity on the part of government, gave every desirable facility; as though commissions and arms had been sent, the president and lord Loudon were wofully crippled in their endeavours, for want of money to support and keep the men together after they were raised. Bank notes were of no value, the bills that had been drawn upon the government agents were returned under protest; and it was only by the most unwearied and disinterested exertions of Forbes† that as much money was procured upon his private credit, as, with the very inadequate sums that were sent him, enabled

* Gibson's History of Glasgow, p. 112.

† I cannot deny myself the pleasure of quoting the noble sentiments of the president, which acquire additional but melancholy beauty, when we recollect how he was required; they deserve a remembrance beyond what I can hope to give. "As to who shall have the thanks or the merit of what may have been done in the support of the government, I am very indifferent. I have done what I think every honest man ought to have done; and upon this single principle, that I thought it was my duty. If any man will take to himself the merit of my endeavours to serve the king, or to raise the value of his own, he will depreciate mine, let him; I scorn to contend for such trifles, and can with great tranquillity despise the creature that has them for the object of his pursuit." Part of a letter to the earl of Stair—Culloden Papers—Addenda, p. 464.

lord Loudon to maintain a force of about two thousand, composed of his own regiment, the independent companies, and the isle of Skye men, brought by the laird of Macleod.

BOOK
XXVIII.

1745.

LV. Lovat durst not in the face of this force appear himself, but he ordered his eldest son, a youth of nineteen, a pupil of the president's, and who disliked the cause, to undertake the ungracious task of mustering his clan. The earl of Cromarty, with equal duplicity, after engaging to the president, declined a commission for his son lord Macleod, and raised a few of the Mackenzies for the pretender. Lord Lewis Gordon, early in October, entered Aberdeen with a party of highlanders, and seizing the provost, hauled him to the cross, where, holding drawn swords over his head, they forced him to stand till they proclaimed king James, and when he refused to join in drinking "his majesty's" health, they "in an unreasonable odd manner," poured a glass of wine down his breast.* Acting as lord lieutenant of the counties of Banff and Aberdeen, he issued orders for raising men, one for each L.100 Scots of their valued rent, or the sum of four pounds sterling, under pain of military execution, and succeeded in raising a regiment of two battalions, one commanded by Gordon of Abbachie, and the other by Moir of Stonywood. He endeavoured to raise his brother's tenants, but the duke remaining true to his allegiance, his retainers divided, and the majority were quiet.

Affairs in
the north.

Pretender
proclaimed
at Aber-
deen.

LVI. Lord John Drummond, immediately upon his arrival, published, as commander-in-chief of his most Christian majesty's forces in Scotland, a declaration of war against the adherents of the house of Hanover, and sent part of his own regiment to Aberdeen to aid lord Lewis; with the remainder and the Irish picquets, he proceeded to the rendezvous at Perth, and in passing through Dundee proclaimed the pretender, and obliged the windows of that whiggish seaport to be illuminated. In order to preserve the loyal inhabitants of the unarmed counties from oppression, the president directed M'Leod to march south with four hundred of his kindred, along with two hundred Munros under Culcairn, who were to be followed by the earl of Loudon, with

Progress of
lord John
Drum-
mond.

* Culloden papers, 163-4.

BOOK
XXVIII

1745.
Lord Loudon
seizes
Lovat, who
escapes.

Skirmish at
Inverury.

Loyalists
defeated.

Dissension
among the
rebel forces
at Perth.

a force sufficient to dissipate the rebels in these districts. But his lordship was unfortunately prevented by an unexpected occurrence; upon the march of the master of Lovat, having no legal proof against the old lord, who had exclaimed bitterly against the headstrong folly and unnatural disobedience of his son, he had brought him to Inverness to keep him as a security for the rest of his clan, whose arms were promised immediately to be given up; but his shuffling excuses wearing out the earl's patience, he proposed sending him to the castle; the other however contrived to get his "old infirme carcas" carried out of the road, and the arms were never delivered. While Loudon was thus detained, M^cLeod and Munro advanced to Inverury without meeting an enemy. Lord Lewis, who was apprised of their progress, collected a band considerably superior to the royal party; besides his own regiment and lord John Drummond's, he had with him three hundred Farquharsons headed by Farquharson of Monalty, with whom he came unexpectedly upon them. A clear moonlight evening, the twenty-third of December, prevented the surprise from being complete, and a pretty smart firing took place; but the islanders could not stand the onset of the Farquharsons, and besides a number of killed and wounded on the field, they left forty-one prisoners in the hands of the assailants. His lordship, without pursuing this advantage, soon after set out for the gathering at Perth, where a scene of disorder and dissension ensued, which had well nigh scattered the ill assorted company, and threatened to wind up the wretched tragedy by a concluding act of mutual bloodshed.*

LVII. Charles had sent orders from Carlisle for lord Strathallan to march into England with all his forces. This order he refused to obey, and was supported in his refusal by the lowlanders, and the Irish and French; the clans insisted upon marching, and both were obstinate; but the commander-

* This assemblage consisted of;—CLANS, the Frazers, the M^cKenzies, the Farquharsons, and recruits for the regiments that had marched to England; LOWLANDERS raised in Aberdeen, Banff, Angus, Mearns, &c. by lord Lewis Gordon, sir James Kinloch, and others; AUXILIARIES, picquets of the Irish regiments in the French service under general Stapleton and lord John Drummond's regiment, royal Scots.

in-chief had possession of the military chest and stores, and the highlanders, who could not stir without these, were preparing to proceed to extremities, when a second order arrived from Dumfries, desiring his lordship to hold himself in readiness to join the army now marching for Glasgow, whence further instructions would be sent him. The promised orders were accordingly sent as soon as the rebels were rested and refreshed; and Stirling castle, the prize for which the north and the south had so often strove, was again marked out as the object of contest. To this point the various parties were converging.

BOOK:
XXVIII
1745.

They
march for
Stirling.

LVIII. The young chevalier broke up from Glasgow, January the third, one thousand seven hundred forty-six, in two divisions; his own rested in Kilsyth the first night, that of lord George Murray at Cumbernauld: next day, "the prince's" head quarters were at Bannockburn-house, and lord George occupied Falkirk with eleven hundred mountaineers, as the advanced post of the army. The reserve from Perth, at the same time, coming up, in a few days the whole when united, amounted to nine thousand men.* No defence was attempted by the magistrates of Stirling, but general Blackney on being summoned, replied, that he was determined to defend the fortress to the last, and the rebels immediately began to invest it. How they came to form such a project, it is not easy to conjecture, for never did an army possess fewer capabilities for undertaking a siege; the whole tenor of highland warfare was adverse to the protracted operations of beleaguering fortified places, and they had neither artillery nor artillerymen qualified for conducting them. Some few cannon which had come from France were brought with difficulty across the Forth, and monsieur Gordon, marquis de Mirabelle, was intrusted with their direction. "This engineer," it was sarcastically remarked by one of themselves, "to show his dexterity in his profession, made his appear-

Charles'
head-quar-
ters at Ban-
nock-burn.

Rebels in-
vest Stir-
ling castle.

* The following are the numbers as given by Mr. Patullo, muster-master of the rebel army in 1745, in answer to queries sent him by Mr. Home. "After the retreat there appeared at a review on the green of Glasgow full 5000. Danger in England had prevented desertion. At the battle of Falkirk 6000, besides about 1000 left to continue the blockade of Stirling castle." Home's Hist. App. No. 30.

BOOK
XXVIII
1746.

Called
away.

Hawley or-
dered to fi-
nish the re-
bellion,

marches
west;

encamps
near Fal-
kirk.

ance on the strongest side of the castle, where there was no-
thing but rock and shingle to work upon, so that, in order
to raise the intended batteries, it was necessary to bring
forced earth and bags of wool from a distance, which, after
all, were commanded by the garrison.* But they were
called from this hopeful undertaking to one more congenial
to their ability and habits, by the approach of the king's
army.

LIX. Cumberland having returned to London upon the
surrender of Carlisle, general Hawley was appointed to put
an end to the rebellion. This general had served at first as
a major of dragoons at the battle of Sheriff-muir, and from
the instantaneous effect of the brilliant charge led by Ar-
gyle, considered the highlanders as incapable of standing
against horse, or even regular infantry, if well conduct-
ed; an assertion he had often made, and he was now about
to prove the truth of his own remarks.

LX. There were already assembled in the vicinity of Edin-
burgh about seven thousand troops, besides the Edinburgh
and Glasgow regiments, and more were daily expected from
England, but Hawley, confident in his own talents, and the
justice of his preconceived opinion, disdained to wait their
arrival. He ordered the first division under major-general
Huske, consisting of six regiments of foot, and the Glasgow
regiment, with Hamilton and Gordon's dragoons, to march
by Linlithgow and Borrowstounness on January thirteenth;
the remainder followed next day. Lord George Murray,
who had accurate intelligence, pushed forward with a party
from Falkirk to Linlithgow, and seizing all the forage and
provisions laid in for the enemy, retired to his quarters, and
fell back upon the main body at Bannockburn. The royal
army advanced, and encamped on the sixteenth in a field
about a mile to the west of Falkirk, where they were joined
on the following morning by Cobham's dragoons, and a thou-
sand Argyleshire highlanders under colonel Campbell—after-
wards duke of Argyle—which placed the rival forces much
upon an equality in point of numbers.

LXI. They were now only seven miles distant from each

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 465. Memoirs of the Rebellion, p. 116, *et seq.*

other, yet so little did Hawley dread the vicinity of the foe, that he spent that important forenoon in dalliance at Callendar-house with lady Kilmarnock, although he must have known that her jacobite predilections had had an unhappy influence on the conduct of her unfortunate husband. Charles was somewhat differently employed. He ordered the whole of his men to be collected for a general review on Plean-muir, when, after going over their simple evolutions, he marched them off the field about ten o'clock, in two columns, round by Dunipace,* to obtain possession of the heights to the south of the royal camp. The Torwood lay between them; and in order to deceive Hawley, lord John Drummond was ordered to advance with a party of horse and foot, having a number of their colours displayed, as if their whole force had been approaching in that direction, by the high road which run along the north of the wood. The attention of the king's army was accordingly attracted to that quarter; and the ruse would have been complete, had not two officers, by means of a telescope which they had fixed upon a tree, discovered, about one o'clock, the march of the main body. Colonel Howard instantly carried the information to the general, who coolly replied, "the men might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity for them to be under arms." In an hour after two volunteer scouts came in at full speed, and reported that they had seen the enemy about to cross the Carron at Dunipace, evidently bending their course towards Falkirk muir, and the high ground on the left. Still their leader lingered with the countess, and all was confusion in the camp. The officers, left without orders, formed their regiments in front of the tents, and waited the attack;—when Hawley himself arrived.

BOOK
XXVIII.

1746.

Hawley
loiters at
Callendar-
house.

Charles'
manœu-
vres.

Confusion
in the royal
army.

LXII. Had the general remained in his camp, or on the level before it, his position could not have been attacked except under the greatest disadvantages; but dreading the fate of Cope—without having reconnoitered the field, without allowing himself time almost to think, and although a severe storm of wind and rain threatened from the south-west, direct in his face, he precipitately ordered the dra-

* A small village three and a half miles west from Falkirk.

BOOK
XXVIII

1746.

Formation
of the re-
bels,

of the king's
forces.

goons to advance to take possession of the muir, to drive the enemy from the rising ground, or charge them up the hill—the infantry to follow. The highland columns, about two hundred paces distant, marching in oblique parallel, or eschellon, observed the intention of the dragoons; and quickening their speed, the one on the left, or north-east, consisting of the clan regiments who had been in England, arrived first, and immediately on reaching the height halted, and fronted towards the enemy, with their backs to the storm; the other column, consisting of the low country regiments, the Maclauchlans, the Athole brigade, and lord John Drummond's, commanded by the duke of Perth, formed in the rear of the first, and in rear of the whole Charles took his station with the Irish picquets and some horse, as a reserve.

LXIII. The field of battle was a slope from south to north, the south terminating in a morass, on which the right of the rebels rested; and about the middle rose a deep gully that widened toward the north, along whose western ridge their left was drawn up. The royal infantry were ranged also in two lines; their right upon the eastern ridge of the ravine, extending considerably beyond the left of the rebels, whose right in consequence outflanked the left of their opponents. The Argyleshire highlanders were stationed on the ground in front of the camp, and the Glasgow militia placed among some cottages to the south, neither of these auxiliaries being allowed the honour of marching in line with the regulars. Before his first line was completely formed, Hawley gave orders for the horse to attack lord George Murray, which they did, and went forward with some show of courage. Lord George reserved his fire till they were within ten paces, then giving the word, it ran along the front of his line almost from right to left. The experienced worthies of Hamilton and Ligonier's instantly and without ceremony, took leave; Cobham's wheeled to the right, and went off more leisurely between the two armies, receiving as they went along, the fire of the rebel left. Lord George, when the dragoons fled, ordered his men to remain steady; but, with the exception of the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the whole right and centre of his line immediately began to pursue. As they approached the first line of the king's troops,

they received and returned their fire; then drawing their swords and dashing among them, threw them into instant confusion, and the rout would have been complete, but one regiment of the second line stood;* and being joined by part of two others, moved a little to the south, under command of general Huske, and thence fired across the ravine upon the rebel regiments who remained on the opposite ridge, with so much effect, that they fell back, staggered, and the pursuers returned to the ground they had left, fearing an ambuscade, or thinking their second line had advanced and were engaged. But no second line was to be found; excepting the Athole brigade, which joined lord George Murray, Battle. the greater part of the clansmen who belonged to it, when they saw the flight of the dragoons, had eagerly joined in the pursuit; and the others, who had "waited orders to advance," when they heard the firing recommence, naturally thinking that their rash and undisciplined companions had met with a repulse, without stopping to inquire, most manfully took to their heels;—thus while the fugitives of the king's army were carrying their panic to the east, they were running with no less trepidation to the west; the Athole brigade, however, and the reserve, filled up the blank in the first line, and Charles himself led them to the brow of the hill.† Cobham's regiment, which had never dispersed, and were again about to ascend the acclivity, perceiving this, joined the body of foot that kept unbroken, and with them retreated in tolerable order to the camp ground where the Argyleshire highlanders were standing.

LXIV. The natural gloom of this season at the close of the day, had been increased by the tempest, and in the confused intermingling of the parties, it was impossible to discover who were or who were not victorious;‡ but Hawley, stupi-

* Burrels, the northernmost.

† This honour is, however, disputed; it is claimed for Ker of Graden. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 470.

‡ Of this confusion some idea may be formed from what chevalier Johnstone, who was present, tells us of the state of affairs between seven and eight o'clock in the evening. "After having sought the prince for a long time to no purpose, and without finding any one who could give us the least information respecting him, we fell in with his life guards in order of battle near a cottage on the edge of a hill, with their commander lord Elcho, who knew as little what

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Hawley
fires his
tents and
retreats.

Rebels en-
ter Falkirk.

ed and distracted, supposing that all was lost, before it grew quite dark ordered his tents to be set on fire, and precipitately retreated through Falkirk to Linlithgow, leaving behind him his cannon, stores, baggage, and provisions. The rebels, when the lights appeared in several parts of the royal camp—for owing to the wetness it was impossible to make a blaze—supposed that the army had rallied there and meant to renew the battle next morning; but they were undeceived by lord Strathallan's son, and Mr. Oliphant of Gask, who having gone disguised to spy out the state of the enemy, returned and told that they were in full retreat. Lord George Murray then proceeded with a strong body and took possession of the town, and the prince went to snug quarters; but no pursuit was attempted, nor any advantage reaped from the terror of the fugitives. The night being bad, the mountaineers found an agreeable amusement in ransacking the baggage of the desolate encampment. This battle, was, like the rest, very quickly decided, by the furious onset of the clansmen—the interval between the first fire and the final retreat of the king's troops not exceeding twenty minutes; no artillery was brought into action by either side, Hawley's stuck fast in a bog at the bottom of the hill, and could not be dragged from where it lay till the conquerors seized it; and the highlanders left theirs a mile behind in their march.* The loss to the vanquished was severe, particularly in officers, of whom one colonel, three lieutenant-colonels, nine captains,

had become of Charles as we did ourselves. As the night was very dark, and the rain incessant, we resolved to withdraw to the mansion of Mr. Primrose of Dunipace, about a quarter of a league from Falkirk, having a crowd of highlanders as guides, who took the same road. On our arrival at the castle we found lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the duke of Gordon, Mr. Fraser, son of lord Lovat, and six or seven other chiefs of the clans, but none of them knew what had become of their regiments. Other officers arrived every instant, all equally ignorant of the fate of the battle, and equally in doubt whether we had gained or lost it. About eight o'clock in the evening, Mr. Macdonald of Lochgary joined us, and revived our spirits, by announcing for certain that we had gained a most complete victory."—*Memoirs*, &c. p. 126, *et seq.*

* The muskets of the king's troops were rendered useless by the rain, and their cartridges destroyed, so that the battle was fought to every advantage with the weapon peculiar to the highlanders; yet it was first gained by a fire of musketry against raw horse, and in some measure retrieved by the volleys of the infantry who were not borne down by the flying.

and three lieutenants were killed, among whom were particularly Whitney, the only surviving officer who had been unstained at the battle of Prestonpans, and colonel sir Robert Munro,* eminently distinguished by his services abroad, and between three and four hundred men, killed and wounded. The victors' casualties were three captains, and four subalterns, with forty men killed and double that number wounded.

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LXV. So unexpected a defeat spread universal dismay among the loyal part of the community, who, confiding in the boastful promises of Hawley, and the high character of the veterans he commanded, looked forward to a battle as to certain victory. It created dissension, recrimination, and animosity among the rebel chiefs, who had allowed so complete an advantage to elude their grasp when apparently within their reach. Lord George Murray was blamed for detaining any of his men a moment after the enemy was broken; he accused the commander of the second line for not coming up instantly, to enable him to advance without the danger of being outflanked; and Sullivan, the adjutant-general, was reproached for being more attentive to his safety than to his duty: while all allowed that a like favourable concurrence of circumstances—a surprise, a storm, and an attack up hill with similar dragoons, was not again to be expected.

Dissension
among the
rebel chiefs.

LXVI. Such was the impression upon the king's troops, that had the rebels vigorously followed them, it is probable that this second army might have been as completely dissipated as the first; but the weather, which had contributed so much to the victory, proved injurious to the victors. On entering Falkirk, two regiments were ordered after the fu-

The vic-
tory not
improved.

* Sir Robert Munro, when deserted by his own, was attacked by six of Lochiel's men, and defended himself for some time. Two he killed with his half pike, but a seventh coming up fired a pistol into his groin, which brought him down, and the highlander gave him two strokes in the face with his sword, one over the eyes and the other in the mouth, which finished this valiant man. His brother, a surgeon, a great naturalist, who had returned from India with a handsome fortune, and had accompanied the colonel from affection alone to the field, fell in the same manner. They were both honourably interred next day in the churchyard of Falkirk, by order of the earl of Cromarty, and the chiefs of the Macdonnells attended their funeral.—Culloden Papers, p. 268. Doddridge, in his Appendix to the Life of Colonel Gardiner, has some interesting particulars respecting the brothers.

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gitives, but the love of plunder had detained so many among the baggage, and the desire of shelter so thinned the ranks of those that remained, that not above fifty could be kept together, and it was with difficulty a sufficient number could be mustered to mount the necessary guards. Next day the rain continued to pour in torrents, and all remained quiet in their quarters; only the earl of Kilmarnock brought in a few prisoners he had picked up among the stragglers upon the road, with whom he returned to "the prince's" head quarters in Falkirk from Callendar house, where he had spent the night. His zeal gave rise to a scuffle that exhibited a curious trait of clanship, and the nature of highland subordination in an army, when it interfered with the honour or privileges of the kindred.

Traits of
clanship in
the rebel
army.

LXVII. Leaving the prisoners with a guard in the street, his lordship went to Charles to present him the list, and they came together to a window. While looking at them, a soldier passing in the royal uniform attracted the chevalier's notice, and he pointed him out to lord Kilmarnock, who instantly left the room, and going up to the fellow, now opposite the window, knocked off his hat and set his foot on the black cockade. Immediately a highlander interfered, and pushed his lordship back, who, presenting a pistol at the clansman's head, was in return saluted with a dirk at his breast; but a crowd of others interposing instantly, prevented mischief and drove away the earl. The highlander with the dirk then lifting up the hat, put it upon the soldier's head, and he was carried away in triumph. The enigmatical pantomime was thus explained by a highland officer to the prisoners: "The soldier in the royal uniform is a Cameron. Yesterday, when your army was defeated, he joined his clan. The Camerons received him with great joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and every thing else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The highlander who first interposed and drew his dirk on lord Kilmarnock, is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his near relatives: and in my opinion," continued the officer, "no colonel nor general in the prince's army can take that cockade out of

his hat except Lochiel himself.”* A more unfortunate illustration of the same principle occurred the same day. Colonel Æneas Macdonnel, Glengarry’s second son, was accidentally shot by one of the Keppoch tribe, who was cleaning his gun. The young chieftain, when dying, convinced of the poor fellow’s innocence, earnestly requested that no harm might be done him; yet the kindred insisted; and although the unfortunate man was also a Macdonnel, it was found necessary to put him to death to appease their senseless fury.†

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LXVIII. For such intractable spirits idleness was ruin, and his councillors urged Charles to follow up the blow, and again take possession of the capital, before the troops or the people had recovered from their consternation; but his engineers persuaded him that Stirling could not possibly hold out, and he preferred the chance of taking that fortress to the almost certainty of destroying the army. He returned with his guards to Bannockburn, leaving lord George Murray with the highland regiments at Falkirk as formerly, and the lowlanders and foreign auxiliaries resumed the siege. The unskilfulness of his engineers became every day more apparent; the trenches advanced slowly, but from their exposed situation, the workmen were severely annoyed; and the only part of the army that had either regular discipline or experience—the Irish picquets—were sacrificed in a service which, even could the place have been taken, was at the best of very secondary moment. At length an unfinished battery on the north side was opened with a brisk fire from three pieces of cannon to try its effect; when Blackney—who had allowed them to proceed in that quarter without interruption, where he knew they could do him little harm—answered M. Mirabelle so effectually, that in less than half an hour his guns were dismounted, his battery abandoned, and the labour of three weeks “demolished like a castle of cards.” The destruction of the battery terminated the siege of the castle.

They re-
new the
siege of
Stirling
castle.

Raise it.

LXIX. Left without molestation, the royal army, whose scattered members found a resting place at Linlithgow, reached Edinburgh on Saturday evening, and Hawley, whose igno-

* Home’s Hist. chap. vi.
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† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 803.
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Hawley re-
turns to
Edinburgh.

rance and presumption had been the principal if not the sole cause of the disaster, assembled a court martial in order to direct public attention to the minor culprits, several of whom were punished. But whether, owing to fortune or friends, his own conduct escaped without investigation, though the promised reinforcements, which would have rendered him superior in number to the enemy, and in all probability enabled him to achieve a victory, had arrived in the neighbourhood before his return. To keep him in countenance, the officers who had been taken at Prestonpans, and confined in the north were liberated by some armed inhabitants of Dundee, and conducted to the capital, to congratulate their brother in misfortune.

Cumber-
land arrives
at Holy-
rood.

LXX. Whether from prudence or orders, Hawley did not attempt to measure his sword again in a hurry with the rebels; he remained to receive the duke of Cumberland, who, when the news of the action at Falkirk reached London, had been ordered by his majesty to Scotland to assume the command. His royal highness arrived at Holyrood on the 30th, at three o'clock in the morning, and having inspected the troops the same day, marched on the next to meet the enemy; and the soldiers, whose spirits were raised by the confidence he expressed in them, and who were disgusted with Hawley, cheerfully set out to retrieve their character under the auspices of their new leader. They left Edinburgh in two columns, the one under the duke by the way of Linlithgow,* the other led by general Huske by the sea coast, through Borrowstounness, to unite at Falkirk, where they expected to encounter the insurgents.

Marches
west.

Charles
desires to
give battle.

LXXI. Charles himself appears to have longed for a battle, perhaps imagining that in the vicinity of Bannockburn he would realize the chimerical dream of the jacobites, and authenticate upon the same field his fancied resemblance to THE BRUCE; his officers had agreed to indulge him, but the reinforcements his opponents had received, and the expected arrival of the royal duke, induced them to alter their

* Linlithgow palace, the noblest in Scotland, if not in Britain, was set on fire wilfully, as generally believed, by some of the ruffians who formed part of the king's troops, and by whom it had insultingly—such is the sacrilege of war—been used as a barrack.

opinions, particularly when, upon an examination of the clan regiments, they found them reduced nearly one half by desertion. The resolution to fight had been taken, and a plan of the engagement shown to Charles on the twenty-eighth, with which he was highly delighted, sat up late that night, and was unusually gay. Next morning early, lord George Murray's aid-de-camp brought to Bannockburn the result of a council of war that had been held on the preceding evening at Falkirk; it was an address from the chiefs to Charles advising a retreat to the north. "We are certain," say they, "that a vast number of the soldiers of your royal highness's army are gone home since the battle of Falkirk; and notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent: and as we are afraid Stirling castle cannot be taken so soon as was expected, if the enemy should march before it fall into your royal highness's hands, we can foresee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy. For these reasons, we are humbly of opinion, that there is no way to extricate your royal highness, and those who remain with you, out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the highlands, where we can usefully employ the remainder of the winter by taking and mastering the forts of the north; and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer that end, and hinder the enemy from following us in the mountains in this season of the year; and in spring, no doubt but an army of ten thousand effective highlanders can be brought together, and follow your royal highness wherever you think proper. This will disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved of by your royal highness's friends both at home and abroad. If a landing should happen in the mean time, the highlanders would immediately rise either to join them or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere."

Chiefs advise a retreat to the north.

LXXII. This address was signed by some of the most tried, faithful, and brave adherents of the Stuart cause, at the head of whom were lord George Murray, Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clanranald; yet because they would not consent, with five

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Charles re-
luctantly
consents.

thousand men—the whole that now remained together—to meet double their number, and to expect another miracle to be wrought in their favour, Charles, when he had read their remonstrance, though urged with the most respectful professions of attachment for his person, and though it proposed the only plan that could have saved the flower of his army from immediate ruin, struck his head like a furious child against the wall till he staggered ! inveighed violently against lord George Murray, and exclaimed, “good God, have I lived to see this !” His tutor, Sheridan, was immediately sent to the chiefs to persuade them to comply with the frantic wishes of their prince, but they refused to sacrifice themselves and their followers merely for his whim in so hopeless a contest. Keppoch and several others returned with the tutor, to re-urge the necessity under which they were compelled to act, and Charles was constrained sullenly to accede to their determination.* He did so, however, in a manner that sufficiently expressed his unwillingness, and in showing his displeasure at being thwarted, he betrayed equally his contempt for the comfort, as he had formerly evinced his disregard for the lives of the men.

LXXIII. February 1st, at eight o'clock, was appointed for the army to assemble at head quarters ; and in order to prevent a surprisal, parties under the orders of Kerr of Graden had been established between and Larbert to give notice of any movement on the part of the enemy. Lord George Murray had directed that, before marching, the clothes furnished by the city of Glasgow should be distributed among them, and directed this to be done at an earlier hour, at the Old Green Yards, St. Ninians, whither he went to superintend the delivery ; but after waiting a considerable time and but few appearing, he sent to inquire the cause, when he learned that the prince and the army had marched off two hours before ! then, as he had no means of carrying away the articles, he let those who were present take what they wanted, and left or destroyed the rest. The same morning, in the hurry, by intention or ac-

* Appendix to Home's History, No. 30. John Hay's Account of the Retreat. *ib.* No. 40.

cident, the powder magazine in St. Ninians' church, containing seven thousand weight of gunpowder, was destroyed, and several individuals lost their lives; the whole windows in the village were broken, and the shock, like that of an earthquake, was felt at many miles distance. A number of the cannon which they could not carry off, were spiked and thrown into the Forth, before the rebels broke up from Stirling, and several were left by the army as they retraced their steps across the fords at Frew towards Dunblane; there they halted, Charles sleeping at Drummond castle. Next day they arrived at Crief, and a council was held at Fairnton. Want of provisions rendering it expedient for the army to separate, it was there agreed that "his highness," with the clans, should take the highland road, and the lowland troops with the horse, march by the coast—to meet again at Inverness.*

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Magazine
at St. Nin-
ians blown
up.

March of
the rebels.

LXXIV. At the time the highlanders set out for the north, the duke of Cumberland was approaching Falkirk, and the explosion of their magazine confirming the reports he had heard of their retreat, he despatched the Argyleshire highlanders and dragoons under general Mordaunt, to pursue; but whether the highlanders had marched too fast, or the general too slow, he found them beyond his reach, and contented himself with taking possession of Stirling, where the duke himself arrived next day. The royal army was detained till the fourth, repairing the bridge which general Blackney had destroyed to prevent communication between the north and the insurgents in the south; and the highlanders, who had thus gained three days upon their pursuers, were at liberty to proceed with great deliberation. So much so that Charles amused himself in hunting or fowling among the braes of Athole, for some days; and a number of his followers from the neighbourhood of Dunkeld, seized the opportunity of returning to their homes, whence many had been most unwillingly and most cruelly dragged. Lord George Murray evacuated Perth about the same time his royal highness left Stirling, and left Montrose about the time he entered Crief.

Royal army
arrives at
Stirling.

Charles de-
serted by
some of his
followers.

* Lochart Papers, vol. ii. p. 487, *et seq.*

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Cumber
land at
Perth.Excesses
of his
troops.Re-visits
Edinburgh.

LXXV. From Crief Cumberland proceeded to Perth, but the season of the year, and the appearance of the country, not being very inviting, he gave up all idea of overtaking the rebels, whose rapid movements bade defiance to his tactics. For a short time he fixed his head quarters in that town, in order to rest his troops after their long and fatiguing marches, and to make himself acquainted with the nature of the novel warfare in which he was engaged. Strong detachments were placed as advanced posts at Dunkeld and Blair in Athol, under sir Andrew Agnew, and at Castle Menzies on the other side of Tay bridge, under lieutenant-colonel Leighton, who lived at free quarters upon the produce of the country as long as it lasted.* In their retreat through England, the highlanders had very unceremoniously supplied their necessities, but their depredations were light in comparison of the destructive retaliation with which the north was about to be visited. Parties were sent to scour the disaffected districts of the country, and under pretext of searching for arms, the most wanton excesses were committed; plate and other valuables were carried off from the houses, and the horse, sheep, and black cattle driven from the fields, not only of known or suspected rebels, but from absentees of approved loyalty, who were denounced by the artful malice of their jacobite neighbours; and the plunder thus acquired was publicly sold by military auction for the private behoof of the captors, if not appropriated to the use of the army.

LXXVI. Leaving his troops thus laudably employed, the duke returned to Edinburgh to meet with the prince of Hesse, who had landed in Leith with five thousand Hessians, to replace the Dutch auxiliaries obliged to return to the con-

* "I staid at Blair castle nearly a month, in which time our detachment plundered all the houses which were concerned with the rebels for five or six miles compass. The most noted were lady Lude, a sister of lord Nairn's, lady Fascalley Blairfittedy, several Robinsons, Stuarts, &c. I believe most of the country here about deserved the same treatment, for I fancy there were few that were not rebelliously inclined. We got plenty of oxen, sheep, goats, and horses; also plenty of forage and oatmeal, bedding, &c."—*Letters of an English medical officer with his royal highness's army in Scotland. Lond. 1746.* The writer was with the detachment under sir A. Agnew.

tinent, and to consult with regard to their disposal.* By another revolution in the cabinet, the duke of Newcastle was restored to office, and the duke of Argyle regained his influence. Lord Milton, his minion, of course became again the agent of a party, which if not hostile, never acted cordially with the president, who was fated, during the whole struggle, to be either left to his own resources, or very feebly seconded in his efforts. A council of war being held at Milton House to consult respecting future operations; the opinion of the officers was, that the rebels would never offer battle to the army of his royal highness, but upon their appearance in the north would disperse. Lord Milton alone dissented. He wished that Cumberland in person should have the honour of putting down the rebellion; and when urged to offer his sentiments, said, he thought, though dispersed among the wilds during winter, they would assemble in the spring, and not submit without one struggle at least; and the duke, acceding to his lordship's views, departed for Perth next morning. In the latter end of February, moving forward the main body, his grace fixed his head-quarters at Aberdeen on the 27th; having previously seized several gentlemen's houses in Athole, which were occupied as outposts by the Argyleshire highlanders and small parties of the regular troops. The prince of Hesse with the auxiliaries, took possession of Perth on his departure, and blockaded the highland passes.

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Council of
 war held at
 Milton
 house.

He returns
 to the
 north.

Hessians
 occupy
 Perth.

LXXXVII. Had the advice of the lord president been attended to, the rebels would have been frustrated in their endeavours to prolong the contest, or even to attempt another engagement. Writing to the marquis of Tweeddale, secretary of state, on the first news of their retreating from England, with an accuracy more like narrative than conjec-

* The Dutch, who were bound to furnish his majesty with six thousand auxiliaries, happened at the time when they were required, to have six thousand men who had formed part of two garrisons in Flanders—and who, on the surrender of these places, became bound not to serve for twelve months against the French king or his allies—lying useless on hand, these, as they could not be disposed of to better advantage, were sent to Britain; but as French troops were now engaged in that quarter, the French king demanded that they should be recalled in terms of the bargain, and they were accordingly ordered home.

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leave it on any pretext, however high his rank ; and at the same time ordered fifteen hundred men to hold themselves in readiness at a moment's warning. Having assembled this body of troops without noise, he put himself at their head, and instantly set off, planning his march so as to arrive at Moy about eleven o'clock at night. Notwithstanding all his precautions, however, some of Charles's partizans contrived to convey intelligence to Moy of the intended surprise,* and the blacksmith of the village adjoining undertook to defeat it. He assured Charles that he might rest secure, there was no necessity for his leaving the castle, and that he might keep himself perfectly easy ; but the prince preferred the security of the neighbouring mountains, and left the blacksmith to pursue his plan. He accordingly assembled about a dozen of his companions, and advanced to some distance on the Inverness road, to await the arrival of the detachment. Having posted them at some distance from each other, with directions not to fire till he gave the alarm, and then not together, but one after another ; as soon as he heard the earl approach, he called out loudly, Here come

* There are various accounts of the manner in which this intelligence was conveyed. Home says, "Of this design against her guest lady Macintosh was informed in the evening by two letters from Inverness, one it is said from Fraser of Gorthleg, and one from her own mother, who was a whig, but did not like that Charles should be killed or taken prisoner in her daughter's house."—Chap. ix. Johnstone gives the following story : "While some English officers were drinking in the house of Mrs. Baillie, an innkeeper in Inverness, and passing the time till the hour of their departure, her daughter, a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who happened to wait on them, paid great attention to their conversation, and from certain expressions dropped from them, she discovered their design. As soon as the generous girl was certain as to their intentions, she immediately left the house, escaped the town, notwithstanding the vigilance of the sentinels, and took the road to Moy, running as fast as she was able, without shoes or stockings, which, to accelerate her progress, she had taken off, in order to inform the prince of the danger that menaced him. She reached Moy quite out of breath before lord Loudon ; and the prince with difficulty escaped in his robe-de-chambre, nightcap, and slippers, to the neighbouring mountains, where he passed the night in concealment. This dear girl, to whom the prince owed his life, was in great danger of losing her own from her excessive fatigue on this occasion ; but the care and attention she experienced restored her to life, and her health was re-established."—*Memoirs*, pp. 145, 146. All agree respecting the blacksmith. That lady Macintosh knew and kept the secret from Charles, I think rather apocryphal.

the villains, and shouted Camerons, Macdonalds, advance ! spare not ! give no quarter ! and the party firing on the instant, from both sides of the wood, killed the drummer, who was in front. The earl of Loudon's men, perceiving that they were discovered, and not knowing the number of their opponents, struck with a sudden panic, took to their heels, and trampling down each other in their confusion, never stopped to look behind till they reached Inverness.

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LXXX. Next day Charles collected his scattered forces, and proceeded to that town, intending to revenge the insult ; but Loudon, accompanied by the lord president, retreated to Ross-shire, by Kessoc ferry, and prevented all pursuit by carrying with him the boat craft of every description to the north side. The rebels entered Inverness just as the others were leaving it, and commenced besieging the castle. It was a square building, fortified in the modern style, with four bastions, but was rather a barrack than a fortress, though honoured with the title of Fort George. Lord Loudon, at his departure, had thrown in two independent and one regular company, who being well provisioned, and having plenty of ammunition, might have kept the enemy at bay for a time ; but some French officers beginning to make at least the form of a siege, the garrison surrendered, and the rebels obtained upwards of one hundred barrels of beef, sixteen pieces of cannon, and a considerable quantity of military stores. The fortifications were immediately destroyed. The artillery found in Fort George enabled them to undertake the siege of Fort Augustus, which was conducted by the Irish engineers, and finished in a few days ; the garrison, consisting of about one hundred and fifty men, were made prisoners of war.

Lord Loudon retreats to Ross.

Charles enters Inverness—takes Fort George,

and Fort Augustus.

LXXXI. The rebel head quarters were now established at Inverness, and thither their grand divisions were concentrating. Two French vessels had arrived at Aberdeen and Peterhead with money, ammunition, arms, and a picquet of the cavalry of Fitz-James dismounted. This seasonable supply, escorted by that portion of the army under lord George Murray, which left Aberdeen on the approach of Cumberland, joined “ his highness ” in the end of the month ; and while the state of the weather detained the duke in win-

Supplies arrive from France.

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ter quarters, the rebels, increased in numbers, dispersed the earl of Loudon's armament, and reduced the greater part of the posts in Athole from whence they could be annoyed, or which prevented their recruits from assembling.

LXXXII. In the beginning of March, the earl of Cromarty was sent to dislodge lord Loudon from Ross-shire, but his lordship stood his ground till the duke of Perth and lord George Murray arrived with the Macdonalds of Clanranald and a battalion of the Camerons, when he retreated across the Firth of Tain to Sutherland, quartering his troops in the town of Dornoch and the surrounding country. Their pursuers then encamped at Fairntosh, whence lord George returned to head quarters. The duke of Perth, on whom the sole command devolved, having collected a number of boats at the town of Tain, directly opposite Dornoch, ordered part of his men to embark, and while they crossed under cover of a fog, he marched with the remainder round the head of the frith, and uniting within a short distance of Dornoch, surprised about two hundred of lord Loudon's regiment on their march, and took their major, [Mackenzie] with several other gentlemen, and about sixty privates, prisoners. Lord Loudon, obliged in consequence of this disaster to decline a meeting, retreated through Sutherland to the sea coast, and embarked, along with the president, Macleod, and six hundred men, for the Isle of Skye; a small party, with a few officers, retiring to lord Reay's country, where they soon after accidentally assisted in a most important piece of service.

Loudon
surprised.

Retires to
Skye.

LXXXIII. Lord George Murray contrived the surprisal of the posts in Athole, and upon his return from Sutherland hastened to carry his project into execution; the scheme was entirely adapted for the highland character, and as admirably executed. Taking with him one regiment of the Athole brigade, he was joined by Cluny in Badenoch with three hundred Macphersons, who had previously secured the passes, to prevent any communication between that district and Athole. About dusk in the evening of the sixteenth, the united force, amounting to seven hundred men, set out for Dalwhinnie, without being informed of their leader's intentions, till they reached Dalnaspidel, on the cou-

finest of Athole, where they halted, and being divided into a number of small parties, lord George addressed them in a speech, and explained to them the nature of the service. They were to make a simultaneous attack, under cover of the darkness, upon every post in Athole occupied by regular troops or Argyleshire highlanders, and to every one who should surprise a sentinel he promised a guinea of reward. The bridge of Bruar, two miles north of Blair, was appointed as the place at which all the parties should re-assemble, after having executed their orders, where lord George Murray and Cluny were to wait their arrival. Before day-break their object was gained, thirty posts being surprised and carried. At one, Bun-Rannoch, the Argyleshire men were engaged in a lyke-wake,* and were made prisoners in the midst of their revolting festivity without a shot being fired; at another, Blairfetty, the sentinel was seized, and the enemy were in the house before its tenants knew of their approach. Wherever the highlanders were the keepers, the stations were taken without bloodshed, but where the regulars were stationed, their better discipline occasioned some trifling loss; at Kinnachin, the sentinel was on his guard and gave the alarm, but after a short resistance, in which one man was

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Lord
George
Murray
surprises
the posts
in Athole

* "This ancient custom most probably originated," Dr. Jamieson thinks, "from a silly superstition with respect to the danger of a corpse being carried off by some of the agents of the invisible world, or exposed to the ominous liberties of brute animals. But in itself it is certainly a decent and proper one, because of the possibility of the person considered as dead being only in a swoon. Whatever was the original design, the *lik-wake* seems to have very early degenerated into a scene of festivity, extremely incongruous to the melancholy occasion. Pennant gives an amusing account of the strange mixture of sorrow and joy in the *late-wakes* of our highlanders. The late-wake is a ceremony used at funerals. The evening after the death of any person, the relations and friends of the deceased meet at the house, attended by the bagpipe or fiddle; the nearest of kin, be it wife, son, or daughter, opens the melancholy ball dancing and greeting—i. e. crying violently—at the same time; and this continues till day-light, but with such gambols and frolics among the younger part of the company, that the loss which occasions them is often more than supplied by the consequences of that night. If the corpse remain unburied for two nights, the same rites are renewed. Thus, Scythian like, they rejoice at the deliverance of their friends out of this life of misery. It was not alone in Scotland that these watchings degenerated into excess. Such indecencies we find long ago forbidden by the church. *In vigiliis circa corpora mortuorum ventantur choræ et cantilenæ seculares ludi et alii turpes et fatui.* Synod Wigorn. An. 1240." Pennant's Tour in S. 1769, p. 112. Jamieson's Dict.

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Meets with
resistance
at Blair.

killed, the assailants broke into the house, and made the party prisoners. At Lude, occupied by a party of the 21st regiment, the sentinel was killed, and the rest surrendered; but at Blair Inn, where their officers were quartered, the resistance was more determined and successful, and the whole of these gentlemen made good their retreat to the castle. At their arrival, sir Andrew Agnew on the instant got his garrison under arms, and in return had very nearly surprised the surprisers, who only escaped by one of those fortunate incidents which a happy genius, aided by cool presence of mind, is able in this species of warfare to turn to advantage. About day-dawn, before any of the parties had come in, a highlander from the town of Blair brought intelligence to the bridge of Bruar of sir Andrew's approach. Lord George and Cluny had then with them only twenty-five privates and a few elderly gentlemen, but they had all the colours and pipers of the parties;—to resist was impossible, and to retire was destruction. "If I quit my post," said lord George, "all the parties I have sent out as they come in will fall into the hands of the enemy." There was no time for hesitating; already the streaks of light upon the mountains announced the near approach of sun-rise. In this emergency, looking anxiously around him, he observed an unfinished fold-dike, intended as a fence for cattle, of considerable length, that intersected a field near the bridge. Thither he instantly led his men, and drawing them up behind the dike, at a distance one from another, to make a formidable appearance, he placed the colours in front, ordered the pipers to keep their eyes fixed upon the road from Blair, and the moment they saw the soldiers, to strike up with all the instruments at once. Just as the sun rose, the regiment came in sight, and at that moment the whole band saluted them with their loudest blast of bagpipe music, while the officers and men drew their swords and brandished them about their head. Sir Andrew, who was near-sighted, after gazing a while in silence at the spectacle, faced his men to the right about and marched back to the castle of Blair.

Stratagem
of lord
George's.

LXXXIV. Shortly after, several of the parties arrived, having performed their service in excellent style, and made

three hundred prisoners, without the loss of a single man. Lord George now followed Agnew with about four hundred, and invested the house of Blair. Blair Castle was then an irregular building, with walls of great thickness, but no siege having been anticipated, it was ill prepared, having only some cheese and bread for the men, and very little provender for the horses, but they had a well within the house which supplied them with water; their ammunition amounted to only sixteen round of ball-cartridges per man. The investment was so sudden, that it was with difficulty the guard escaped being intercepted when falling back into the castle. But their commander was a man of the most determined character, and every precaution was taken to defend the place to the last extremity; the doors were barricaded; the garrison, about two hundred and seventy, rank and file, were placed under proper officers in the different apartments, with orders to be sparing of their shot, except in case of an actual attack, and put upon an allowance of a pound of biscuit, a quarter pound of cheese, and a bottle of water per diem.

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1746.

He invests
the castle
of Blair.

LXXXV. Early in the morning of next day, lord George, who well knew the governor's choleric temper, jocularly sent him a written summons to surrender, by a handsome highland girl, the maid of the Inn, his officer's rendezvous, at Blair: she delivered her message with great earnestness, and strongly advised a compliance, as the highlanders were a thousand strong, and would batter the castle about their ears. The young officers relished the joke, and desired her to return, and tell those gentlemen that they would be soon driven away, when they would become her visitors as formerly; but she insisted on the paper being delivered to the governor, and a superannuated kind of a lieutenant prevailed upon to carry it. No sooner, however, did "the peerless knight" hear something of it read, than he furiously drove the lieutenant from his presence, vociferating after him a volley of epithets against lord George, and threatening to shoot through the head any other messenger he should send; which the girl overhearing, was glad to take back the summons to her employer, who, with lord Nairn, Cluny, and some other chiefs, were waiting in the church-

Sends a
summons
to sir
Andrew.

His beha-
viour on re-
ceiving it.

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yard to receive her, and appeared highly diverted with her report. Lord George, who had only two small cannon, threw some hot balls that did no mischief, and he waited the progress of famine; which must very soon have forced the garrison to surrender, or attempt to break through and try to gain the king's troops at castle Menzies.

Informa
the earl of
Crawford
of his si-
tuation.

Lord
George re-
tires.

Sir An-
drew re-
lieved.

LXXXVI. Before making any such desperate effort, sir Andrew resolved, if possible, to acquaint the earl of Crawford, who was with the Hessians, of his situation, and Mr. Wilson, the duke of Athole's gardener, undertook the perilous journey. The great door being unbarricadoed, and opened without noise, he slipped out unperceived by the rebels, and proceeded on horseback slowly to the bottom of the avenue that led to the high road; when being discovered and fired at, the soldiers in the castle directed their muskets to the places whence the firing proceeded, and it ceased, which the garrison hoped was a mark that Wilson had escaped; but next day, to their grief, they perceived a highlander mounted on the horse that he had rode, and understood that he was either a prisoner or shot. Still, however, no thoughts of a surrender were entertained, and they were looking forward with no very agreeable sensations, when, to their surprise, the girl from Blair Inn brought them the joyful intelligence that the highlanders had gone off for Dalnacardoch and Badenoch. The governor, dreading a stratagem, would not allow them to relax, till on the second of April an officer arrived from the earl of Crawford, with intelligence that his lordship, with some cavalry, was on the road, and might be expected in an hour; when the garrison, being drawn out, the earl was received by their eccentric commander, with this compliment, "My lord, I am very glad to see you, but by all that's good you have been very dilatory—we can give you nothing to eat." His lordship answered laughingly, "I assure you, sir Andrew, I made all the haste I possibly could, and I hope that you and the officers will do me the honour to partake with me of such fare as I can give you." The invitation was too welcome to the half-starved officers to be refused, and they adjourned to the summer-house in the garden, where a plentiful dinner was provided, and excellent wines. They then learned that their friend Wilson

had performed his service, but his horse, startled by the firing, had thrown him, and while he made his escape on foot, the highlanders made a prize of the animal ; they were also informed of another cause of delay : lord Crawford had in vain attempted to bring up the Hessians to their relief, but so great was their terror of being attacked in the awful pass of Killikrankie by the swords of the wild mountaineers, that they absolutely refused to go beyond it.*

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1746.
Hessians
refuse to
advance

LXXXVII. Fort William was more formally besieged, but with as little success. Expecting a visit from the rebels, the garrison had been strengthened by three hundred Argyleshire men, with a good engineer and a detachment of the regulars, besides which, two sloops of war, the *Serpent* and *Baltimore*, had been ordered to cruise on the station. The command of the sea secured supplies, and their superior skill—although neither of the parties were prodigies in the art of war—enabled them to baffle all the attempts of the besiegers, till the urgency of affairs called them off—like their friends at Blair castle—to another quarter. In the latter end of February, a rebel force, to the amount of fifteen hundred men, including the French picquets and a train of artillery, sat down before the fortress ; Brigadier Stapleton superintending the operations, Lochiel commanding the

Rebels be-
siege Fort
William.

* Genuine Narrative of the Remarkable Blockade, &c. of Blair Castle, &c. by a Subaltern Officer [ensign, afterward's general Melville] who acted in its defence. *Scots Mag.* 1808. Another writer mentions, that during the siege, the Hessians marched to relieve the castle, and some of the Athol men were advanced as far down as Dunkeld to get intelligence, and to guard that with other passes on that river, there were frequent skirmishes between them and the Hessian hussars.—*Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 515. In one of these actions, the highlanders took a lieutenant prisoner. "Next day," continues Johnstone, "lord George sent back the officer with a letter to the prince of Hesse, in which he demanded, in the name of prince Charles, a cartel for the exchange of prisoners on both sides, adding, that if he would not grant it, all the Hessians who might fall into our hands should be put to the sword. The prince of Hesse communicated the letter of lord George to the duke of Cumberland, representing the demand as reasonable and just, but the duke would not hear of any cartel. The prince declared instantly that without a cartel no Hessian should stir from Perth, and he added, that he was not so much interested in the quarrel between the houses of Stuart and Hanover, as to sacrifice his subjects in combating with men driven to despair. The prince kept his word ; having always remained at Perth with his Hessians, and refusing to advance to the north of Scotland to join the English army, as the duke of Cumberland wished him to do."—*Memoirs of the Rebellion*, p. 158-9.

BOOK XXVIII. highlanders, consisting chiefly of his own clan, with the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glenco, and the Stuarts of Appin. As preparatory operations, and to prevent any succour from Inverary, they seized the narrows of the Carron and the pass of Ardgour; but an attack by the boats of the sloops of war and a boat belonging to the fort, drove them from the post, and the ferry houses on both sides of the water were burned, which leaving the passage open, captain Scott threw himself into the place, and conducted the defence under Campbell the governor.

1746.

The garrison makes successful sallies.

LXXXVIII. Occasional firing occurred on both sides till the twenty-first of March, when the besiegers' batteries began to play; the day following they sent a summons by a French Drummer, but he was not permitted to enter the garrison. The cannonading was then resumed, but on the succeeding days the besieged made several sallies, and generally with success; they seized some of the batteries of the besiegers, and even wasted the lands of the Macdonalds and Stewarts, carrying off the cattle and burning their houses, while parties from the sloops of war, in conjunction with some Argyleshire highlanders, destroyed the villages of Morven. These ravages, conducted with the utmost barbarity of highland warfare, stripping women and children, wasting the corn and houghing the cattle, were attributed chiefly to the Campbells, and were threatened to be retaliated upon their heads by Lochiel and Keppoch, who, "with hearts full of revenge," declared their determination, if they obtained "his royal highness's leave," to enter their country and to act at discretion, "to hang a Campbell for every house that should be burned by them." Disclaiming war with women and the brute creation, Lochiel added, that as his people had been the first who felt the cowardly brutality of their Campbell friends, he only desired to live to have an opportunity of thanking them for it on the field;* but no opportunity was ever afforded them. After wasting their strength in useless endeavours, they were forced, early in April, to raise the siege abruptly, and retire from that district, leaving behind them the greater part of their battering train.

* Letter to the sheriff of Aird. Scots Magazine, 1746.

THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XXIX.

George II.—Duke of Cumberland prohibits pillaging the property of the rebels.—The campaign opens.—Roy Stuart retreats before Bland.—Rebels surprise a royal party at Keith.—Supplies coming to them captured.—Their distressing situation.—Royal army passes the Spey.—Charles retires to Culloden.—Chiefs averse to a battle there.—Unsuccessful attempt to surprise the royal army at Nairn.—Battle of Culloden.—Clan regiments retire unbroken; foreign troops surrender.—Charles retires to Gortuleg.—His interview with Lovat.—Rebels rally at Rathven.—Charles refuses to resume the command.—Royal army enters Inverness.—Earl of Cromarty defeated and taken prisoner.—Grants join the royalists.—Rejoicings on account of the victory.—Measures for preventing the re-assembling of the rebels.—Prisoners of rank sent to England.—Charles determines to return to France.—Money arrives.—Chiefs resolve on another rising.—Lovat's duplicity.—General Assembly; their address to Duke of Cumberland.—Ministers refuse to become informers against rebels.—Clans averse to another rising.—Rebel districts surrounded.—The castles and property destroyed.—Charles goes to the isles.—Conveyed by Flora Macdonald to Skye.—Lands at Boradale.—His narrow escapes.—His reception at Cluny's cage.—Reaches France.—Escape of the chiefs.—Fate of his principal adherents.—Lovat taken.—Peers attainted.—Trial and execution of the English rebels.—Case of James Dawson.—Trial of the Scottish peers; Kilmarnock and Balmerino executed.—Other executions at London.—Trials at Carlisle.—At York.—Attempt to hurt president Forbes with the government.—His efforts to restrain the outrages of the military.—Hawley erects a permanent gallows at Edinburgh.—Banners of the rebel chiefs burned at the Cross.—Trial of Lovat.—His execution.—Forfeited estates vested in the king for the public benefit.—Highland garb prohibited.—Disarming act rigidly enforced.—Important changes in law proceedings in Scotland.—Bill for abolishing heritable jurisdictions.—Act of grace.—Provost Stewart's trial for his conduct during the rebellion, and acquittal.—A printer punished for publishing a satirical poem on the occasion.—Death of President Forbes.—Dissensions among the Seceders; they divide into Burghers and Antiburghers.—Parliament.—The king recommends measures for consolidating internal peace.—Act regulating episcopacy in Scotland.—Peace with Spain.—1746-1748.

1. ONE of the most revolting features in intestine war is its thievish cruelty; and the royal forces in this respect certainly appear to have merited the palm of infamous superiority, even before the excesses they committed in the insolence of vic-

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George II.

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Duke of
Cumber-
land prohi-
bits pillag-
ing rebels'
property.

tory; but the duke of Cumberland, while he lay at Aberdeen, politically punished some of the marauders, and strictly prohibited any intermeddling with the property of rebels, till it should be fairly decided in the courts of law. Upon one occasion he exercised an ostentatious liberality, which was highly praised, but was unfortunately singular:—some detached parties having pillaged Gordon of Cowbairdie's house, his lady, by lord Forbes her father, petitioned the duke, who ordered a hundred guineas to be given her!

The cam-
paign
opens.Roy Stu-
art retreats
before
Bland.Rebels sur-
prise a roy-
al party at
Keith.Distribu-
tion of the
king's
forces.

11. During the winter campaign, which displayed the high and soldier-like qualities of the mountaineers for whatever required endurance of fatigue, privation, or courage, the duke of Cumberland, confessedly inferior in all these qualities except the last, distributed his forces during the severity of the season in sheltered cantonments, and waited the more genial approach of spring for putting forth his strength. Towards the middle of march general Bland advanced from Aberdeen to Old Meldrum, seventeen miles nearer the impetuous Spey, then without a bridge, and unfordable except in uncommonly dry weather; his orders were to attack the rebels in Strathbogie, where colonel Roy Stuart had a body of about a thousand foot and some horse; but the colonel, on his approach, withdrew to Fochabers, and Bland took possession of the quarters he had left. A detachment of this division, consisting of seventy highlanders of Argyle, and thirty of Kingston's horse, sent forward to Keith, was surprised by the rebels from Fochabers, who, surrounding the village, entered at both ends, and killed, or made prisoners of the whole party, except a cornet, five men, and two horses of Kingston's, who escaped; the highlanders who lay in the church defended themselves vigorously, and lost severely—their captain was among the killed.* After this little brilliant affair, the king's troops kept on the alert, and for several nights successively were under arms, afraid of another visit. The whole first line, consisting of six battalions, with Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons, assembled on the twenty-sixth in Strathbogie; and at the same date the remainder of

* Scots Magazine, 1746. Home, chap. ix. who follows pretty closely the accounts published in the Scots Magazine, gives the number as stated in the text. Chevalier Johnstone says 180 prisoners were taken on this occasion.

the royal force were thus disposed :—the reserve, consisting of three battalions, with five pieces of cannon under the command of brigadier Mordaunt, at Old Meldrum ; and the second line, consisting likewise of six battalions, and lord Mark Kerr's dragoons, remained at Aberdeen with the duke of Cumberland.

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III. Notwithstanding their partial glimpses of success, the prospects of the rebels were far from being pleasant: their numbers had increased, but their means of support had diminished. The promises of foreign invasion had failed, and even the slender supplies which single vessels could bring was precarious, as the numerous British cruisers scarcely ever failed to intercept them on their passage. The Hazard sloop which they had taken, and now named the Prince Charles, was at this time retaken under very aggravating circumstances. Being a remarkably quick sailer, she had made two or three lucky voyages to France, and was returning laden with arms, ammunition, and money, when she was descried by the Sheerness British ship of war, captain O'Brian, off Troup head, who immediately gave chase, and following her through the Pentland firth, after a running fight of five hours, at last drove her ashore in Tongue bay, Sutherland, where the crew and passengers, twenty officers, and one hundred and twenty sailors and soldiers, French, landed late in the evening. Lord Reay, with his men, and the party of lord Loudon's regiment, were most inopportunistically near the spot, and his lordship having obtained information respecting their numbers, despatched about fifty of each against them; they came up with the Frenchmen in the morning, who had forced a guide to lead them away during the night, and immediately attacked; the French returned their fire briskly, but could not stand the broadsword, and seeing at the same time a reinforcement advancing, surrendered, after six were killed and about as many wounded. As they were foreigners, they were put on board the Sheerness;—the spoil, besides military stores, contained nearly thirteen thousand pounds sterling in gold.*

Unpromising prospects of the rebels.

Hazard sloop of war with supplies taken by the Sheerness.

* The Hazard sloop of war had been cruising off Montrose while it was in possession of the rebels, and had burned some vessels of theirs in the harbour, which sorely annoyed them, as they could make no reprisal, till some time in

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Another
vessel tak-
en at Ork-
ney.

iv. Another vessel laden with the munitions of war, was taken two days after by the Sheerness. She was commanded by one Sinclair, who pretended that he was bound for Boston in New England, and forced into Stromness by stress of weather; there, six highlanders, and six Orkney-men in correspondence with the captain, not only seized her, but laid an embargo on twelve other vessels in the harbour, and with the assistance of a rebel party at Kirkwall, intended to appropriate them to the use of the chevalier; but intelligence having been transmitted to lord Reay, he communicated it to captain O'Brian, who relieved the merchantmen, and made an easy capture of the pretended Bostonian. Upon rendering this service, lord Reay, who considered himself no longer safe in his own county—the earl of Cromarty having threatened him with fire and sword—took a passage to Edinburgh by sea, as did lord Loudon's soldiers to Aberdeen.

Charles'
distressing
situation.

v. These losses—particularly that of the money—were severely felt by Charles, whose exchequer, verging to the last extremity, scarcely counted five hundred louis-dor's, and there was no hope of recruiting it, except by making another incursion into the low country. Shortly before this, he had contemplated such a project, and had sent pressing orders to Stapleton and Lochiel to bring the siege of Fort William to a close, and hasten through Argyleshire, while he with the rest of the army would descend upon Perth and

November she was becalmed in a thick fog off that town, and they seizing the opportunity, boarded her with a parcel of fishing-boats, and took her without resistance;—such dread did the broadsword of a highlander carry with it, till their “prince” himself broke the charm at Culloden.

A note to chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 158, says that “Mr. Young was informed by a gentleman from that part of the country, that the pillage in question was the foundation of a considerable fortune to one individual—as lord Reay's factor or steward he had the disposal of it, and the money being in boxes, he contrived to persuade the highlanders that the boxes were filled with shot. His family is now very opulent.” As the money, however, was known to be seized, and announced in all the papers of the time, this must either not have been the case, or there must have been more than the twelve or thirteen thousand pounds. It is scarcely probable that though the factor might deceive the common highlanders, he would be equally successful with the officers; nor were the government agents in 1745 less acute in scenting out a prize than afterwards.

form a junction. But Fort William was a more tedious business than they had supposed, and the Hessians were in possession of the outlets of the highlands. Now he was blockaded by the hostile forces, who were daily narrowing his circle, and there remained but a choice of desperate expedients:—to venture the chance of a pitched battle with an army formidable in cavalry and artillery, and headed by a prince who possessed their confidence—or to take to the natural fastnesses of the country and prolong the contest by a mountain warfare, in reliance on the faithless promises of France, the still more hopeless assistance of England, or the improbable possibility of forcing government to give them terms. The former was the wish of the highlanders, and the passage of the Spey was expected to decide it.

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VI. As soon as that river was reported fordable, Cumberland commenced his march northward along the coast, attended by a fleet of transports with provisions and stores, under the protection of some ships of war. The last division of his troops left Aberdeen on the eighth of April, and formed a junction with the others on the eleventh, at Cullen, having burned some non-juring meeting-houses by the way—an amusement the soldiers were extremely fond of—and hanged two rebel spies at Banff, one of whom was caught in the act of numbering the royal forces by notching. The duke's march had been unfortunately through the most disaffected part of the country; at Forfar they had recruited for the rebels almost in his presence,* and in the counties where he was, the loyal inhabitants were uniformly plundered. Cullen house, the earl of Findlater's seat, where he lodged, had been stripped, and the village pillaged just before he entered, which, although the natural consequence of being the seat of war, and what in other hostilities would have been called a just retaliation, gave his grace an unfavourable impression of Scotland, which his English friends were willing to cherish.

Cumber-
land march-
es north-
ward.

VII. From Cullen the army proceeded through Fochabers to the Spey, on approaching which they perceived the

* This was afterwards denied by the minister, session-clerk, and elders of the town. Scots Mag. 1746, p. 194.

BOOK XXIX. opposite bank covered with the enemy in martial array, and halted in expectation of having to force the river. Lord

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Arrives at
the spey.
Rebels re-
tire—he
passes the
river.

Arrives at
Nairn.

Rebels
retire to
Culloden.

John Drummond had been entrusted with its defence ; and had the whole of the rebel force been collected, it was the intention of their leaders to have fought the decisive action here—a situation much preferable to what was afterwards chosen—but they were scattered over the country, and lord John's detachment was too inferior to contest the point with any prospect of success. Upon the appearance of the royal army he withdrew to Elgin, and a few shot from lord Elcho's troop of life guards was the only opposition they met in crossing this formidable stream. It was passed at three places, by one division at a ford near Gormach, by another at Gordon castle, and by a third at Belly church. After the passage was effected, each soldier had a quartern of rum and a biscuit served out to him, and they lodged for that night near the river, the duke taking possession of the manse of Speymouth, which the ex-prince had so lately occupied. Next morning they pursued their route, and encamped at Alves, within four miles of Elgin. On the fourteenth they moved to Nairn,* the vanguard consisting of some companies of grenadiers, a party of Argyleshire men, and Kingston's light horse. The rebels continuing to retire before them, their rear guard composed of the Clanranalds, the French picquets, and Fitz-James's horse, frequently exchanged shot with the other, and at a little distance beyond Nairn, had very nearly come to an engagement ; but Charles unexpectedly appearing with a troop of his guards and the Macintosh regiment, the royal party fell back upon their main body at Nairn, and the rebels marched on to meet their companions at Culloden.

viii. When Charles heard of his antagonist's having received all his reinforcements and supplies, and that he was preparing to advance, he sent expresses to call in all his forces with the intention of meeting him. The sieges of Blair

* Hawley, who seems to have had a great predilection for hanging any unfortunate wretches over whom he had the power, ordered a poor fellow to be hanged at Nairn, "but in five minutes the duke, on hearing his innocence, ordered him to be cut down. Being recovered to his senses, he appears ignorant of the last scene he had gone through."—Henderson's *History of the Scottish Rebellion*, p. 317.

and Fort William were immediately raised, and the troops from the former were sent to Spey side; the latter were repairing to Inverness, whither the rest were daily expected, when the news of Cumberland's having passed the Spey broke upon them like a thunderbolt. Cumberland's motions had not been wonderfully rapid, yet they caught the rebels unprepared, who had not calculated upon his advance before they were ready to meet him, nor that he would have been allowed to cross the Spey till their troops were collected; for although the inequality of numbers forbade the hope that lord John Drummond should ultimately prevail, yet as the fords were critical, and some of them run in a zig-zag direction, exposing the enemy to be enfiladed in passing, it was thought that he might have been detained for some time on the banks, or severely annoyed before he got over.

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Movements of
the royals.

ix. None of these events happened, and at this hour of their necessity Lochiel and Keppoch had not arrived, the Macphersons with Cluny were in Badenoch, the master of Lovat with the Frazers were also in their own country, Mackinnon, Glengyle, and Barrisdale, were absent in Ross, and the earl of Cromarty, with seven hundred men, was in Sutherland. Charles, notwithstanding, upon learning that the enemy were advancing, announced his resolution to meet and give them battle; and when his advisers requested him only to delay for a short time till his scattered detachments came in, with a presumptuous confidence that insured ruin, he declared if he had only a thousand men he would attack them,* and accordingly marched out of Inverness with what force he had, leaving orders for such as should arrive to follow him to Culloden, on the north-west of Drummoissie muir; an extensive heath about five miles distant from Inverness, and not quite twelve from Nairn.

of their opponents.

x. After advancing on the Nairn road to meet the retreating column, the prince returned to Culloden. In the evening Lochiel arrived, and the whole bivouacked among the furze in the parks, Charles and his general officers lodging in the house. Next day Keppoch with his Macdonalds joined, and the army was drawn out on the muir in order of

* Lord George Murray's Letter to Hamilton of Bangour. Home's App. No. 42.
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Advice of
the chiefs.

battle, to receive the enemy. Lord George Murray and the principal officers were averse to engage on the plain, and proposed to retire to a strong ground on the other side of the water of Nairn, and there wait the duke of Cumberland, where if he dared venture to attack, every probability was against him, and they had no doubt the highlanders would give a very good account of him; or if he did not, they proposed to retire and draw him further into the mountains, where in some pass or glen a favourable opportunity would most assuredly offer for assaulting him; but Charles would not listen to any thing that had the appearance of avoiding an engagement.

Obstinacy
of Charles.

xI. About mid-day, lord George sent brigadier Stapleton and Kerr of Graden to view the ground on the other side the Nairn, and at three they returned with a report that it was exactly such as his lordship had described it. Still Charles was inflexible; he would not give up Inverness, and the enemy might pass without attacking them! the scarcity of provisions was also urged as an insuperable objection, but lord George insisted that notwithstanding every culpable neglect, there was still enough at Inverness for present use, part of which could be easily brought to their position, and the rest sent towards Loch Moy, where he meant to retire if the duke of Cumberland did not cross the water of Nairn, nor gave an opportunity of fighting to advantage. The chevalier insisted upon fighting where they were, and with surpassing folly preferred meeting in an open level an enemy who had a well served artillery, and a vast superiority in horse.

A surprise
planned.

xII. Then lord George, when he saw inevitable destruction staring them in the face, suggested a surprise. He had before considered it probable that Cumberland, in marching from Aberdeen, might rest a night at Nairn, and designing, if circumstances proved favourable, to make some such attempt, had consulted Anderson, the guide at Preston, who entirely approved it, and entreated him to explain his plan to some of the chiefs, particularly Lochiel; but this he refused, as he said they would be talking of it to their friends, and as success depended upon secrecy, that would entirely destroy the whole; now in desperation he communicated it to the prince. There being no appearance of Cumberland's

proach, it was taken for granted, that as it was his birth-day his soldiers would be celebrating the occasion, and remain carousing in camp. The men were therefore ordered to their quarters, and Charles, assembling the chiefs, produced as his own scheme, a night attack upon his camp at Nairn, before the troops should have recovered from their supposed debauch. No one, however, appeared to enter into the spirit of the proposal. Lord John Drummond and the duke of Perth expressly disapproved, and Lochiel drily remarked, the army next day would be stronger by fifteen hundred. but lord George Murray, still fearing an engagement on the muir, strongly seconded the motion, pointing out the advantages of a night attack, in rendering cannon and cavalry, of which he had a rational dread, almost useless, and it was agreed to make the attempt, as the best alternative in their circumstances. Lord George, glad at having carried this object, expressed great confidence of success, and assured Anderson that he considered the night attack as giving their army a much better chance than they had either at Preston or Falkirk.

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Advan-
tages

xiii. Eight o'clock was the hour fixed upon for marching, but by some gross mismanagement—which the highlanders attributed to their officers, and their officers attributed to John Hay, acting secretary to Charles, in absence of Murray, who was sick—the whole provisions served out to the army that day had not exceeded a biscuit per man; and between six and seven “they broke off in all directions in search of provisions and quarters.” When the officers went to muster their regiments, they found them sadly deficient; and when sent in search of the men, numbers of them refused to return, telling them they might shoot them if they chose, but they would not come back without meal. Not less than two thousand were absent from their army, inferior to Cumberland’s had every regiment been complete, and the officers expressed much unwillingness to set out; but Charles, who thought nothing impossible for highlanders, was bent upon it, and at the appointed hour issued his orders to march.

Obstacles.

xiv. The royal camp was nearly twelve miles direct east from Culloden, and the ground between flat and muirish,

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Proposed
attack.

with the river Nairn, running from west to east, along the south side; the road from Culloden to Nairn passed through the ground on the north, and the house of Kilraik or Kilravock stood near the road at nine miles distance. According to the proposed plan, the whole rebel army were to march in a body till they passed Kilravock, then the van, amounting to about one third of the army, led by lord George Murray, was to have crossed the river Nairn, and marched along the south side, the remaining two thirds continuing their route on the north, till both reached the hostile camp, when Murray was to descend from the south, while the other rushed in from the west, and, sword in hand, endeavour to sweep all before them. Some of the royal officers themselves afterwards declared, had it been properly carried into effect, the attack might have been to them extremely disastrous.

Night
march.

xv. Agreeably to this arrangement, the highland army set out in two columns, or rather one long line, with a break in the middle, lord George Murray in front at the head of the Athole brigade, lord John Drummond in the rear of the first column, Charles and the duke of Perth towards the rear of the whole, and men acquainted with the country were distributed throughout the line as guides. Almost immediately the night grew very dark, and as they avoided the road and passed through deep and wet ground, the highlanders in front were grievously retarded by the foreigners in the rear—the French picquets—who, sinking at every step, were unable to keep up with the march of the mountaineers. Before they reached Kilravock, the first column had been called upon fifty times to halt, and shortly after passing it at the small farm of Yellow Know, lord John Drummond, whose patience had been entirely exhausted by repeatedly whispering to lord George, at length burst out into angry expostulation with his lordship—"Why will ye go on? there is a gap in the line half a mile long—the men wou't come up."*

* Lord George Murray's Letter. Home, chap. ix. Lockhart Papers, vol. n. p. 509. Letter in the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 523, *et seq.* supposed to have been also written by lord George Murray. Lord George, in his letter to Hamilton of Bangour, omits lord John's expostulation, but says, '

xvi. A halt was immediately ordered, and the chiefs of the column proceeded to the front, when lord George put the question to them whether they thought it practicable to succeed in surprising the enemy? It was now two o'clock, the very latest hour at which the attack ought to have commenced, and they had only marched six miles; four still remained, several of the defiles through which they must pass were long and very narrow, and many of the men had left the ranks and lain down in the wood of Kilraik; it was palpable they could not advance more than two miles before daybreak, and for two miles at least they must march in the enemy's sight before they could come at them. All the principal officers agreed that the thing was impossible, and besides they were convinced they had not now half the men that had been drawn up the day before. Mr. Hepburn, one of the volunteers, said, that though it were daylight, the red coats would be drunk with solemnizing the duke's birth-day, but no one officer was of that opinion; they all agreed of the necessity of returning to Culloden, that the men might at least obtain some repose; a route which, from deference to Charles, they adopted, instead of adhering to their own sounder opinion, and retiring to strong ground, where they might probably have obtained at least a few hours sleep without interruption.* Their return was accomplished with much more expedition than their advance,

The design
frustrated.

of Perth, James, who was as keen as any man in the army, crossed the narrow road with his horse, and said it was impossible the line could join, if I did not make a halt." When halted, and when it was evident to the whole of the leaders that the scheme must be given up, lord George Murray took advantage of an equivocal message from Charles, and used his name as authorising a retreat, now become absolutely necessary; but there is every reason to believe that Charles did not intend to retreat, and that he was highly offended at it;—such, certainly, was the current opinion of the day. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 519. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 174. Henderson's Hist. p. 320. This letter was written to a person who had himself been in the rebellion, and as these people wished always to throw a kind of sacredness around the character of the prince, lord George endeavoured to excuse his palpable imbecility even where he could not avoid insinuating blame. Johnstone, who had no such blind veneration for this wayward fragment of a weak family, asserted without hesitation, his opinion of Charles, whom he roundly taxes both with pusillanimity and folly.

* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 519.

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Murray commanded the right, lord John Drummond the left. The second line consisting of the motley assortment of lowlanders, foreigners, some few highlanders, and the Irish picquets, was commanded by general Stapleton, having one troop of horse on the right and another on the left. The skeletons of lord Pitligo's and Strathallan's horse, and of Kilmarnock's foot guards, were styled a reserve under the earl: Charles himself, with a troop of horse guards, and one of Fitz-James's, took his station on a small eminence behind the right of the second line. The south flank was covered by the north wall of a large inclosure, which extended to the river Nairn; the left by a marsh: the cannon were placed in front.

The fight of
Culloden.

xxi. About twelve o'clock the royal army, at least eight thousand strong, made their appearance, marching also in two lines, with cavalry on each flank, and a strong body of reserve. When within reach, the cannon of the rebels began to play, but so unskilfully were they pointed, that only one officer was wounded by their shot. The duke's artillery answered with dreadful precision; and the highlanders, impatient at seeing their relatives fall unrevenged around them, broke out from the centre of the first line, and rushed impetuously upon the enemy, the right following. Cumberland, expecting an attack, had during the cannonade thrown forward Wolfe's regiment, so as to take them in flank; and now the clansmen were received with grape and musketry in front, and a raking fire from Wolfe's, which thinned their ranks, and made them reel for a moment; but instantly recovering, they burst upon the enemy with their accustomed fury, broke through the first line, and pushed on to the second. There they were assailed with another shower of musketry, and another range of bayonets remained to be broken; the bristled rampart was assaulted with fierce but destructive desperation—the bravest of the clansmen were laid dead upon the field, and the shattered remains of the right were forced to give way.

xxii. The Macdonnells on the left did not advance with the same alacrity; their wounded pride still rankled in their bosoms, but they went on obliquely with the Farquharsons, received the first fire of the regiments opposite them, which



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they returned, and had drawn their swords for the charge, when perceiving that their right was repulsed, they also retired, yet not in such confusion as to invite an immediate pursuit. The terrible line of bayonets had destroyed the ranks of the swordsmen who rushed upon their points, yet it would have been dangerous, and might have been ruin, to have broken their phalanx and tried to pursue; they were therefore ordered to remain upon the ground, and some horse and dragoons were sent forward; the Irish picquets checked them by a well directed volley, and the Macdonnells fell back upon the second line. Still they were a formidable body, but their confidence was destroyed: the inclosure that protected their right had been broken down; they were threatened with part of the cavalry in their rear; Cumberland advanced with the infantry in front, and unable to meet the shock they separated. The entire clan regiments went off in a body toward the south, and were not followed; numbers in small straggling parties precipitately fled towards Inverness, whither the French and the picquets also withdrew; the cavalry from both flanks were then let loose upon them, and did murderous execution, strewing the roads with dead bodies till within a mile of the town. The duke following, was met by an offer to surrender from Stapleton on the part of the foreign troops, which was accepted upon honourable terms, and a party sent forward to take possession of the place and secure the prisoners.

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1746.

Issue of
the contest.

Foreign
troops sur-
render.

XXIII. Forced as the highlanders were to engage under an aggregation of the most cruel disadvantages, they did wonders; and the defeat at Culloden, decisive and final as it eventually proved, was neither so disgraceful nor so complete as either of those they had inflicted on the regulars:—there is no comparison with regard to Preston; and the main bodies moved from the field in more threatening attitudes than did the royal army from the muir of Falkirk. The largest, comprising the western clans, who had always been the main dependence of the rebel host, retired in good order upon Badenoch, and the fastnesses of their native hills, whence the Macphersons were advancing; the smaller, which had scarcely been engaged, consisting of foreigners, or Scottishmen and Irish in foreign service, surrendered

Reflec-
tions.

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Loss of the
parties.

nearly complete at Inverness. The victory was achieved with a loss of three hundred and twenty killed and wounded, among whom lord Robert Kerr fell, the only name of note.* The loss of the vanquished was heavy, and included many of their chiefs. It has been stated from one to three thousand, perhaps a medium, fifteen hundred, may be near the truth:—as they were steadily received upon a rampart of bayonets—which cavalry cannot often penetrate—by men fresh for the combat; and the first rank of the attacking regiments, composed, as in all the clan regiments, of those who were considered gentlemen, fell where they fought; and as the dragoons, exasperated by the shame of their former disasters, took merciless vengeance upon the wearied, disheartened, and flying stragglers, the number could scarcely be less; yet from the amount of the body who assembled next day at Ruthven, and the list of prisoners, it could not greatly exceed what I suppose.†

Affecting
incidents.

xxiv. Instances of affecting heroism illustrated the fall of several of the gallant deluded chieftains. When his Macdonalds refused to advance on the foe, Keppoch disdained to accompany their retreat; with his drawn sword in one hand, and his pistol in the other, continuing to advance, he fell struck by a musket ball; and a friend who followed besought him not to throw away his life, but return, as his wound was not mortal, and retire with his men; Keppoch answered, “take care of yourself,” and making an effort to go on, received another shot, and fell to rise no more! Maclachlan, colonel of the united regiments of the Maclach-

* The marquis of Lothian's second son, a captain of grenadiers in Burrel's regiment, esteemed one of the handsomest and bravest officers in the army. In the attack he received one of the rebels on his spontoon—a weapon somewhat similar to a halbert, carried by the officers at that time—and his company receding from the shock before he could recover, he was surrounded and cut to pieces.

† The return of ordinance and stores taken at and since the battle of Culloden state, firelocks 2320, broadswords and blades 199; all who drew the sword threw away the musket; now as all the arms found upon the field were brought to the duke, who gave one shilling for every broadsword, and two shillings and sixpence for every musket, the quantity confirms the supposition, that the number of rebels slain was greatly exaggerated. Indeed, the one party, from vain glory, and the other to excite hatred and revenge, had both inducements to over, rather than underrate the carnage upon that occasion.

lans and Macleans, being killed, Maclean of Drimnin, who succeeded to the command, in bringing off the shattered regiment, missed two of his sons—for he had three in the field—returning with paternal anxiety to search for them, was himself carried off by a random shot. Lochiel advancing at the head of his regiment, had fired his pistol and was drawing his sword, when he dropped wounded in both ankles; instantly the two kindred, between whom he was fighting, raised and carried him in their arms to a place of safety.

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xxv. When James at Flodden, with chivalrous phrenzy, threw away the flower of Scottish nobility, he expiated his folly by sharing the fate of his army;—Charles, who witnessed these acts of devotion, and who was contending for a crown, remained beyond the reach of musketry; and when he saw the highlanders repulsed and flying, allowed general Sullivan to take hold of his horse by the bridle, and turn his head about from the scene of danger! Without accompanying the body of highlanders who remained together, “the Prince” went off with a number of horse, and crossing the river Nairn at the ford of Falie, three miles from the field of battle, halted. Now, as desponding as he had been presumptuous, sinking all his high hopes in a base concern for personal safety, he directed the soldiers to repair to Ruthven and await his future orders, while he himself, attended only by a few of his favourites, preferred skulking obscurely among the mountains.* With Sheridan, Sullivan, and Hay, he set out for Gortuleg, where lord Lovat was waiting the issue of a contest on which he had staked his all. Various descriptions are given of this interview. When

Conduct
of “THE
PRINCE.”

* Johnstone mentions, “that some hours after the battle lord Elcho found him in a cabin beside the river Nairn, surrounded by Irish, and without a single Scotsman near him, in a state of complete dejection, without the least hopes of being able to re-establish his affairs, having given himself altogether up to the pernicious counsels of Sheridan and the other Irish, who governed him as they pleased, and abandoned every other project but that of escaping to France as soon as possible. Lord Elcho represented to him that this check was nothing, as was really the case; and exerted himself to the utmost to persuade him to think only of rallying his army, putting himself at its head, and trying once more the fortune of war, as the disaster might be easily repaired; but he was insensible to all that his lordship could suggest, and utterly disregarded his advice.” *Memoirs of the Rebellion*, p. 196.

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the act of preparing an entertainment for the rebel officers Lady Macintosh is said to have behaved with great unconcern when talking of the unexpected defeat, and coolly remarked, that there had been sad slaughter made of her regiment, for only three of her officers had escaped. But the apathy of the conqueror was yet more appalling, the wounded of the rebels were allowed to remain on the field without attention, and it was not till "a day or two after the battle," that "large detachments were sent out, who killed some and brought in several prisoners."*

Disasters
at Suther-
land.

xxviii. Disasters seldom come alone; on the day preceding the fatal engagement, the forces under the earl of Cromarty in Sutherland, about five hundred, were dispersed by some independent companies near Golspie, with great loss, and the earl and his son taken prisoners in Dunrobin castle. Not long after, the Grants, to the amount of some hundreds, joined the victor, and gave earnest of what the most intelligent of Charles' friends knew well, that the clans who might remain neuter or disposed to favour while there seemed any chance of his proving successful, would hasten to join the force of his rival, the instant he experienced any serious reverse.

Rejoicings
on account
of the vic-
tory.

xxix. Some idea may be formed of the terror excited by the highlanders, from the extravagant rejoicings exhibited in celebration of their defeat. The writers of the day, those echoes of public opinion, could with difficulty find terms to express their admiration of the wonderful exploit, and of the amazing genius of the unrivalled warrior. "It is not in the power of words," remarks one, "to describe, or a volume to contain, the numberless instances of exultation, loyalty, and unfeigned acknowledgments of the people on this surprising and almost unexpected turn of affairs in their favour." "The joy," says another, upon publishing the news, "was as universal as the illuminations, the most splendid ever seen, were general and delightful, proving but one continual blaze; from

and conquering the same men over and over again—especially as the rebel officers who were taken prisoners were reserved for the gibbet? And certainly, if refusing quarter, which the rebels never appear to have done, could have been justified in any case, it would have been in this instance.

* Letter from an officer in the army at Inverness to his friend in London.

London to the utmost boundary of the British dominions, nothing was to be seen but gladness for the great deliverance!" From every quarter, addresses in the highest strain of congratulation to the king and adulation to the duke, were poured in, or as Henderson quaintly expresses it, "a run of addresses like the waves of the sea, justling out one another, crowded upon his majesty, congratulating him both upon the defeat of his enemies and the heroic part his son, the image of his virtues, had in suppressing that project!" The two houses of parliament, who happened to be sitting at the time, took the precedence; but the commons paid his royal highness the more grateful compliment of adding twenty-five thousand pounds per annum to his income.

xxx. Uncertain whether the rebels might not yet rally, the duke encamped his army at Inverness; but as the Frasers were the most obnoxious, he despatched general Mordaunt with a detachment into their country, to destroy Castle-downie, the seat of their chief, and to carry off their cattle and provisions for the use of his soldiers. Upon ascertaining that the rendezvous at Ruthven had broken up, the Grants were sent to occupy the country of the Macintoshes, and the rest of the loyal clans were distributed in such a manner as effectually to prevent their re-assembling, and to apprehend their most active and leading men. The prisons were soon crowded with the inferior orders, whose misfortune rather than crime it was to have swelled the ranks of rebellion, while those of higher station were conveyed to England by ship loads, to be tried—lest the compassion of their countrymen should prove more injurious to the course of justice than the antipathies and prejudices of an English jury. The fidelity of the clansmen, however, preserved the chiefs who were the principal objects of pursuit, and for some weeks the duke did not venture to separate or reduce his army, as rumours of a new gathering were industriously kept afloat.

Measures taken to prevent the re-assembling of the rebels.

Prisoners of rank sent to England.

xxx1. Happily, the young pretender was as incapable by genius for the arduous and critical situation into which he had brought his retainers, as he was unfit by education to have filled the throne of a free people, to which he aspired. A valorous prince, who boasted the blood of a Bruce, would

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Despon-
dency of
Charles.

never have owed his safety to female courage or the disguise of a woman, as long as his presence could have brought into action six or eight thousand men, rendered desperate by their devotion to his cause. While lingering about Lochaber, a message from lord George Murray reached him, intreating him not to leave Scotland, but he returned for answer, that he was resolved to go to France, whence he hoped to return soon with a powerful reinforcement, which he had no doubt of obtaining. Within a few days assistance arrived, sufficient to buoy up the spirits of the chiefs, but not to recall courage to the prince.

Late assis-
tance from
France.Consulta-
tions of the
chiefs.

xxxii. Two French ships of war, thirty-two gun frigates, with arms, ammunition, and money, having escaped the British, unwillingly landed in the west about forty thousand pounds in gold, which was taken possession of by Murray the secretary, and the chiefs met in high spirits at the island of Mortlaig, where lord Lovat had been conveyed, to concert measures for the furtherance of the cause, and their mutual preservation. Lochiel, and his brother Dr. Cameron, Cluny, Glengarry, Roy Stuart, Barrisdale, and several others, were present, when they resolved ;—again to rise in arms with all the able bodied men they could command or procure within their respective interests or properties ; appointed the various places for assembling, and engaged to each other to abide by their resolutions, for the interest of his royal highness, and the good of the country—accounted by them inseparable—to the last drop of their blood ; and never to lay down their arms, or make a separate peace, without the general consent of the whole, and to look upon any one who should accept of terms for himself as a traitor, and treat him as an enemy. Lovat, consistent only in duplicity, although he agreed to the project, and promised for at least four hundred Frasers, would not sign the resolutions, as he said he was a “ neutral man !” but desired Lochiel to engage for his son ; he, however, accepted part of the money to maintain a guard, and the associates separated to prepare for a summer campaign.

xxxiii. An attempt at assembling was made, but the distribution of the king's troops rendered it impracticable ; and Lochiel with the concurrence of secretary Murray, Barri

dale, and a few who met at Invermely, sent to the absent chiefs an official notice, informing them, "that considering their situation, it was thought both prudent and proper to disperse rather than to carry fire into their country, without a sufficient number, as was expected;" and giving it as their opinion, "that their people should separate and keep themselves as safe as possible, and keep their arms: as they had great expectations of the French doing something for them, or until they could have their final resolutions as to what they were to do."*

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Relinquish
the idea of
rising.

xxxiv. This hope of French aid, ever the curse of Scotland, proved so to the last; relying upon it, the highlanders attempted to play over again the same farce of a surrender as they did under the disarming act, in the year seventeen hundred and sixteen; and by concealing their weapons, and delivering up only some unserviceable muskets, drew down upon their heads a more severe military execution than they might otherwise have been exposed to; while these secret caballings, with which the government were not unacquainted, afforded a pretext for continuing troops in the country, long after they would have been withdrawn.

Their secret cabala.

xxxv. Fear is one of the most merciless of the human passions; and the government had been too seriously alarmed by the progress of the rebellion, to admit of any tenderness in utterly suppressing it. Cumberland, too, whose personal interest was so nearly concerned in the security of the reigning family, had every inducement to act with rigour—nor did he fail; but from his being unacquainted with the genius of the Scottish church, or confounding it with that of England, which admits of the unholy alliance of magistrate and clergyman in the same person, he endeavoured to roll over on the presbyterian ministry the detestable service of informers:—to their honour they almost to a man declined the vile office. When he first marched north, he issued a proclamation at Montrose, [Feb. 24th] requiring all persons who had been with the pretender, to deliver up their arms, and give in their names to the nearest magis-

Cumberland's rigour.

* Lochiel's Letters. Home's App. Lovat's Trial, p. 126, of seq.
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Attempts
to cause the
ministers
turn infor-
mers—re-
sisted.

Sanctioned
by the as-
sembly.

Their pro-
ceedings.

trate or minister, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors; but now, in consequence of the rebels who had gone to their homes retaining their arms, he issued a proclamation at Inverness, [May 1st] in virtue of a plenary power granted to him by his majesty—requiring all the sheriffs, magistrates, and justices of the peace to search for all persons who had been in arms against his majesty, who had not submitted to mercy, and to seize and secure all sorts of arms belonging to them, or that had belonged to them. In order to the more effectual execution of this service, the officers of the law were to take informations from the ministers of the gospel of the established church of Scotland, touching the behaviour of the inhabitants within their respective parishes; of the present haunts and places of abode of such rebels as might be lurking in their several neighbourhoods, and of all persons who had afforded them shelter; and the ministers were required to give all such information to the officers of the law, as might enable them to apprehend the persons and seize the arms of the disaffected. Sensible of the invidious nature of the task, no direct application was made till after the sitting of the general assembly, who were induced to sanction as a body, conduct which none would consent to as individuals,—so little are either the collective wisdom or principles of mankind to be uniformly depended on.

xxxvi. At the appointed day [May 8th] the assembly met, but in the confusion of the times the duke of Newcastle had neglected to transmit the royal commission to the moderator; and the old question was agitated anew, whether the assembly could meet without his majesty's sanction? but there being no hostile feelings now between the parties, it was easily settled; the former moderator presided in the interim. The commission arrived two days after, but by another blunder it did not authorise the commissioner to act till the 16th: this difficulty also was as quietly got rid of,—the new moderator, John Lumsden, professor of king's college, Aberdeen, was chosen, and the court adjourned to the 16th, when the earl of Leven legalized the meeting in the king's name. Some difficulty likewise occurred respecting the manner in which two of the chief offices of the

church should be filled, which gave rise to very keen contests. Mr. Grant, solicitor-general, who held the offices of procurator for the church, and principal clerk to the assembly, being this year appointed king's advocate, and necessarily detained in London, made an attempt to exercise his offices by deputy; but it was resolved that they were both vacant, and they were now disjoined;—the clerkship being bestowed upon a minister, principal Wishart, and the procuratory upon an advocate, Mr. David Dalrymple.

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Offices of
procurator
and principal clerk
disjoined.

xxxvii. As was to be expected, they were not behind in their expressions of gratitude at the suppression of an insurrection which especially threatened their destruction. Their addresses both to his majesty and to the duke of Cumberland were however in more measured terms, and of course in better taste, than many of the others. Without any fulsome adulation, they proceeded to tell his royal highness, "That the general assembly has met at this time in a state of peace and security exceeding our greatest hopes, is, under God, owing to his majesty's wisdom and goodness in sending your royal highness, and to your generous resolution in coming to be the deliverer of this church and nation; we might therefore be justly chargeable with ingratitude to the glorious instrument of divine providence, if we neglected to pay your royal highness our most humble and thankful acknowledgments for that happiness which we enjoy. Every loyal subject, every sincere lover of the religion, laws, and liberty of his country, is ready to express his just gratitude to your royal highness, by whom these inestimable blessings are preserved to us. The church of Scotland are under peculiar obligations to offer their most thankful acknowledgments to almighty God, who has raised you up to be the brave defender of your royal father's throne, the happy restorer of our peace, and at this time guardian of all our sacred and civil interests." The royal duke in his answer observed: "I owe it in justice to the venerable assembly to testify, that upon all occasions I have received from them professions of the most inviolable attachment to his majesty's person and government, of the warmest zeal for the religion and liberties of their country, and of the firmest persuasion that these blessings could not

Address to
the duke of
Cumberland.

His answer.

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be preserved to the nation but by the support of his majesty's throne, and of the succession in his royal family; and in support of the sincerity of their professions, I have always found them ready and forward to act in their several stations in all such affairs as they could be useful in, though often to their own great hazard; and of this I have not been wanting to give due notice from time to time to his majesty."

They order the proclamation for the discovery of rebels to be read in the churches—ministers evade it.

xxxviii. Together with the duke's answer, a copy of his proclamation for discovering the persons and arms of the rebels was presented, which the venerable court ordered to be read in all the churches. This act of assembly was by no means agreeable to a number of ministers, who expressed their disapprobation by giving it to their precentors to read; but a more odious requisition was put upon them by the justice-clerk, in the end of the month. A Mr. Lind, sheriff-depute of Mid-Lothian, by his desire, sent to the ministers of the shire the following circular, dated May 30th:—"REVEREND SIR—As you must be best acquainted with those in your parish who have not been concerned in this wicked and unnatural rebellion, that none of them from any unjust suspicions may suffer any hardships, I am ordered by the lord justice-clerk, to desire you will make up lists of all those in your parish who have not been concerned in this rebellion, either by carrying arms or otherwise; including in that list not only residents of all ranks, but likewise heritors and liferenters, though not residing. Send under my cover two several copies of such lists, sealed up; one directed to the lord justice-clerk, another to the honourable sir Everard Fawkenner, secretary to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. As you have lists of your parish, an answer will be expected in a few days.—[Signed] ALEXANDER LIND." What the depute had not the assurance to require in the body of the letter, he modestly hinted in a "P. S.—If it will be less trouble to you, you may send a list of those only in your parish who have been concerned in the rebellion, instead of those demanded."

Are desired to send a list of all within their parishes concerned in the rebellion.

They decline doing so.

xxxix. The ministers returned Mr. Lind a polite but decided refusal. "We must be allowed," said they, "to express our concern, and look upon it as a misfortune, that any piece of service should have been desired of us by any

officer of the law as useful for his majesty's government, which we have found impracticable; but it is no small comfort to us that the public thereby cannot suffer any real loss, as there are many more certain, extensive, and effectual methods of discovering in this city and suburbs, who have or have not been concerned in the rebellion, than by any lists we are capable to furnish; especially as we conceive it not proper to charge any person with a concern in the rebellion but from our personal knowledge:" and in their letter to sir Everard Fawkener, they add, "that from private conversations with a great many in their several parishes, they were firmly persuaded of their good affection to his majesty's person and government, and that loyalty was the prevailing character of the people of their persuasion, and under their care." An insidious reply from sir Everard suggested that private informations might be given him, and that such use should be made of them as would show the greatest regard to the persons from whom they came; but the ministers treated the hint with silent neglect, and afforded a noble contrast to the cruel unrelenting espionage of the curates, in the reign of Charles; for which they got neither gratitude nor credit from the jacobites, their contemporaries, and which has been shamefully overlooked and forgotten, even by presbyterians in these later days!

BOOK
XXIX.
1746.

Treat the
suggestion
to give pri-
vate infor-
mation with
contempt.

XL. Immediately after the dispersion at Ruthven, a number of the rebels showed a willingness to surrender; before the meeting of the chiefs at Invermely, Clanranald's people had refused to rise, and a great number of Glengarry's had unreservedly delivered up their arms; and had a proper mixture of leniency with force been adopted, there can be no doubt but the highlands would have been effectually reduced to a state of quiet submission much sooner than it was, and the names of king James and prince Charles would only have been remembered to be despised. The president had hastened from Skye to enforce humanity in the day of triumph, as he had displayed courage in the hour of danger; but his advice, like the warnings of Cassandra, acknowledged as excellent, was unfortunately neglected, till called to recollection by regret.

Clans a-
verse to
another
rising.

XLI. The duke of Cumberland, as soon as there appeared

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XXIX.**

1746.

Measures
adopted by
Cumber-
land to
prevent it.

no probability of the highlanders speedily re-assembling, adopted the harshest methods to prevent their ever being able to do so : half measures had been tried after the first rebellion, and had only left the means of a second insurrection—the strongest were now resorted to ; and while it is to be regretted that they were accompanied, in some instances, with cruelty, it is not to be forgotten that they were forced upon government by the facility with which the highland chiefs had, upon the former occasion, professed submission and promised obedience, and the faithlessness they had shown in unprovokedly breaking their oaths, and renouncing their allegiance to the house of Hanover.

Rebel dis-
tricts sur-
rounded
with troops
—Perth
occupied by
a regular
force.

XLII. Early in May a cordon of troops was drawn around the rebel districts, lord Ancrum guarding the east, the earl of Sutherland the north, lord Fortrose the outlets to the isles, and general Campbell the west ; while general Mor-daunt, with a body of regulars, stationed at Perth, supplied the place of the Hessians, who were quickly ordered home. The means of escape being thus prevented, the earl of Lou-don was sent with his highlanders to scour the country, to disperse and disarm the refractory, and to apprehend the lurking chiefs. This, in conjunction with a party of the king's troops, he did, and effectually prevented the second meeting of the chiefs. But the surrender of arms that fol-lowed was so completely in the spirit of Lochiel's instruc-tions, that fresh parties were, towards the end of the month, despatched to enforce to the letter, the duke's proclamation ; and his royal highness repaired, with his head quarters, to Fort Augustus to superintend the punctual execution of his orders. The castles of the chiefs were burned, and their pri-vate property immediately applied to the use of the army,* while the flocks and herds of their tenantry were driven away to the nearest market, or destroyed along with the dwellings of their unhappy owners upon the spot. Numer-ous families were in consequence exposed to all the miseries of houseless want, while the insulting victors revelled in the destruction or the appropriation of their property ; exposed

Destruc-
tion of the
rebels' cas-
tles and
property.

* Lochiel destroyed his own to prevent its falling into the hands of the ene-my. Lovat stood upon a hill, and saw his committed to the flames !

to the rapine and outrage of every petty officer, they experienced the wretchedness of a country subjected to military sway, upon which, for their misfortunes or crimes, a rude soldiery has been let loose. "We had," says the medical officer before quoted, "near twenty thousand head of cattle brought in, such as oxen, sheep, and goats, from the rebels, whose houses we also frequently plundered and burned, by parties sent out for them, and in search of the pretender, so that great numbers of our men grew rich by their share in the spoil, which was bought by the lump by jockies and farmers from Yorkshire and the south of Scotland. The money was divided among the men, and few common soldiers were without horses. Gold was also as common among numbers as is commonly copper at other times; but firing was a great scarcity, and much wanted, the weather being so cold and wet, that we were obliged to pull down many houses for firing, and frequently part of that we lived in, being made of peat and sticks, to supply us when the others were burnt up."*

BOOK
XXIX.
1746.

Their cattle sold.

XLIII. The sufferings of the poor highlanders were in many instances severe—and such is ever the case of suppressed rebellion—but they were short, and they were put an end to by the civil power; a circumstance indicative of the excellence and vigour of the British constitution at the time, when a decision of the court of session was sufficient to restrain the excesses of military licence, and reduce the soldier to the rank of the citizen.† But "the prince," Charles Edward Stuart—the failure of whose attempt to overturn that constitution, and re-establish despotism, was the cause of all these sufferings—was himself wandering an

Charles a wanderer.

* The quantity of provisions destroyed or sold fully justified the opinion of those who asserted the practicability of maintaining a mountain warfare for at least some time.

† The real jacobites of former, and their maukish sentimental admirers of later times, dwell with affected lamentation upon the scenes of cruelty committed by the royal troops in the highlands for a few months—the almost unavoidable consequences of an unprovoked and alarming insurrection, in favour of a forfeited family, having been put down by force: but they turn away from the twenty-eight years of desolation which the whole south-west of Scotland experienced from a former restoration of that same family, and which rendered it necessary that they and their adherents should for ever be excluded from a government they had invariably perverted.

BOOK
XXIX.

1746.

Deserts the
highland
chiefs.He goes to
the isles.Clanranald
conceals
him in south
Uist.

outcast fugitive, an object of pity, amid the wretchedness he had occasioned; and like his grandfather, after having raised a storm, with which he was unable to contend, was meanly sneaking off from the consequences, and leaving his friends to brave its fury. Clanranald, in whose country he received the message from lord George Murray, who had been the first to join him, and who had staked and lost his all for him, concurred, with his other adherents, in earnestly entreating Charles not to leave Scotland, nor desert in their extremity, the persons who had assisted him in his; he offered to build several huts in different woods for his accommodation and change of quarters, while he himself, with some chosen friends, would explore the isles, and if necessary, procure a vessel to transport him to France; young Lockhart of Carnwath also joined, but his fears were too strong, and he insisted upon being carried to the isles. In a boat belonging to Boradale he sailed from the same spot where he had landed nine months before, and where he now left those who had been the dupes of his madness, to reap the fruits of their folly, taking along with him his favourites Sullivan, Macdonald a priest, and one or two other attendants.

XLIV. A tempest drove them into the small island of Benbecula, where for three days they subsisted on oatmeal and water, in a hut that could scarcely afford them protection from the weather. On leaving it, they wandered in uncertainty, the sport of accidents and of the elements, at one time nearly escaping being betrayed by the drunken indiscretion of his pilot, and at another, missing the finest opportunity of escape, through the timidity of the boatman—who refused to put off to the French frigates, which had been sent expressly to the assistance of Charles—till forced again back to Benbecula. Thence he was conveyed by old Clanranald and his lady to the Forest-house,* a temporary dwelling in

* “ The prince’s small retinue in the house in the forest in the isle of south Uist, were colonel O’Sullivan, captain Allan, Macdonald the Priest, and captain O’Neal, the two Rories, and Alexanders, and John Macdonalds, all formerly officers in his royal highness’s service in Clanranald’s regiment, with a dozen other sturdy clever fellows that served as guards for despatches.”—Glenaladale’s Journal.



THE LIFE OF MRS. MARY CECILIA

south Uist, as a place of greater security, where, in case of alarm, he could either betake himself to the hills, or to the sea; guides being provided if he fled among the mountains, and a boat ready, if he required the ocean, while scouts were placed in all directions to procure intelligence. Here the young pretender, with that careless insensibility which distinguished the second Charles, for some weeks forgot his own mischance, and the cruel fate of his friends, in pursuing the deer, or in shooting the wild fowl, with which the island abounded, till he had himself almost been enclosed in the toils of the hunters.

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XXIX.

1746.

XLV. South Uist forms one of a group or chain of islands stretching about one hundred and thirty miles from south to north, and comprehending besides, Barra, Benbecula, north Uist, Harries, and Lewis, which when seen from either of these points, appear as one, and are known by the name of Long Island. General Campbell, who had gone to the farthest Kilda with an expedition—some sloops of war, and a party of troops—in search of the fugitive, learning, upon his return, that he had not got away, and suspecting that he might be still lurking in the long island, landed at Barra, determined to make a complete search from south to north. Commencing with Barra, he proceeded to south Uist, where he found a strong detachment of regular troops, and the Macdonalds and Macleods of Skye, upon the same scent. The coasts were surrounded by vessels of war of every description, from cutters to forty gun ships: guards were posted at the ferries, every boat was taken possession of, and no person allowed to leave the island without a passport. From this hopeless dilemma, Charles was extricated by the intrepid compassion of a female—Flora Macdonald. Her father, Macdonald of Milnton, south Uist, had been some time dead, and her mother was married to Macdonald of Armidale in Skye, then in Uist, and eldest captain of the Macdonalds from Skye. Flora, a relation of the Clanranald family, who resided on the island with her brother, being—when on a visit to lady Clanranald—introduced to Charles, her pity for his forlorn condition overcame every sense of danger, and she consented to undertake the perilous office of conveying him from the is-

Parties in
search for
him.

Flora Mac-
donald un-
dertakes to
convey him
to Skye.

BOOK
XXIX.

1746.

Escapes in
female ar-
tire as her
maid.

land to Skye. With the assistance of lady Clanranald, she got him equipped as Betty Burke, and procured a passport from her father-in-law for him as her servant, and recommending him to his wife as an "excellent spinster of flax ;" she likewise obtained an open boat, with six rowers.

XLVI. Having prepared every thing on the night before their departure, accompanied by lady Clanranald, she met Charles in his female garb, attended by O'Niel, on the sea shore, about a mile distant from Clanranald's house ; and they were partaking of a supper that lady had provided, when a messenger arrived with intelligence that general Campbell, with captain Ferguson of the navy, were at the house in search of the "prince." Lady Clanranald instantly returned home to entertain her unwelcome guests ; and the small party she had left, on the appearance of four armed cutters, dispersed among the rocks. Next morning, the weather proving calm and serene, Charles, parting with all attendants, proceeded, in his new capacity of maid, with Miss Flora, for Skye. As they passed the point of Vater-nish, a party of the Macleod militia observing the boat, ran to the shore, and levelling their guns, ordered them to stop, but the tide being out, they got beyond their reach ; and they could not launch any boat to pursue. They landed at Mugstole, the seat of sir Alexander Macdonald, who was absent with the duke of Cumberland, while a number of the royal officers were in his house. Flora dined with lady Margaret, and his majesty's servants ; her maid was consigned to the care of Kingsburgh, sir Alexander's factor ; with him he lodged that night, and on the next day, having re-assumed his proper dress, he parted from his fair protectress at Portrie, and passed over to Raasay.

XLVII. After many hazardous wanderings among the islands, he again sought the mainland. Sailing up Lochnevis,

* Narrative of Flora Macdonald. Home's Appendix, No. 45. " Lady Clanranald dressed up the prince in his new habit, not without some mirth and raillery passing amidst all their distress and perplexity, and a mixture of tears and smiles. The dress was on purpose coarse and homely, suited to the station of the wearer, viz. a calico gown, with a light coloured petticoat, a mantle of dun camelot, made after the Irish fashion, with a hood joined to it."—Account of the pretender's escape. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 545.

he debarked at Morar, and found a melancholy refuge with the laird, whose house had been burned, and his cattle driven by the troops. In Clanranald's country, where the smoking ashes of deserted habitations announced the curse that accompanied his friendship, he was welcomed by Macdonald of Boradale, to a small hut in a wood, where he rested three days;—the house in which he first was acknowledged as a prince, now a blackened ruin, reminding him of the mischief he had occasioned; and the scanty fare he shared with its owner, of the poverty to which he had reduced his adherents. The west coast is deeply indented with arms of the sea; and it was soon learned that Charles was traversing the promontories, which these have carved out—for they were watched now with a care proportioned to the neglect that had rendered them before so accessible to the adventurer—and a line of posts was traced from Loch-huran to Lochshiel, whose sentinels were so near, that during the day it was impossible to pass; and when it grew dark, fires kindled at each, shed a blaze of light along the whole boundary, that rendered it even more difficult to elude the watches. Again Charles appeared completely hemmed in, with even less chance of escape than at Uist; but Macdonald of Glenaladale, and another Macdonald—an officer in the French service—who came to him at Boradale, and Cameron of Glenpean, whom they met afterwards, adroitly relieved him; they observed that the sentinels, in passing between the fires, after they crossed, marched for a time with their backs to each other, when a person might get through unobserved; taking advantage of this circumstance, and creeping along the channel of a small brook that ran between two of the posts, the small party got safely beyond.

BOOK
XXIX.

1746.
Lands at
Boradale.

His peril-
ous situa-
tion.

XLIX. The west highlands proving too hot, Charles directed his course towards Ross-shire, and in his progress experienced a most remarkable escape. Having set out with his friends from one of their resting places late in the evening, when they had walked about half a mile, Glenaladale missed his purse, containing their all, and returned with another Macdonald to search for it, luckily they recovered both it and its valuable contents from a boy who had found

Proceeds
to Ross-
shire.

BOOK
XXIX.

1746.

Narrowly
escapes be-
ing taken.

them:—but this was not the most fortunate circumstance; while they were absent, Charles retired to a little distance to wait their return, and during this time, an officer and some armed soldiers passed along the road they had quitted, who, but for this incident, must have met, and made them prisoners.

Incident
among the
Macraus.

L. Among the northern mountaineers, blind devotion to the house of Stuart was by no means universal: an incident in the Macraw's district warned Charles to beware how he trusted his person to them. Christopher, one of the tribe, was induced by Glenaladale to afford him and his famished followers, under the name of Clanranald and his brother, some food and a night's lodgings, for a high pecuniary consideration; at table, the conversation turning on the rebellion, the petty chieftain exclaimed against the clans who had risen in support of the pretender, and inveighed against those who still afforded him protection, "as madmen and fools, who ought rather to relieve themselves and their country from distress by delivering him up, and accepting the reward!" These common-place business-like sentiments suiting ill with the romantic situation of the adventurer and his chivalrous companions, they reverted to the south; a Macdonald directed them to the hill of Corambian, between Kintail and Glenmoriston, where seven determined reavers, some of whom had been in the rebel army, abode in a cave, with whom the prince might reside in safety till some more eligible place of residence occurred; and as he wished to be near Lochiel and Cluny, who had charge of his treasure which the French vessels had left, he was anxious to get nearer Lochaber and Badenoch, where he knew they were hiding.

LI. In his wanderings Charles and his companions had often been exposed to the inclemency of the weather, without shelter, and often without food; sometimes sleeping on the sides of hills, or among the woods, and sometimes in the sheelings and sheep cots, which the soldiers had not thought worth destroying. He spent the evening before he reached his new friends in an open cave, where he could neither lean nor sleep, being wet to the skin with the rain that had fallen all that day, and where, without fuel to make a fire, he

could only warm himself by smoking a pipe. Glenaladale went first to the cavern, where he found six of the men most opportunely employed in dining upon a sheep they had killed; and expressing his happiness to see them so well employed, was invited to take a share. When he told them he had a friend for whom he must beg the same favour—young Clanranald; they replied, “nobody could be more welcome, they would purchase food for him at the point of their swords.” Glenaladale then introduced Charles as his friend; but being immediately recognised by the banditti, he was received with that respect which belonged to the situation in which they had seen him, though his appearance, as afterwards described by one of themselves, had at the time nothing very princely or attractive about it. He was dressed in a short coat of dark-coloured cloth, a ragged tartan waistcoat, a tolerable belted plaid, tartan hose, and brogues in tatters; his neckcloth was a dirty clouted handkerchief, and his shirt was like saffron; an old bonnet, and a wretched yellow wig, completed his regalia. The robbers, however, soon found him change of linen; a detachment of troops passing at no great distance, they fired upon the servants, who lingered in the rear considerably behind the soldiers, and who fleeing, left some officers’ portmanteaus at their discretion, from which they procured what their prince wanted.*

BOOK
XXIX.
1746.

Takes his
abode with
robbers in
a cave.

* To this story Mr. Home appends the following note: “Charles staid in the cave five weeks and three days; during this long abode, either thinking he would be safer with gentlemen than with common fellows of a loose character, or desirous of better company, he told Glenaladale that he intended to put himself into the hands of some of the neighbouring gentlemen; and desired him to enquire at them and learn who was the most proper person for him to apply to. Glenaladale talking with the highlanders about the gentlemen in their neighbourhood, and inquiring into their character, they guessed from his questions what was the intention of Charles; and conjured him to dissuade the prince from it, saying, that no reward could be any temptation to them, for if they betrayed their prince, they must leave their country, as nobody would speak to them except to curse them, whereas L.30,000 was a great reward to a poor gentleman, who could go to Edinburgh or London with his money, where he would find people enough to live with him and eat his meat and drink his wine.”—Hist. of the Rebel. p. 256.

General Stewart incorporates this anecdote in his Sketches, vol. i. p. 64. as an indubitable proof of the general feeling of honour and standard of public

BOOK
XXIX.

1746.

Search discontinued from a strange occurrence

LII. Henceforth, the adventurer continued to wander, surrounded by peril, till, upon the return of Cumberland to England, the strictness of the search was discontinued, in consequence, as supposed, of an incident, not the least remarkable, attending the fate of Charles. A Mr. Mackenzie of Edinburgh, who had been in his life guards, and somewhat resembled him in figure and face, was shot by one of the parties sent out to search for his master, and either from some exclamation when falling, or from this similarity of appearance, being mistaken for him, his head was cut off, and presented, it is said, to the duke as that of the unfortunate pretender, and by him carried in triumph to London, as an appropriate finale to the barbarities that had been inflicted in the highlands on his account.*

virtue in the country; which formed the surest pledge of the conduct of individuals. For my own part, I consider it as a palpable example of that exaggeration, or that fine poetical genius, or by whatever name it may be called, of the highlanders, which renders it necessary to be ever on our guard in giving credit to what they tell us as well authenticated facts, and as the traditionary belief of the country, when they tend to exalt the Celtic character or redound to the honour of the Gael. I doubt much if ever one of these gentry heard that a reward was offered for the apprehension of Charles; if they had, and I had been his counsellor, I should have desired him to be as cautious with regard to them as to Christopher Macrao. Glenaladale, one of the party, has left in his journal an account of this transaction, with the dates, which show that Charles was only three days in the cave, from July 30th to August 2d; had such an expression of disinterested generosity and high-toned feeling occurred among such men, it is not likely he would have passed it over in silence, especially as it would have harmonized so delightfully with the rest of the picture:—"These new guides conducted the prince to his cave, where, having eaten something, he was soon lulled asleep with the sweet murmurs of a gliding stream that ran through the grotto fast by his bedside. In this romantic situation, the prince staid three days." "August the second, they removed their quarters," &c.—Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 557.

* The story is thus told by Johnstone: "Mackenzie happened to be in a cabin with the prince and two or three other persons, when all of a sudden, they received information that they were surrounded by detachments of English troops advancing from every point, as if they had received positive information that the prince was in this cabin. The prince was asleep at this moment, and was awakened for the purpose of being informed of his melancholy fate, namely, that it was morally impossible for him to save his life. He answered, then we must die like brave men with our swords in our hands. No, my prince, replied Mackenzie, resources still remain, I will take your name and face one of these detachments. I know what my fate will be; but while

LIII. About the end of August, being told that the coast was clear, Charles, under the guidance of Cameron, was conducted to a wood at the foot of Locharkaig, whence no-

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1746.

I keep it employed, your royal highness will have time to escape. Mackenzie darted forward with fury sword in hand, against a detachment of fifty men, and on falling, covered with wounds, he exclaimed aloud, "you know not what you have done! I am your prince, whom you have killed!" After which he instantly expired. This I take to be another instance of the little reliance that can be placed upon the correctness of any tradition, even when strong and apparently well supported, particularly if highland or jacobite. That Mackenzie was killed, and his head taken to London, seems pretty well authenticated; but the circumstances and devoted loyalty of his death are more dubious, as well as the fact of the duke of Cumberland being the carrier. In the *Caledonian Mercury* of May 15, 1815, the death is given with some variations from the above, and Mackenzie is said to have been a north country gentleman. General Stewart tells the whole story with more material discrepancies; he says, "The young gentleman at different times endeavoured to direct the attention of the troops in pursuit of the fugitive prince to an opposite quarter of the mountains to that in which he knew Charles Edward was concealed after the battle of Culloden. This he effected by showing his person in such a way as that he could be seen, and then escaping by the passes or woods, through which he could not be followed. On one occasion he unexpectedly met with a party of troops, and immediately retired, intimating by his manner as he fled, that he was the object of their search; but his usual good fortune forsook him. The soldiers pursued with eagerness, anxious to secure the promised reward of L.30,000. Mackenzie was overtaken and shot, exclaiming as he fell, 'Villains, you have killed your prince!' and it was not till the head was produced at the next garrison, for the purpose of claiming the reward, that the mistake was discovered."—*Sketches*, vol. i. p. 61.2. The writer in the *Caledonian Mercury* says, that the head was shown and discovered in Edinburgh by a Robert Morison, the prince's barber. In a note to Johnstone's *Memoirs*, we are told, "Mr. Young, on seeing this paragraph, sent for Mr. Robert Morison, architect in Edinburgh, the son of the above mentioned Robert Morison, who after reading it, informed him that it was his uncle Robert Morison, and not his father, to whom Mr. Mackenzie's head was shown, and that Richard was the prince's body servant, and dressed and shaved him. He was taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden, carried to Carlisle, and there condemned, but conveyed to London to view Mr. Mackenzie's head, and promised a pardon if he would declare the truth. He did declare the truth, and was pardoned accordingly."—*Memoirs of the Rebellion*, 219-20, Note.

The chevalier's narrative throughout, evinces the extreme danger in historical writing, of trusting to the records of memory for an accurate relation of events in which the relaters themselves have been engaged, if they have not been noted down at the time; but it is, notwithstanding, valuable for much information, particularly for the insight he gives us into the characters of that party with whom he acted. The notes are judicious.

I have given the tale as in the text with hesitation, and perhaps might have been excused had I omitted it altogether.

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XXIX.

1746.

Arrives at
Lochiel's
hiding-
place.

tice was conveyed to Lochiel, who, with Cluny Macpherson, was in hiding at some distance on Benalder—a hill of great circumference in that part of Badenoch, next to Rannoch—and crossing the loch to Auchnacarry, remained there till he received a message informing him that Cluny would come to him and conduct him to their asylum; which they considered the safest he would find, till the vessels arrived that he expected at Lochnanaugh to convey him to France. With his usual impatience, without waiting for Cluny, he instantly set out with guides for Badenoch, accompanied by M'Donald of Lochgarry, Dr. Cameron, and two servants, leaving him to follow as he might. On approaching Mellanaur, a small sheeling where Lochiel lodged at the time, his friends had very nearly finished his wanderings. When that chief perceived five armed men approaching, he supposed they were a party in search of him, and as his lameness precluded the idea of flying, he resolved to receive the enemy with a general discharge of all his musketry; his companions were accordingly arranged under cover with their pieces loaded and levelled, when they discovered that it was their prince they were in the act of conspiring against. A joyful welcome was given to Charles and his attendants, who were plentifully regaled from a better stocked larder than his highness had lately been accustomed to.*

LIV. Two days after, Cluny arrived, and the party removed to a very peculiar habitation prepared by him, called the Cage, and of which he dictated and left the following description:—"It was situated in the face of a very rough high and rocky mountain, called Lillernilichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, within the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of

* "There was plenty of mutton, an anker of whisky containing twenty Scots pints, some good beef sausages made the year before, with plenty of butter and cheese, besides a large well-cured bacon ham. Upon his entry, the prince took a hearty dram, which he sometimes called for thereafter to drink the healths of their friends. When some minced collops were dressed with butter in a large saucepan, which Lochiel and Cluny always carried about with them, being the only fire vessel they had, his royal highness ate heartily, and said with a very cheerful countenance, 'Now gentlemen I live like a prince'."

wood ; there were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor ; and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other, and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape, and the whole thatched and covered over with fog [moss]. This whole fabric, hung, as it were, by a huge tree, which reclined from the one end, all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage ; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney, where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The cage was no longer than to contain six or seven persons : four of whom were frequently employed in playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking."

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XXIX.
1746.
Description of Clu-
ny's cage.

LV. In this strange habitation, Charles resided till the thirteenth September, when he received information of the arrival of two French vessels at Lochnanaugh, and instantly set out, attended by Lochiel, Roy Stuart, and Lochgarry, travelling by night, and resting by day. They arrived at Boradale on the nineteenth, where about a hundred of his unfortunate adherents embarked along with him on board the Happy Privateer of Morlaix, a vessel belonging to Walsh,* who originally fitted him out for his adventure. He next day set sail from the spot where he had first landed, and being favoured by a fog, arrived safely in France ; after having astonished Europe by the temerity with which he commenced his enterprise, and disappointed his friends by the pusillanimity with which he gave it up.†

Charles
embarks at
Boradale.

Arrives in
France.

* Henderson says, the owner of the vessel was an Irishman.—Johnstone that his name was Mr. Welsh of Nantes.—Mem. p. 210.

† Chevalier Johnstone thus sums up the matter, "All that we can say is, VOL VI.

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1746.
His mean-
ness re-
garding the
money sent
from
France.

LVI. The balance of the money which had come from France, and which he could not carry away, was left in Scotland, with strict injunctions, that not one farthing should be touched without his orders; a few trifling sums he desired to be given to some of the sufferers by a note sent Cluny before he finally departed—but he had not the justice to cause it be distributed among the generous though infatuated preservers of his life, who could have purchased their own pardon, and gained thirty thousand pounds by discovering him!*

Many of
the chiefs
escape.

LVII. A pitiable fate attended the partizans of his family, many of whom were doomed to forfeit, for an attempt against the religion and liberty of their country, those estates their ancestors had acquired by the ruin, confiscation, and murder of its noblest defenders. Although the highlanders, while in arms, were not renowned for their respect to the rights of property, nor their regard for human life, yet their expedition, except in the field, had neither been tracked by rapine nor blood; and the nation in general was, in consequence, more inclined to disapprove than to second the severity of government. The peculiar customs of the mountains preserved their chiefs among the hills—the common sympathies of our nature assisted their escape when they left them: many of the leading men got away from the coast of Fife, and the northern ports, to the continent, and others were concealed in various quarters till the danger was past.

LVIII. Of the more distinguished prisoners, Kilmarnock was taken at Culloden, Balmerino shortly after, and with the earl of Cromarty and lord Macleod, sent to London early in May. The marquis of Tullibardine, flying to the west, found himself unable to proceed, and delivered himself up to Buchanan of Drummikill, and was also sent to London, where he died in the Tower in the month of July that same year,

that this prince entered on his expedition rashly and without foreseeing the personal dangers to which he was about to expose himself; that in carrying it on, he always took care not to expose his person to the fire of the enemy; and that he abandoned it at a time when he had a thousand times more reason to hope for success than when he left Paris to undertake it.—*Memoirs of the Rebellion*, p. 211.

* He had afterwards the ineffable meanness to send for the money for his own personal use.

dissuading his friends with his last breath from ever undertaking the hopeless project of another Stuart restoration. The duke of Perth got on board a French ship on the west coast, but, broken down with disease, fatigue, and chagrin, he sunk under the complication, before he reached land. Stirling of Keir with his son, and Stirling of Craighennet were taken out of a Dutch ship in the Clyde, and committed to Dunbarton castle, but the two latter contrived to effect their escape. Murray, the secretary, incapable, from indisposition, to endure the fatigue of lurking among the hills without covert, sought refuge with his brother-in-law, Mr. Hunter of Polmood, but being informed against by a loyal herdsman, was seized, and afterwards obtained his pardon by becoming king's evidence against Lovat, who was soon after also apprehended in his hiding-place, whence he had vainly boasted he would defy the whole force of king George to take him.*

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Fate of his
principal
adherents.

* Lovat, with his servants and a guard of resolute well-armed men, had retired into an island in Lochmorar, a fresh water lake, twelve miles in length, and somewhat more than a mile distant from the next sea coast. In this pleasant little island his lordship lived with Macdonald of Morar the proprietor, bishop Hugh Macdonald, the pope's apostolical vicar of Scotland, Dr. Macdonald, and several others of that family. Here they deemed themselves perfectly secure, having brought all the boats on the lake to their island; but a party of three hundred men being landed from some men of war on the coast, under captain Ferguson, R. N. and two captains Campbell of the regulars, performed a difficult and dangerous march of nine miles over inconceivably rugged rocks, where oftentimes but one man abreast could clamber; on arriving at Loch Morar, the others insultingly fired at them, and called them the most opprobrious names. This exultation, however, was quickly at an end, for the king's ship having sailed round to that part of the coast where the land was not a mile across, the sailors carried their boats to the loch; immediately the rebels lost courage, when they perceived them moving overland, and suddenly taking to their own craft, all escaped except Dr. Macdonald, who was caught and brought back. The bishop's house and chapel were quickly gutted, the sailors merrily adorning themselves with the sacred vestments. Upon examination, it was concluded that Lovat could not have accompanied the others on account of his lameness, and after a strict search he was found lying between two feather beds not far from the side of the lake; and unable to resist, he surrendered his arms and strong box to captain Campbell. His lordship was put into a boat, and rowed down the lake; at the lower end of which the sailors "made a run with him" overland to the sea side; the pipers all the while playing Lord Lovat's March!—Letter to the duke of Newcastle on the danger of popery and disaffection. Lond.—Scots Mag. 1747, p. 614.

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Prepara-
tions for
trying the
prisoners.Peers at-
tainted.Trial and
execution
of the Eng-
lish

LIX. Dreadful as the mutual animosities of intestine warfare are in the field, or the devastations of the triumphant party in the hour of victory, yet neither, although productive of much more extensive misery, awaken such sentiments of horror or of compassion, as the deliberate executions that usually await its close, and the sufferings of the impoverished exiles that follow, even when convinced of their necessity and justice. Preparatory to this consummation, in the month of February, after the march of the army north had re-assured the government, and promised success to the royal party, the rebel officers, taken at Carlisle, were carried to London; and in the month of March, an act was passed, authorising the trial of all prisoners in custody, or that might be apprehended for rebellion, before a commission of Oyer and Terminer, in such counties and shires of the realm as should be assigned by the king's commission, under the great seal. When Culloden had insured, and the flight of the pretender had stamped the fate of his adherents, the first sweeping measure of punishment was meted out to the vanquished in a bill of attainder, which passed against the earl of Kellie, viscount Strathallan, lords Pitsligo, George Murray, the duke of Perth, Lochiel, and about forty of the chiefs; to take effect, if they did not surrender themselves for trial before the 12th July, but with no promise of pardon if they did. In June, the court of France, through the medium of the Dutch ambassador, endeavoured to persuade the British, that lenient measures towards the defeated insurgents would reflect more honour, and give greater stability to the family on the throne, than harsh and vindictive; but the insulting interference, as the British minister termed it, only narrowed the avenues of mercy.

LX. On the fifteenth of July the trials commenced at the court-house, St. Margaret's hill, Southwark, with the officers of the Manchester regiment; eighteen were put to the bar, seventeen were found guilty, and on the thirtieth, Townly, their colonel, and other eight, suffered on Kennington-common the barbarous infliction of their sentence, in all its disgusting horrors. Among them was James Dawson, who, in a youthful frolic, had left college, and

dreading censure for his indiscretion, joined the rebels ; great interest was made to procure his pardon ; and the day of his deliverance was to have been the day of his marriage with an accomplished and lovely young lady of fortune, to whom he had been long tenderly attached ; but the intercession was vain ; and his betrothed, who could not be dissuaded from seeing him die, only witnessed her lover's heart committed to the flames, when her own broke.*

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1746.

Case of
James
Dawson.

LXI. Kilmarnock, Cromarty, and Balmerino, against whom bills of indictment had been found by the grand jury of Surrey, were tried, on the twenty-eight, in Westminster hall, by their peers, lord chancellor, Hardwicke, being appointed lord high steward for the occasion ; the two first pleaded guilty, and threw themselves on the king's mercy.

Kilmarnock and
Cromarty
plead
guilty.

Balmerino, when his indictment was read, asked the lord high steward if it would be of service to him to prove that he was not present at the siege of Carlisle, from which place he was distant ten miles at the time specified in the indictment ? His grace answered, it might or might not, according to circumstances ; but observed, it was contrary to form for a prisoner to ask any questions before he pleaded ; and desired him to plead. Balmerino, unacquainted with English forms, answered, he was pleading as well as he could ; but on the steward explaining the meaning of the term, pled not guilty. The court was then addressed by the king's counsel, and a few witnesses examined, who proved that his lordship entered Carlisle at the head of a regiment of horse, called Elphinstone's, with his sword drawn, but not on the day specified in the indictment. When his lordship stated his objection—which in his native land would have been fatal to the charge—the English judges declared, as to the overt act, it was immaterial, as other facts were proved beyond contradiction ; and the accused, who was sensible that it would have been merely a legal evasion, acquiesced. He was then unanimously found guilty, and sent back to the Tower with his companions in misfortune, the chief gaoler

Balmerino
pleads not
guilty.

Condemned.

* Sheutone has commemorated the circumstance in one of his tenderest ballads.

BOOK XXIX. carrying the axe, which he had brought covered, now with its edge turned towards their lordships.

1746.

Kilmarnock's address to the house of peers.

LXII. On the thirtieth, the prisoners were again brought to the bar, and being asked individually if there were any reasons why judgment of death should not pass upon them? Kilmarnock, in a pathetic speech, pled the unshaken loyalty of his ancestors, and his own till the fatal hour of his seduction, after the battle of Preston; alleging his little activity in the service of the pretender, even after he had joined the rebel army, and the many instances of kindness he had shown towards the king's troops when prisoners, and to the sick and wounded; and added—what he afterwards retracted as untrue—that his surrender was voluntary; that though he might have escaped after capture, yet he rather chose to throw himself upon his majesty's clemency than into the arms of a foreign power. Cromarty

also urged his previous loyalty, and his after remorse; but he chiefly appealed to the feelings of the house:—
“I have involved,” said he, with tears, “an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy, and regard to his parents, hurried him down the stream of rebellion; I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my lords, be pledges to his majesty; let them be pledges to your lordships; let them be pledges to my country for mercy! Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears; let the powerful language of innocent nature supply my want of eloquence and persuasion: let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it, and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of!”

Balmerino objects to his trial being in Surrey.

LXIII. Balmerino, with resolute consistency, disdained to sue for mercy; but he objected to the legality of his being tried in the county of Surrey for a crime said to be committed at Carlisle, and to the operation of an *ex post facto* law, which, he contended, could have in justice no retrospect, and desired to be allowed counsel; on which the earl of Bath asked, if the noble lord at the bar had any counsel allowed

him? Balmerino replied, other defences that had occurred to himself or his solicitor having been laid before a counselor, and by him judged trifling, he did not choose to give the court needless trouble; and the above objection had only been communicated to him an hour or two before he had been brought into court. The duke of Newcastle proposed that the king's counsel should answer that objection immediately, but this being opposed, after some debate, counsel was allowed, and the court adjourned to the first of August; when the prisoners being again brought to the bar, his lordship withdrew his objection, his counsel having satisfied him that it could be of no service, apologizing for his having troubled the court about the matter, which he said he would not have done, had he not been persuaded it was well grounded. The lord high steward then addressed the noble prisoners, and pronounced upon them the usual sentence of traitors.

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LXIV. Kilmarnock and Cromarty immediately presented petitions to every quarter where it was thought they would be availing, but the latter only was successful; and for this he was greatly indebted to his lady, whose delicate situation rendered her a powerful suppliant. In deep mourning, accompanied by lady Stair, she went to Kensington, and overcome by her distress, swooned in the act of presenting her petition: the king was sensibly affected, and her husband was reprieved. When Balmerino heard of the exertions the others were making, he sneeringly remarked, "as they appeared to have such interest at court, they might have squeezed his name in between them." During the solemn interval between sentence and execution, the behaviour of the lords was consonant to their behaviour at trial; Kilmarnock was all contrition and remorse for his crime; Balmerino defended his conduct and outbraved his fate.

He withdraws his objection; sentence passed.

Kilmarnock and Cromarty petition.

Cromarty reprieved.

LXV. Monday, the 18th of August, was the day appointed for their execution. The scaffold was erected on Tower Hill; on the Friday preceding, Lovat, who passed to the Tower, saw the preparations going forward, and with some emotion exclaimed, "ah! is it come to this!" Early in the morning of the fatal day, the troops were drawn up, and about ten o'clock the sheriffs of London and Middlesex

Kilmarnock and Balmerino's conduct while under sentence.

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went in procession to the Tower to receive the prisoners. At the foot of the first stairs, the two lords met and embraced, Balmerino nobly paying his friend this melancholy compliment, "my lord, I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition." As they were leaving the place, the deputy-lieutenant said, "God save king George!" the earl of Kilmarnock bowed—Balmerino added, "God bless king James!" They were conducted to two separate apartments in a house prepared for their reception on Tower Hill, opposite the scaffold, for the purpose of their devotions, Kilmarnock assisted by two presbyterian ministers, Messrs. Forster and Home; Balmerino by the chaplain of the Tower and another episcopalian clergyman; and their friends were admitted to take farewell.

Their last
interview.

LXVI. At eleven o'clock, Balmerino, at his own request, was introduced and had an interview with Kilmarnock, when he asked him if he ever saw or knew of any order signed by the prince to give no quarter at Culloden, when Kilmarnock answered, "No, my lord;" and he replied, "Nor I neither." When taking leave, embracing Kilmarnock with the same tenderness as before, he said, "My dear lord, I am only sorry that I cannot pay all this reckoning alone: once more farewell, for ever!" Kilmarnock remained nearly an hour after with his friends, which he employed in devotion, expressing his sincere repentance for his offence, his renovated attachment to the revolution principles, and loyalty to the then present king. Balmerino spent his short time in freely conversing with his friends without affectation and without presumption; twice he refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, and desired the company to drink to him; "but above all," adds Mr. Ford, who acted as under-sheriff, "he called frequently upon God, and seemed both willing and prepared to die."*

LXVII. The earl, after prayer by Mr. Forster—his rank giving him precedence—went first to the scaffold; on approaching which, struck with the appalling objects—the assembled crowd, the block, coffin, executioner, and instrument

* Account of the behaviour of the two lords, published by authority of sheriffs.

of death—he turned to Mr. Home, and said “Home, this is terrible!” yet his demeanour was calm and resigned. The spectators, who had a full view—for the black cloth that covered the railing was lifted up—were more than commonly affected; and even the executioner, bursting into tears, was obliged to have recourse to artificial spirits. The ministers remained with him a considerable time; and after they departed, an interval longer than usual took place in adjusting his hair, and baring his neck, which some attributed to reluctance to die, but which, in fact, was occasioned by undoing the formal dress, the fashion of the time. When ready, he informed the executioner that he would give the signal by dropping a handkerchief; then kneeling upon a cushion before the block, he inadvertently put forward his hands, which the executioner observing, requested him to let them fall down, lest they should be mangled, or break the blow. He was then told that the neck of his waistcoat still stood in the way, and he rose up, and with the help of one of his friends,—Mr. Walkingshaw of Scotstoun—had it taken off, then again knelt, telling the executioner he would only detain him for two minutes, which he apparently spent in the most fervent devotion; and on the appointed signal, his head was severed from his body at one blow. His lordship died in his forty-second year; he attributed his unhappy apostacy from early principle, to fashionable dissipation and the consequent embarrassment of his circumstances, the hope of retrieving which had transformed him into a traitor and a jacobite. His head, at his urgent request, was not exposed, but was delivered, along with his body, to his friends.

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1746.

Execution
of Kilmar-
nock.

LXVIII. Immediately after, the executioner, who was dressed in white, withdrew to shift his clothes, which were stained with blood; and the scaffold was strewed with fresh saw-dust to efface the marks of a previous execution. The under sheriff meanwhile proceeded to lord Balmerino's apartment, who, anticipating his notice, as soon as he entered, said, “I suppose my lord Kilmarnock is no more;” and asking how the executioner had done his duty, upon being informed, observed, “Then it was well done,” and instantly added, “Now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life!” He was dress-

Conduct of
Balmerino.

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ed in the same regimentals that he wore at Culloden—blue turned up with red—and mounted the scaffold with as intrepid an air, as if he had been going to a review; so far from discovering any symptoms of sorrow, he repeatedly reproved his friends for appearing disconsolate, looked with seeming pleasure at the block, and called it his pillow of rest. He walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, gave some money to the warder, and ordering his hearse to draw near, examined the inscription on his coffin; he next read his speech, avowing his attachment to the dethroned family, and his regret for ever having served any other. Calling for the executioner, he came, and was about to ask forgiveness, when his lordship stopped him, “Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness, the execution of your duty is commendable;” and presenting him with three guineas, said, “I never had much money; this is all I have; I wish it was more for your sake, and am sorry I can put nothing else to it but my coat and waistcoat,” which he instantly took off and laid on his coffin. Then drawing on a flannel waistcoat, which he had provided, as he said, for his shroud, he added the last piece of dress, a tartan night cap, affirming, that he died a Scottishman; and going up to the block, gave the executioner his instructions respecting the signal. Turning to his friends, to take his last farewell, on looking to the crowd, he said to a gentleman who stood near, “I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold, but it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience.” He now took the axe from the executioner, and having felt the edge, returned it to him again, at the same time showing him where to strike the blow; and exhorting him to do it with resolution, he added, “for in that, friend, will consist your mercy.” With unaltered countenance, he knelt down at the block, and with his arms extended, having said aloud, “O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless king James, and receive my soul,” dropped them as the signal. The executioner, taken by surprise, not expecting it so soon, struck the unfortunate lord a blow, not sufficient to separate the head from the body, but sufficiently strong to destroy feeling, two others finished the operation and his lifeless remains were also delivered to his friend.

His execution.

LXIX. Three Scottish officers—James Nicolson, a lieutenant in Perth's regiment, captain Donald Macdonald, a nephew of Keppoch's, and lieutenant Walter Ogilvy, of lord Lewis Gordon's, tried at St. Margaret's—were the next that suffered; the two latter were youths, not much exceeding twenty years of age, and the former left a wife and five young children. Twenty-two received sentence of death at the same place, on the 15th of November, of whom only five—sir John Wedderburn, collector of excise for the pretender; John Hamilton, governor of Carlisle; Leith, a captain in Perth's; captain A. Wood, a youth of twenty-two; and Bradshaw, a life guardsman, formerly a merchant in Manchester—were executed.

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Executions
which fol-
lowed in
London.

LXX. Carlisle, however, was the scene of the most extensive commission, to which not fewer than three hundred and eighty-five of the rebels were carried, yet of these but thirty-four—chiefly officers—suffered the last punishment; nine at Carlisle, seven at Brampton, and seven at Penrith, in October, and eleven afterwards, on the 15th of November.* Of the common men, the vast majority had been most cruelly dragged out to the field, and neither knew nor cared much about the pretender; yet, as they had been guilty of open rebellion, it was deemed unsafe for the state to allow them altogether to escape, and to have executed the whole would have as little met the exigence; they were therefore allowed to draw lots, one in twenty to be tried, and the remainder to be transported; some refused accepting this chance, and chose rather to hazard a trial. The evidence against them were chiefly soldiers; those who were Scottishmen occasioned some delay by refusing to swear, by kissing the book; and it was not till after long reasoning, that the English judges consented they should be sworn according to the more solemn and awful form of Scotland. But the prisoners were treated with every indulgence compatible with their situation. Bills of indictment were found against

Trials at
Carlisle.

Indulgence
shown the
prisoners.

* Several made their escape after apprehension, among others, at Ettrick Braehead, Duncan Maclaren, drover, having given his horse to one of the soldiers to hold, under pretence of retiring, he swaddled himself in his plaid, and rolled down the brae, and though he was pursued and fired at, got off.—*Scots Magazine*, 1746, p. 441.

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one hundred and nineteen before the 16th of August, and they were allowed till the 9th of September to prepare for their trial; were desired to choose what counsel and solicitors they pleased, and the clerk of the court was directed to make out *subpœnas gratis*, to bring what witnesses they thought proper for their exculpation. The trials commenced on the 12th—when fifteen more were indicted—and continued till the 26th, when the result was;—one Charles Douglas pled his peerage as lord Mordington, and had it allowed, eleven pled guilty when arraigned, thirty-two when brought to be tried, thirty-seven were found guilty, eleven recommended to mercy, thirty-six acquitted, and five discharged for want of evidence.

The result.

Behaviour
of Cap-
pock,

of Bucha-
nan of Arn-
prior.

LXXI. These trials were conducted with much lenity and moderation, and the evidence was full and explicit.* The only occurrence almost worth notice, related to Thomas Cappock, created by Charles bishop of Carlisle. He was about twenty-seven years of age, and in the enjoyment of a good benefice, near Manchester, when he was induced to enlist with the rebels, among whom he acted in the double capacity of priest and quarter-master. On his trial he gave a specimen of both characters, by appearing at the bar in his gown and cassock, and by his address to his fellow criminals, who appeared affected by their sentence. "What the devil," said the reverend soldier to one of them who shed tears, "are you afraid of? we shan't be tried by a Cumberland jury in the other world." His behaviour was in the same style at the place of execution, and suffered much by comparison with that of Buchanan of Arnprior, who died along with him. From the time of his sentence, till his last moment, this gentleman discovered a sweetness of temper, an undisturbed calmness and firmness of mind, that charmed all who attended him; and he left the world with a placidity, which deepens the regret that he should

* The jacobites, who exclaimed about the cruelty of these proceedings, forgot, and seemed to think others would forget, the trials after Bothwell Bridge, or these after Monmouth's defeat, during what James facetiously called "Jeffrie's campaign." The Scots Magazine, though it has evidently a leaning, readily allows the humanity with which these trials were conducted. If government been sanguinary, they might have quadrupled the sufferers been guilty of one act of injustice.

have perished in such a cause. When the rope was about his neck, he said, "If I have offended any, I earnestly beg they'll forgive me, for I am sure I forgive all the world!"

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Kinlochmoidart and Macdonald.

Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, and major Macdonald of Tyndnish, were also executed at the same time, and evinced a becoming firmness, without parade, on that awful occasion.

LXXII. At York the commission opened on the twentieth of August, and the high sheriff's chaplain prefaced their proceedings by an assize sermon from a text, which had a presbyterian chosen, would have been deemed sufficiently barbarous, "And Moses said unto the judges of Israel, slay ye every one his men that were joined unto Baal-peor." Numb. xxv. 5. Fortunately the judges were actuated by another spirit: of seventy-five, against whom true bills had been found, only twenty-two met the doom of traitors, and five were acquitted.

Trials and executions at York.

LXXIII. Few rebellions of such magnitude have caused so little bloodshed on the scaffold; for after these executions, there were not many convictions, and none of note except Ratcliff and Lovat, whose decapitation appropriately closed the scene of death, as he had been one of the earliest and most faithless of the rebels. Ratcliff, the younger brother of Derwentwater, who was executed in 1716, was taken in a French vessel on his passage from France to Scotland, and executed on his former sentence. Lovat was impeached by the house of commons the following session.

Reflections.

LXXIV. While the law was vindicating the authority of government against the rebels in England, the Argyle faction was allowing the law to be insulted by the soldiery in Scotland. Duke Archibald, unlike his brother John, flattered the political prejudices of the English ministry to maintain himself in power; and envious of the moral altitude and high influence that the president had attained, while he himself, by his journies to London, endeavoured to wean the affections of the government from his lordship, the lord justice-clerk endeavoured to thwart him in the court of justiciary, and to counteract his operations in the court of session. The army had not only been guilty of very wanton oppression and cruelty in the highlands, in the first moments of exultation and revenge, but had carried their outrages

Attempts to hurt Forbes with the government, and to thwart him as a judge.

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1746.

He obtains
a decision
restricting
the power
of the mi-
litary.

into the low country, and against the harmless and the loyal; while the Scottish managers winked at their conduct, and the courts were unwilling to receive complaints and dilatory in redressing them; till the president, whose love of justice was untainted by the love of power or party, obtained that decision which taught obedience to the soldier, and gave confidence to the country.

Outrage of
the military
at Stirling.

LXXV. One flagrant instance occurred at Stirling; lieutenant Stoyt of Howard's regiment, had ordered a wig from William Pollock, which, when finished, was sent home by his journeyman William Maiben. The wig, however, not pleasing the lieutenant, he abused both the man and the wig, and ordered him "to be gone with his ——— article." Maiben in retiring muttered to himself that Stoyt was a troublesome scoundrel, and if he had him out he could kick him for his commission. Stoyt, who did not choose to risk his carcass in single combat with the enraged barber, took a soldier along with him to Pollock's shop, and struck Maiben repeatedly with a staff over the head till it broke; other officers rushing into the shop on seeing the affray, not only aided the heroic Stoyt against the journeyman, but likewise beat the master, who attempted to rescue his servant, and forcibly dragged off the unfortunate understrapper to the guardhouse. Stoyt immediately complained to his colonel of the affront, and poor Maiben was ordered to be stripped, tied to the halberts and whipped. On hearing of this daring insult on the civil power, three of the magistrates waited upon colonel Howard, and desired the culprit to be delivered to them, assuring him that they would see justice done; but the only answer they received was: "He had ordered Maiben to be flogged, and flogged he should be; and they should know that he commanded in Stirling:" and accordingly the punishment was inflicted. In consequence, an information was instantly given in to the court of justiciary, in name of Pollock, Maiben, and the magistrates, charging lieutenant Stoyt as guilty of hamesucken against Pollock and Maiben, and lieutenant-colonel Howard, and lieutenant Nelson who superintended the execution, of "a barbarous and cruel abuse and maltreatment of Maiben's person in a most minious manner, and of a manifest invasion of the of

Complaint
lodged a-
gainst
them in the
justiciary
court.

magistracy, and of the rights and liberties of the subject : and therefore craving a warrant for apprehending their persons and imprisoning them till they should undergo the law." But their lordships, instead of granting a warrant as prayed for, remitted the case to the sheriff to inquire and report. In the interim, the regiment was ordered for England, whither it set out next day, and on its march halted at Glasgow, where the magistrates entertained the officers, and complimented them with the freedom of the city.

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Conduct of
the court.

LXXVI. Complaints before the court of session of military interference were extensively numerous, being met by similar judicial evasion, when the following case, before referred to, vindicated the character of that court, and declared the supremacy of the law. Thomas Ogilvy of Coul, merchant, Dundee, had been apprehended upon suspicion in the preceding November and thrown into prison, where he still remained; during the month of June, captain Charles Hamilton of Cobham's dragoons, not only turned out the whole of the cattle belonging to John Kerr and Alexander Guthrie, two of Mr. Ogilvy's tenants, and appropriated the parks of Coul as grazings for the king's horse, but when these were ordered south, roused the parks, and received the money for the current season's grass; then took possession of the mansion-house of Coul and lands adjacent, turned out David Ogilvie, his tenant, roused the household furniture, cattle, horses, and farming utensils, and gave intimation that in the month of August the growing corns would be exposed for sale. Of these proceedings the landlord complained, and represented that Kerr and Guthrie had never had their loyalty suspected, and although Ogilvie might, his property could not be forfeited before conviction, nor in any event could the complainer be deprived of his hypothec; and urged, that if a timely check was not given to these proceedings, Hamilton, or any other officer, might take possession of the rest of his estate, turn out his tenants, and rouse his lands.

Case of
Ogilvie of
Coul.

His com-
plaint.

LXXVII. To this complaint Hamilton was ordained to lodge answers within five days; but the captain neglecting or despising the order, the court found him guilty of contempt of their authority, and issued a warrant for his incarceration, "until he should find sufficient caution to answer the com-

Hamilton
found guilty of con-
tempt of
court.

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His de-
fence.Judgment
of the
court.Importance
of this de-
cision.Opinion of
the English
respecting
the Scots.

plaint against the first of November, and for such damages as should be found due to the complainer." Hamilton, perceiving now that it would be vain to contend, found the caution required, and gave in his answers, in which he rested his defence chiefly upon the troubled state of the country, which authorised the interference of the military during the suspension of the regular courts; and on the act of indemnity which secured the officers from prosecution, for imprisoning persons, seizing horses, carts, &c. and divers acts which could not be justified by the strict forms of law, yet were necessary for defence of his majesty's person and government. On the 18th December, the lords, after fully considering the whole subject, issued their important interlocutor, and "found that the matters charged on captain Hamilton not appearing to have been advised, commanded, or done, in order to suppress the late unnatural rebellion, or for the preservation of the public peace, or for the safety or service of government, did not fall under the act;" and therefore adjudged "the said captain Hamilton to be liable for the rent of the parks set to Kerr and Guthrie for the current year, and for the goods and cattle of David Ogilvie intromitted with by him, to the extent of the landlord's hypothec."

LXXVIII. The merit of this decision, which tended so greatly to tranquillize the country, is the more eminent when we consider, that the greater part of the lowlands was always adverse to the rebels, but, being unarmed, had been obliged to temporize in the time of their power, and were therefore now most loyally vindictive, and willing to wipe away the odium of inactivity, or the suspicion of disaffection, by extenuating, if not encouraging, the exactions and arrogance of the royal army.

LXXIX. Throughout England, too, there was a general impression that the Scots were, with a few exceptions, all favourable to cause of the Stuarts. The fact was notorious, that whatever advantages Scotland had reaped from the Union, were not the result of any kind conciliating conduct on the part of the English portion of the legislature; who, in almost every case, brought their native prejudice into the councils of the empire, and treated their north

fellow-subjects with illiberality, whenever their interests seemed to come in competition with what they supposed to be their own. They therefore concluded, that because they had insulted and injured the Scots, they must of course have incurred their hatred, and that it was now necessary to oppress and extinguish them as a nation, to prevent their wishing to shake off the yoke: and not only were these sentiments advocated in the party-pamphlets of the times, but were openly avowed in the debates in parliament. In this they were flattered by a political party in Scotland, who, only aiming to retain their seats, were afraid of opposing what they thought would be agreeable to the English ministry—their own themselves terrified at the opposition being strengthened by the public voice—and meanly contributed to flatter the undistinguishing London mob clamour against the Scots, being willing that all their countrymen, except their own dependents and retainers, should be represented as unfriendly to government; with whose stability they were anxious their own should appear as inseparably connected. The troops showed this opinion more offensively. General Hawley insulted the city of Edinburgh, by erecting a permanent gallows in the Grassmarket, which remained for six months, to affront the city, till some of the inhabitants indignantly pulled it to pieces during a wintry night. The whole of the military proclamations were in the same style; and the uniform burning of the episcopalian meeting-houses cannot be less considered as expressive of hatred to jacobites, than of contempt for the country; and it was remarked, that to the complaints against military outrage was ostentatiously opposed the pitiful show of marching a band of chimney-sweeps, with the hangman at their head, to burn at the cross the banners of the rebel chiefs, which had so lately waved there triumphantly.

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1746.

Abject servility of the Scottish representatives.

Hawley erects a permanent gallows in the Grassmarket.

Banners of the rebel chiefs burned at the cross.

LXXX. Parliament, which met on November 18th, was informed by the king, that, during the recess, he had been particularly attentive to extinguish any remains of the late rebellion, and to re-establish peace as far as remained with him, and that he expected the rest from their prudent deliberations. The commons assured him that they would not fail on their parts to answer his just expectations, by

Parliament.

BOOK
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1746.

Lovat
impeached.

taking all such further measures as should appear conducive to re-establish, upon a lasting foundation, the security, and tranquillity of government. The suspension of the habeas corpus act was accordingly continued till the 20th February, and measures taken for the impeachment of lord Lovat, which was announced to the peers on the 10th December.

His trial.

Charges
proved a-
gainst him.His de-
fence—en-
deavours to
destroy the
credibility
of the wit-
nesses.His cha-
racter of
secretary
Murray.

LXXXI. After various delays, arising chiefly from his lordship's applications for time to prepare his defence and bring up his witnesses, his trial commenced on the ninth day of March, and continued, with one or two interruptions, till the nineteenth, when he was found guilty of high treason, and received sentence of death. It was clearly proved against him by Murray of Broughton, secretary to Charles; by Robert Fraser, his own secretary, as well as by other evidence, and his own letters, that he had signed the association to support the pretender, accepted of a commission to be lieutenant general of the highlands, and a patent to be duke of Fraser from him; that he had written to Charles Edward as prince of Wales; that he had sent round the fiery cross, and forced, against his inclination, his son, the master of Lovat, with the clan, to join his army; and that, after the battle of Culloden, he had assisted at a council of war for the purpose of renewing the rebellion. In an ingenious and artful defence, Lovat endeavoured to destroy the credibility of the witnesses adduced against him, by a very strong and powerful general objection; that a person who had himself been in the rebellion, and who gave evidence in expectation of life—which, as his witnesses had not received previous pardon, they must all of necessity have done—was not to be trusted, as he durst not say any thing that would endanger his own safety; at the same time, that he contended their private characters were such as entirely to render them unworthy of regard. “The infamous fellows the secretaries,” were objects of his keenest invective “Murray” was thus represented “the most abandoned of mankind, who, forgetting his allegiance to his king and country, has, according to his own confession, endeavoured to destroy both, like another Cataline, to patch up a broken fortune upon the ruin and distress of his native country. To-

stealing into France, to enter into engagements upon, your lordships may believe, the most sacred oaths of fidelity; soon after, like a sanguinary monster, putting his hand and seal to a bloody proclamation, full of rewards for the apprehending the sacred person of his majesty: and, lest the cup of iniquity had not been filled, to sum up all in one, impudently he appears at your lordships' bar to betray those very secrets which he confessed he had drawn from the person he called his prince, his lord and master, under the strongest confidence." Then endeavouring to work upon the fears of his judges, some of whom were themselves implicated in Murray's narrative, he proceeded.—"But if, after all I have said, your lordships can pay the most distant regard to the secretary's evidence, it is hard to determine how many of his majesty's other faithful subjects may escape the licentious liberty of his impeachment." "For let him once think, that upon the multiplicity of his accusations his worthless life depends, and there is no reason to apprehend any of the most faithful subjects can boast of a long security." And he finished by this most cogent conclusion: "I will not, my lords, trouble your lordships much upon the objections to which my counsel have spoken against the competence of this witness; but if a desire of life to so wicked a person, who must be afraid to die, can be any inducement to swear falsely, it is apprehended impossible any of your lordships can give the least degree of credit to the oath of the villain, secretary Murray." Robert Fraser he dismissed very summarily, as "a person who never had the good fortune to be worth a shilling, and whose veracity and truth never exceeded his riches; one of those honest gentlemen, whose mouth seldom opens but for their tongues to lie."

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1746.

Of Fraser.

LXXXII. The case, however, was so clear, and their testimony was confirmed by so many indisputable facts, that he was himself convinced it was impossible for the lords to have acquitted him; and afterwards only expressed his chagrin at being convicted by his own servants, by the men he had nurtured in his own bosom, and to whom he had been so kind;—that, he said, "was shocking to human nature."

He is con-
demned.

LXXXIII. His conduct, from the time of his condemnation till his execution, was what could have been little expected

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XXIX.

1746.

His beha-
viour under
sentence.Solicits a
pardon for
his son.Desires to
be buried
in Scot-
land.

from the tenor of his previous life; his spirits never appear to have failed him, and he sported a kind of rude humour to the last. Could we credit his own declaration, in a letter to his son, then confined in Edinburgh castle, his hopes were those of a true penitent;* even his conversation, imperfectly as it is reported, would lead to a similar conclusion; nor would it become us now to pronounce:—had he been a patriot, dying for his country, his behaviour would have been in character; as it was, it presented a strange and irreconcilable anomaly. On the third of April, the warrant for his execution on the ninth, was notified to him, and he received it with the greatest resignation, having previously refused to petition for himself, saying, that he was so old and infirm that his life was not worth asking; but he petitioned for a pardon to his eldest son. He professed himself a Roman catholic, of the sect of the Jansenists, and passed the solemn interval in the exercises of devotion, and in frank jocular conversation; now openly avowing his attachment to the Stuarts, yet speaking with respect of the family on the throne, and with affection of George I. His high ideas of chieftainship never forsook him; he told some friends, who came to see him, he would have his body carried to Scotland to be interred in his own tomb in the church of Kirkhill; and said, that he had once made a codicil to his will, where all the pipers from Johnnie Groat's-house to Edinburgh were invited to play before his corpse, for which they were to have a handsome allowance; and though that might not be thought proper now, yet he was sure some of the good old women in his own country would sing a coronach before him, “and then,” added he, “there will be odd

* The following is an extract :—“ We have provoked God by our sins, which most certainly have brought these troubles upon us. I do sincerely thank God for these troubles, because they have brought me from a way of sin, that I lived many years in, to a way of repentance and humiliation, and instructed me to follow my dear Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, as I ought to do. I therefore, my dear child, earnestly beg of you, with the sincere heart of a tender and affectionate father, to repent of all your sins and transgressions, and to throw yourself at the foot of the cross of Christ, begging, for his suffering's sake, which you know were great, to give you true repentance, to forgive your sins, and be reconciled to you for the sake of his blood that he shed upon the cross for sinners.”

crying and clapping of hands, for I am one of the greatest chiefs in the highlands."

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LXXXIV. Thursday, the day of his execution, he awoke about three o'clock in the morning, and prayed most devoutly; at five he got up, and called for a glass of wine and water, according to his usual custom, and seemed as cheerful as ever; then being placed in his chair, sat and read till seven, when he called for another glass of wine and water. At half-past nine, he breakfasted heartily on minced veal, and after it drank the healths of his friends in a similar beverage.* At eleven he left the Tower, and rested in the same house where the former lords had stopped; before leaving it, he thanked the sheriff for his attention, and expressed a hope that his blood would be the last that would be spilled upon that occasion. Ascending the scaffold, assisted by two wardens, he looked round, and seeing the vast crowd that had collected, said to his attendants, "God save us! why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old gray head that can't get up three steps without two men to support it?" and observing one of his friends much dejected, he clapped him on the shoulder, and bade him "Cheer up thy heart, man; I'm not afraid, why should you?" As soon as he came upon the scaffold, he called for the executioner, and pulling out a purse, told him, "Here is ten guineas for you, pray do your work well; for if you should cut and hack my shoulders, and I should be able to rise again, I shall be very angry with you:" then desiring to see the axe, he felt its edge, and said he believed it would do, looked at his coffin, and sitting down, repeated, "*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.*" After a short pause, he delivered his gold-headed cane to Mr. William Fraser his solicitor, and afterwards his hat and wig, with a charge that the executioner should not touch any of his clothes; then unloosed his cravat and the neck of his shirt. Having adjusted himself to receive the stroke, he, after a short prayer,

His behaviour at the place of execution.

* About ten o'clock, a terrible accident happened upon the hill; a scaffold, raised many stories, with several hundreds of persons on it, fell down with a crash, killed eight people on the spot, and wounded a number, of whom ten died next day in the hospitals, besides the master carpenter of the scaffold and his wife, who were selling beer underneath when it fell.

BOOK gave the signal, and the executioner at one blow struck off
XXIX. his head, which was received in scarlet cloth, and, together

1746. with his body, carried back to the Tower, where next day it
 His execu- was ordered to be interred, lest a funeral procession in Scot-
 tion—he is land might have occasioned any disturbance.*
 buried in the Tower.

Forfeited
 Estates
 vested in
 the king
 for the
 public be-
 nefit.

LXXXV. Lovat's was the only parliamentary impeachment, and from it originated a very salutary improvement in the treason law, by which persons impeached in future should be legally entitled to make their full defence by counsel.

An act was subsequently passed, vesting the estates of those who were already or should be attainted before the twenty-fourth of June seventeen hundred and forty-eight, in his majesty, for applying the produce to the public use, after satisfying all private claims upon them; the ascertaining of which was to be committed to the court of session—the management of the leases or sales, to be under the direction of the barons of exchequer. The tenure of ward-holding was next taken away; all lands so held of the crown being turned into blanch-holding for the nominal payment of one penny Scots yearly, and all tenures of lands held of any subject superior, turned into feu-holding for payment of a certain feu-duty yearly, in place of the casualties of ward-

* A strange circumstance took place, which occasioned a great deal of idle speculation at the time. After Lovat received sentence of death, and before his execution, Mr. Painter of St. John's College, Oxford, procured to be forwarded three very extraordinary letters; one to the king, the other to the earl of Chesterfield, and the third to Mr. Pelham, requesting the favour of being executed in room of his lordship. They were then published. The following is a copy of that to Mr. Pelham: "Sir, believing you to be one of the most generous of men alive, and ever ready to do acts of the tenderest greatness, as you are truly great; I am therefore encouraged to apply to you to do me a small service at court. You may the more easily do me this service, because the post I want is not of the same nature with other court preferments, for which there is generally a multitude of competitors, but may be enjoyed without a rival. Will you then refuse to make me truly happy? Is it such a mighty favour to give me what you cannot give to any other man? for no man in the nation will, I believe, accept it at your hands. Do, then, be persuaded; let me persuade you, sir, to intercede with the king in my behalf, that Lovat may be pardoned, and that I may have the honour of being beheaded on the scaffold in his lordship's stead. My pretensions to ask this favour you may see in my letter to the king.—I am, with my hat under my arm, and a very long bow, sir, your most devoted, most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN PAINTER.*

holding, and of all services. Vassals were also released from the duty of attending at head courts at certain times of the year; and no indefinite service under the name of use and wont was exigible after the first of July seventeen hundred and forty-seven. The disarming act was at the same time re-enacted with additional rigour; and after the first of August seventeen hundred and forty-eight, the use of the highland garb was strictly prohibited, except to officers and soldiers in the king's service, under the penalty of imprisonment for the first, and transportation for the second offence;—a clause which betrayed an unmanly and impolitic resentment in a legislature, but never was universally or rigidly enforced; and the plaid and the philabeg, the kilt and the tartan, have survived the proscription.

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1748.

Highland
garb pro-
hibited.

LXXXVI. The disarming was however strictly put in execution, and produced every desirable object; as without this the acts for abolishing the vassalage of tenants and the heritable jurisdictions would have been of very little consequence. These jurisdictions still existed in the lowlands, yet the border chieftains, once so powerful, had become little troublesome to government since their vassals had been disarmed. We now see that the same cause has produced the same effect in the highlands; and when unable to have recourse to arms, the chiefs, like other landlords, have been obliged to have recourse to law.

Disarming
act rigidly
enforced.

Benefit
arising from
it.

LXXXVII. This last measure, intended to destroy the independence of the clans, but which introduced a material and necessary reform in the jurisprudence of Scotland, originated in the house of lords, and to avoid any invidious distinctions, was made to comprehend the whole of Scotland. Before the parliament rose in August seventeen hundred and forty-six, two orders were issued to the court of session,—one to prepare the draught of a bill for remedying the inconveniences arising from the several kinds of jurisdictions in Scotland, and for the regular administration of justice in that part of the united kingdom: the other, to inquire what regalities and heritable sheriffships subsisted; what persons were in possession thereof; and which of such regalities were granted before the act of king James II. of Scotland, which annexed to the royalty all the regalities in

Court of
session or-
dered to
prepare a
bill for the
regular ad-
ministra-
tion of jus-
tice;

and to re-
port re-
specting
regalities,
&c.

BOOK the kings's hands; and with regard to those that had been
XXIX. granted since, which had been granted with deliverance in
 1746. [i. e. consent of] parliament, and which without.

Their reply
to first or-
der.

LXXXVIII. In reply to the first of these orders, the court of session observed, that it was impossible to make any effectual provision for the regular administration of justice by the king's courts, without taking away several kinds of heritable jurisdictions, which by the articles of union were secured to the proprietors as rights of property, and could not be taken away without due satisfaction: they therefore declined framing the draught of any bill which did not proceed on the principle of compensation, but as they were extremely anxious to promote the object, they submitted a few suggestions for their lordships' consideration. The original cause of lodging high jurisdictions in powerful families, they remarked, was owing to the great difficulty experienced in bringing offenders to justice, and enforcing the laws; and the consequent necessity of committing that charge when the country was yet uncivilized, to such as were able to execute it. And as the highlands had at all times been and were then in a state which prevented any process of law from having free course, it was first requisite that due care should be taken to bring that part of the country in subjection to the law, and to secure the execution of processes of all kinds before any hopes could be entertained of seeing a regular administration of justice by the king's courts and judges there. Which being obtained, they proposed:—that circuit courts should be held twice a-year at Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, Aberdeen, and Inverness, where offenders from the highlands and other parts might be brought; and that trial for all crimes, inferring the loss of limb or demembration, should be confined to the court of justiciary at Edinburgh or the judges in these circuits, leaving to the lords of the respective jurisdictions the escheats resulting from the several convictions:—that trials for lesser offences should remain with the sheriffs, or if allowed still to try criminal cases, that their sentences should be reported, with a full copy of the trial, to the justice court for their approval or commutation, in which case all parole evidence should be committed to writing and

Recom-
mend cir-
cuits in the
west and
north.

Regula-
tions for
the sheriffs
and inferi-
or courts.

part of the record—a formality from which the higher court should be relieved :—that the sheriffs' courts should still retain the power of deciding in cases of debt not exceeding two hundred merks Scots, and the baronial or bailie courts the jurisdictions they possessed with regard to small debts, trespasses, and petty offences ; and finally, that the sheriffs and stewards, instead of what they then were entitled to, “ sentence money,”—a sort of poundage out of the sums decerned for—should have a reasonable salary, and be appointed, *aut vitam aut culpam* ; but with regard to the other order, the state of the records, and the confusion of the record office was such, that no satisfactory answer could be given.

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1746.

LXXXIX. Upon these suggestions an act was constructed ; but as the compensation rendered it a money-bill, it was withdrawn from the house of lords, and on the twenty-eighth of February one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven, introduced into the house of commons, described in the preamble as intended “ for remedying the inconveniences that have arisen, and may arise, from the multiplicity and extent of heritable jurisdictions in Scotland ; for making satisfaction to the proprietors thereof ; for restoring to the crown the powers of jurisdiction originally and properly belonging thereto, according to the constitution ; and for extending the influence, benefits, and protection of the king's laws and courts of justice to all his majesty's subjects in Scotland ; and for rendering the union more complete.” By it all the heritable jurisdictions of justiciary, regalities, baileries, constabularies—except the office of high constable of Scotland—sheriffships, deputes, &c. were extinguished after the twentieth of March one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, and their powers vested in the king's courts ; a reasonable satisfaction to be given to the proprietors, whose claims were to be examined and settled by the court of session. The reserved baronial jurisdictions were restricted to assaults, batteries, and smaller crimes, for which the punishment should not exceed a fine of twenty pounds sterling, or three hours in the stocks in day-time, or a month's imprisonment on failure of payment of the fine.

1747.

Bill for
abolishing
Heritable
jurisdic-
tions.

Its enact-
ments.

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1747.

All private prisons or dungeons, which had often been the habitations of horrid cruelty, were abolished; and no person was to be confined in any place but such as had grates or windows, was entered in the sheriff's books, and open to the inspection of friends. One sheriff-depute, who should be an advocate of three years' standing, was to be appointed for every shire, by warrant under the royal sign-manual, during pleasure, for the seven current years, but afterwards *ad vitam aut culpam*; only liable to a summary trial before the court of session for gross misbehaviour or neglect of duty, at the suit of the king's advocate, or any four or more freeholders entitled to vote in elections; with competent salaries, and with power to appoint one or more substitutes during his pleasure. The fines and penalties imposed in these courts, and which had been a source of lucrative oppression formerly were done away, and the shares of such fines or penalties as formerly went to the judge were ordered to be paid into the exchequer at Edinburgh. It was violently debated, and did not finally pass till June.

Objections
of the land-
holders to
the bill.

xc. A number of the Scottish landholders, who were unwilling to relinquish their power, resisted the measure as a violation of their rights, and a breach of the articles of the Union, which had expressly provided for their security; and joined by the usual opposition, contended that it sapped the foundation of private property, if the unwilling owner was forced to sell it at a stipulated price, because it might at some future period be inconvenient for the public that he should retain it; for upon no other principle could the proprietors of heritable jurisdictions, who were loyal, and against whom there were no complaints, nor even an alleged ground of accusation, be obliged, contrary to their inclinations, to part with privileges dear to them beyond all price, and for which money could afford no compensation; and also urged, that it would prove destructive to the liberty of the people, by throwing such a weight of patronage and influence into the hands of the crown.

Its advan-
tages as
stated by
the minis-

xcI. The obvious great and public advantages, it was replied, which would arise from a fair and equitable administration of justice—the necessary consequence of the measure—overbalanced any private interest required to be given up;

besides, this case was especially provided for in that clause of the union compact, which stipulated "that no alteration be made in the laws which concern private right, except for the evident utility of the subjects, within Scotland," the very purpose for which these jurisdictions were now required. With regard to the liberty of the people—the contest was not between the crown on one side and the people on the other; but between the crown and the people united together in one common cause, against the interest of those in whom exorbitant powers were vested—an interest distinct from both; it was not a dispute between liberty and prerogative, but between tyranny and government. And this, it was asserted, was so true, that in no one of the several gothic constitutions established in Europe did ever the people attain to any considerable share of wealth or freedom till they had been emancipated from such jurisdictions, and till all the other powers of the great feudal lords, those petty tyrants—too potent for subjects, too weak for sovereigns, strong enough to oppose, but unable to protect—were entirely absorbed in the more beneficial and salutary power of the crown: a power in Britain which means not an interest opposed to the people, but the authority of the whole commonwealth, a name for the executive part of government, the vigour and energy of the whole state, which acts for the benefit of all its members. The bill passed by a large majority in the commons, but encountered a protest in the house of lords, to which, however, only ten names were attached, and of these not one was Scottish.

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1747.

Definition
of the
power of
the crown.

The bill
passed.

XCII. One hundred fifty-two thousand and thirty-seven pounds, twelve shillings and twopence was the sum paid for this most important accession to the crown: and it is only to be regretted that when this subject, as a general question, was brought into discussion, the legislature had not adopted a more complete reform, and simplified the whole proceedings before inferior courts; that when they took away the poundage paid the judges, they had not so regulated the fees as to have afforded the poor an easy access to justice; and prevented, as far as human wisdom could, the baser aristocracy of wealth from obtaining an influence in our judicatory.

Its defects.

BOOK XXIX. ries, from which it was requisite to exclude the aristocracy of birth.*

1747.

Act of
grace—ex-
ceptions.

xciii. The session closed with an act for the king's most gracious, general, and free pardon, for all treasonable or seditious offences committed before the 15th of June, 1747, excepting, however, all persons then in the service of the pretender, or in those of France and Spain, who had entered after the respective declarations of war; all engaged in the rebellion 1745, who had been beyond seas at any time between the 20th July 1745, and the 15th June 1747; all attainted or convicted before the latter period; and eighty-five individuals by name, together with the long persecuted clan Macgregor. After giving the royal assent to this bill on the 17th of June, his majesty dismissed the parliament with a high complimentary speech, expressing the pleasure he had in passing an act of grace, and the good effects he promised himself in healing, in some measure, these wounds which the rebellion had made, and re-establishing the quiet of the kingdom; since by this act the generality of those who had been deluded from their duty would find themselves restored to security, and to the protection of the laws they had endeavoured to subvert. Next day the parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

Parliament
dissolved.

Edinburgh
elections.

xciv. Edinburgh being in possession of the rebels on Michaelmas 1745, on which day only, according to the set of the city, the election can legally take place, the good town had remained without any civil government, till upon application from a committee of burgesses to the king, an order in council was issued for a poll election; at which all the burgesses were permitted to give in lists of those they desired should fill the different offices, to the town clerks appointed to conduct the business under the superintendence of three judges of the court of session. Polling commenced on the 24th, and was concluded on the 26th November

Magistrates
chosen by
poll.

1746, when a true whig magistracy was returned, with the redoubted volunteer officer, George Drummond, as lord provost, who being approved of by the duke of Argyle and

* Parliament. Hist. vol. xiv. p. 31, *et seq.* 51—57.

his majesty, entered upon the discharge of their civic functions January 3d, 1747. His unlucky predecessor—against whom the most violent prejudice had been excited—upon intimating his arrival at London—November 1745—where he had gone to attend his duty in parliament, was taken into custody; and after being examined before the privy council, was committed to the Tower, where he remained prisoner till the 23d January this year, when he was admitted to bail upon a recognizance to the extent of fifteen thousand pounds sterling, to appear before the court of justiciary at Edinburgh in March. After various adjournments, he was brought to trial on the 6th of August, when the court “found it relevant to infer the pains of law; that the pannel at the time and place libelled, being then lord provost of the city of Edinburgh, wilfully neglected to pursue, or wilfully opposed or obstructed, when proposed by others, such measures as were proper or necessary for the defence of the city against the rebels in the instances libelled, or so much of them as do amount to wilful neglect.” But owing to some informality in citing a witness, the lord advocate deserted the diet *pro loco et tempore*, and he was brought to the bar on a new indictment, 26th October, and next day the trial proceeded. Fifty witnesses were examined for the prosecution, and fourteen in exculpation, which occupied nearly five days and four nights, and on Monday, 2d November an unanimous verdict of not guilty was returned.*

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1747.

Provost
Stewart
confined in
the Tower.His trial
before the
court of
justiciary.

Acquittal.

xcv. This result excited lively satisfaction in the city, and Mr. Stewart's friends had resolved to celebrate the vindication of his character by a festive meeting; but provost Drummond, after a consultation with the lord justice-clerk, informed the public, through the medium of the newspapers, of his having been advised that he might lawfully forbid such a meeting, and his resolution not to suffer it. The meeting was in consequence, never held. Such, however, is the virulence of party, that the magistracy were not satisfied with

His friends
prevented
from cele-
brating it.

* In consequence of the fatigue of this trial, the longest upon record in the books of justiciary, the jury, who sat, with only some very short interval, ninety-four hours, were exempted from being summoned upon any assize for the space of five years. Stewart's Trial, Edin. 1747.

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1747.

Sentence
of the prin-
ter for pub-
lishing a sa-
tirical poem
on the oc-
casion.

His appeal
disregarded
—the sen-
tence exe-
cuted.

Death of
president
Forbes—
his charac-
ter.

this interposition, but carried their furious loyalty to the most oppressive extent. A poem upon Stewart's acquittal, in which the cruelties of the royal party, from the day of Cul-loden to the day of his trial, were satirically exaggerated, and some of the witnesses who were examined against him, the valourous Drummond, Grant, inspector-general of the cus-toms, principal Wishart, and several other conspicuous cha-racters, were treated rather unceremoniously, was published by Robert Drummond, a jacobite printer. For this, he was apprehended, and brought before the bailies, who sentenced him to lie in the jail from the 16th till the 25th of Novem-ber, and then, betwixt the hours of twelve and one, to be carried to the cross, there to stand bare-headed, with this label on his breast, "For printing and publishing a false, scandalous, and defamatory libel," till all the copies of the poem should be burned by the hands of the hangman; then to be kept in prison till he should find security for banish-ing himself the city for a twelvemonth, and be deprived of his privileges as a freeman for the same period. Against this sentence Drummond appealed to the justiciary, on the ground, that a crime of such magnitude, involving so severe a punishment, was entitled to trial by jury; but the jurisdic-tion of the inferior courts was not yet defined; and, as in political cases, a little stretch against an obnoxious indi-vidual is seldom very narrowly examined, the justiciary refus-ed to interfere, and the sentence was inflicted in its utmost rigour.

x cvi. At the close of the year, Scotland lost in Duncan Forbes one of her brightest ornaments; who, without slav-ish attachment to any party, made the cause of his country the chief object of his public life, and who had been not less zealous in his attempts to prevent the rebellion, than active in his exertions to repress it; and equally bold and unshak-en in withstanding the cruel and illegal severities of the vic-tors, as humane and persevering, in his endeavours to alle-viate the sufferings of the unfortunate offenders. He puri-fied and exalted the courts of his country, and redeemed the Scottish bench from the obloquy of ruinous delay in their proceedings, and extreme partiality in their decisions. He was a whig of the old school, who deemed personal re-

the true basis of public virtue, and well merited the tribute that Warburton paid him; "I knew and venerated the man, one of the greatest which ever Scotland bred, both as a judge, a patriot, and a christian."*

BOOK
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1747.

xcvii. The general assembly of the church passed quietly over this year;—so did not the high court of the secession:—the violent spirits in which, finding no occupation elsewhere, burst out into acts of the most unchristian bitterness among themselves, which terminated in the formation of two sects, whose animosity towards each other for some time far exceeded what they bore to their backsliding mother. Their numbers, considerably increased in 1745, consisted of three presbyteries, forming a synod, at whose first meeting a question of useless scrupulosity was agitated respecting the lawfulness of oaths not imposed by government, but forming part of municipal usage; and particularly the following clause imposed in the oath of some burghs, "I profess and allow with my heart, the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorised by the laws thereof; I shall abide at and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion, called papistry."† Messrs. Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, and James Fisher, with some others, contended that this implied simply the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church of Scotland, which they had repeatedly and solemnly approved, and did not imply any consent to the errors against which they had so expressly borne testimony, and from which they had actually seceded. Messrs. Moncrieff, Thomas Mair, Adam Gib, and about an equal number, insisted that the true religion mentioned in this oath, was to be understood as including all the corruptions of both church and state, and swearing the oath imported nothing less than a renunciation of their testimony. Those who defended the clause were called burghers, those who condemned it anti-

Disension
among the
seceders,

respecting
the burghs
oath.

Opposite
opinions as
to its mean-
ing.

Origin of
the designa-
tion of
burghers
and anti-
burghers.

* Letter to Hurd. A complete life of Forbes is still a desideratum in Scottish literature. The sketch before the Culloden Papers is good so far as it goes, but it is too brief.

† The whole had unanimously condemned the mason oath, as an ignorant, childish, and superstitious profanation of the name of God, and agreed to use every endeavour to prevent any of their people from having any thing to do with it.

BOOK
XXIX.

1747.
Burghers
offer an ac-
commoda-
tion—the
antiburgh-
ers carry
their point.

Violent
discussions
on the
subject.

Antiburgh-
ers form a
separate
synod.

Refuse any
conference
with their
brethren.

burghers; and the dispute was carried on, especially by Gib, the champion of the latter, with a personal acrimony beyond even the allowed asperity of polemics.

xcviii. For the sake of peace, the burghers offered to agree to an act, forbidding seceders to swear the clause as "inexpedient;" the antiburghers would admit of nothing except declaring it "sinful;" and, in the synod, April 9, 1746, they carried their point. Against this decision some of the burghers protested as contrary to christian forbearance, tending to rend the body, and in opposition to the rules of the church, the presbyteries not having been consulted.* Some of the antiburghers, however, notwithstanding, proceeded to debar from the Lord's supper such as approved of the oath, which gave rise to still more furious contention. At the synod—April 1747—it was debated whether the act of the synod should be made a term of church communion? and after a stormy discussion, and "too much unchristian altercation," voted "that it should not be a term of ministerial and christian communion with them; at least till the affair should be maturely considered in presbyteries and sessions, and their opinions returned, and further means of unanimity by prayer and conference essayed." The antiburghers, who insisted that the protest and answers should have been first considered, when they found they could not carry that—which in point of form would perhaps have been the regular mode of procedure—protested in their turn; and, headed by Mr. Thomas Mair, withdrew to Mr. Gib's house, where they formed themselves into a synod: and next day "the associate brethren" presented the unlovely spectacle of two hostile synods, each asserting their claims to ecclesiastical power and prerogative.

xcix. Twice the burghers attempted conciliatory measures, and invited the protesters to extrajudicial meetings for prayer and conference, in order to regain harmony in the cause of truth; but the others would have no communication with them, unless they appeared as penitents at their bar, confess-

* It is not a little curious to observe, that these fiery zealots for presbyterian purity fell into one of the most flagrant errors of the general assembly, in point of form, and one of the most prominent abuses against which they bore testimony;—the violation of the barrier act, vide p. 77.

ing their sins, which the burghers declining, the antiburghers proceeded to inflict upon them the highest church censures; and for difference of opinion upon a disputable point, deposed and excommunicated men they accounted christians—delivering them over into the hands of Satan, and casting them out of the church as heathen men and publicans; then, with no small prayer and fasting, they implored the blessing of God upon the transaction!*

BOOK
XXIX.

1747.
Excommuni-
cate them.

c. Trusting to the general sense of the country in favour of the present manageable set of members, government had anticipated by a year the dissolution of parliament; and the returns to the house of commons justified their confidence, a majority being the same that had served in the last. The war on the continent, during the preceding campaign, pressed hard on the British, whose blood and treasure had flowed freely in a foreign dispute; but their success on their native element, where the victories of Anson and Hawke threw a compensating lustre round their arms, and atoned for the sanguinary and fruitless engagements of Cumberland, happened fortunately for exhilarating the public mind before the opening of the new parliament; and when it sat down, [November 12th] afforded matter of gratulation in the royal speech, which also announced the prospect of a general pacification. But, in the meantime, his majesty advised "to be prepared for either event, and to proceed in consolidating domestic peace; and if any further provisions should be found expedient to render more effectual the good laws lately made for the security of the present establishment, extinguishing the spirit of rebellion, and for the better civilizing, improving, and reducing into order any part of the united kingdom, he depended on their known affection to him and to their country for setting seriously and early about so good a work." These in this session consisted chiefly of re-enactments, with temporary alterations of the statutes already noticed, of which the only one that occasioned any lengthened debate was that respecting the episcopalian clergy in Scotland.†

The king
recom-
mends mea-
sures for
consolidat-
ing domes-
tic peace.

* Brown's Hist. of the Secession.

† By a foolish and tyrannical exercise of power, the senate of a free people
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BOOK
XXIX.

1748.

Act for re-
gulating
episcopacy
in Scot-
land.Scottish
bishops
appointed
by the pre-
tender.

ci. Episcopacy had, ever since the reign of Anne, been gaining ground in the Scottish capital and in the north, and its proselytes, though not numerous, were of a description calculated to awaken the jealousy of the presbyterians;* yet were they treated with lenity if not with kindness by government, till two rebellions had proclaimed that farther forbearance would have been both dangerous and impolitic. In 1746, parliament passed an act allowing such episcopal pastors to officiate as had been ordained by protestant bishops and took the oaths of allegiance; but with a suppleness of conscience and a faculty of evasion for which they were always distinguished, the Scottish episcopal clergy, with not half a dozen of exceptions, swallowed the oaths and continued their vocations:—it was then deemed necessary to prohibit all from being pastors of that persuasion, or officiating in their meeting-houses, who had not received their orders from bishops of the church of England or Ireland, besides taking the oaths.

cii. Against this act, which was strongly opposed in the house of lords, a ridiculous outcry was raised, as cruel and persecuting, and worse than the worst acts of Charles the Second; but the arguments for its necessity were unanswerable:—It is a leading principle in episcopacy, that the king is the temporal head of the church, to whom the bishops must swear allegiance, and to whom every person they ordain must likewise profess obedience: now the whole of the Scottish bishops were almost, without exception, appointed by a *congé d'elire* from the pretender, or from persons de-

interposed to prevent the public from being acquainted with their proceedings, except by the result; and acting upon the principle of pure despotism, that subjects have nothing to do with the laws but obey them, the house of lords punished several printers for publishing their debates and acquainting the nation with the reasons upon which the statutes were professed to be founded. In consequence, the parliamentary history, for some years very defective, had to be gleaned chiefly from private sources; fortunately, however, as regards Scotland, the reasonings upon the most important acts have in this manner, been pretty fully preserved.—Parliamentary History, vol. xv. an. 1747.

* They consisted chiefly of young men of fashion and young ladies. “The episcopalian meeting-house here [Aberdeen] is the handsomest I have seen in Scotland, having a neat organ and many other ornaments. The handsomest young ladies are generally attendants on those meeting-houses, and are generally esteemed as jacobites.”—Journal of a Medical Officer, &c. p. 105

riving their authority from him; and to allow priests, receiving orders from them, to officiate as clergymen, was to openly admit the claim of the pretender to be head of the Scottish episcopalian church, and afford protection to persons whose office and oaths obliged them to support his pretensions. "To conscientious non-jurors, or even rebels," said chancellor Hardwicke, "I would show as much compassion as is consistent with public safety, while they remain quiet, without propagating their principles; but to a set of people who, notwithstanding their being jacobites in their hearts, not only take all the oaths we can impose, but worm themselves into places of trust and confidence under the present government, and yet join in, or are ready to join, any rebellion against it:—with respect to such men, I must say that no regulation we can make, no punishment we can inflict, can be called cruel or unjust."

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1748.

Hard-
wicke's
speech.

civ. The act received the royal assent on the 13th of May, **Bill passed.** when the king informed parliament that the preliminaries of peace had been ratified, put an end to the session, and the same evening set out for Hanover. At the conclusion of this war, the conquests upon both sides were restored, while the chief cause of dispute with Spain—the right which the latter claimed for their guarda-costas of searching British vessels on the high seas—was left undecided; and Britain had increased the national debt to eighty millions sterling—for what object it would be a puzzle to determine.

Peace with
Spain.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XXX.

George II.—Remarks on the previous and present state of Scotland.—Fate of the Stuart family.—Trials in Scotland under the new treason act.—Money voted to Glasgow for their loyalty.—Proceedings of court of session respecting forfeited estates considered partial.—Estates vested in the crown for improving the highlands.—New style introduced.—Progress of improvements in trade, &c. in Scotland.—Change in church politics.—Application of ministers for an augmentation of their stipends unsuccessful.—Exclusive management of the poor funds taken from them.—Proceedings of the Assembly respecting violent settlements.—Inverkeithing.—Mr. Gillespie, minister of Carnock, deposed.—The Relief Presbytery formed.—Court of Justiciary.—Case of Stewart of Aucharn.—Dr. Cameron, brother of Lochiel, executed at London.—Parliament offer unlimited support to the King in case of a war with France.—Generosity of parliament to the sufferers by the earthquake at Lisbon.—Impressment for land and sea service authorized by parliament.—Counties offer to raise the men required.—Affairs of the church.—Proceedings against David Hume, and Home, author of the tragedy of Douglas.—Administration of William Pitt.—His policy in employing officers from among the rebels.—Thurot's expedition.—Bill for a militia in Scotland lost.—Death of the King.—His character.—GEORGE III.—Parliament dissolved.—Pitt retires.—Edinburgh returns a representative in the new parliament in opposition to the court.—Earl of Bute, prime minister, makes a dishonourable peace, retires.—Origin of the American revolution.—Douglas cause.—Plan for improving the North.—York-building company.—Forfeited estates purchased by the rightful heirs.—Discussions on law of entail and paper currency.—Ayr bank.—Zeal of the Scots for prosecuting the war with America.—Mutiny of Lord Seaforth's regiment.—Another mutiny.—Bill for relief of Roman catholics.—Riots.—Paul Jones' expedition.—Close of American war.—William Pitt, prime minister.—H. Dundas, manager for Scotland.—The forfeited estates restored.—Flourishing state of Great Britain.—Conclusion.—1748—1793.

BOOK XXX. 1. GRIEVOUS as have been the wailings over the fate of the jacobites, no event in the history of Scotland has been productive of such decided advantage to the country as the final
1748.
George II. extinction of the hopes of the house of Stuart. From the

restoration to the revolution, had been a period of ruthless oppression; from the revolution to the close of the last rebellion, one of restless inquietude—during which the terrors of lurking conspiracy, from an indefinite band of conspirators, heightened by exaggerated reports of their numbers and power, deprived the executive of its proper energy, and forced it to rule by expedients rather than by the exercise of its legitimate sway. But after the discomfiture of the rebels had discovered their actual strength, and dissipated the illusion that had rendered them so formidable; when the government acquired its necessary weight, and the prospect of internal tranquillity, and the abolition of feudal tyranny, allowed the industry of the people free scope for exertion—then commenced the true era of Scottish prosperity. Nor was the conduct either of the pretender or his son calculated to awaken any of those sympathies which accompany the downfall of venerated royalty; there was a meanness and self-degradation about both that obliterated the natural feeling of respectful sadness which hallows the misfortunes and failings of the last representatives of an ancient dynasty. The old man, with his few factious retainers, kept up the burlesque upon royalty at Rome till his death, in the year 1766.

BOOK
XXX.

1748.
Remarks
on the pre-
vious and
present
state of
Scotland.

Death of
the preten-
der.

11. Charles Edward, upon his return from Scotland to France, was received with the greatest seeming affection by the king, and treated with all the magnificence due to a chivalric hero in distress, as long as it served the purpose of that court to exhibit their puppet in that character. But when, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, against which he had formally protested, George was guaranteed king of Great Britain, and all pretenders to his crown disowned, the young chevalier was turned out of France in rather a discourteous manner. Having been informed that he could be no longer openly protected by his most christian majesty, and politely requested to withdraw, with the offer of a handsome pension in any distant principality he might choose; with the same inconsiderate folly that had hitherto distinguished his career, he attempted to outbrave the monarch in his own capital, and was only convinced of his mistake, by being seized as he was going to the opera, and most un-

Concluding
history of
the Stuarts.

BOOK
XXX.

1747.

ceremoniously conducted to the castle of Vincennes, whence, after a short confinement, he was safely transported to the frontiers. He afterwards resided chiefly in Italy, but paid two unheeded visits to England, one in 1750, when he renounced popery, and another in 1760, to see the coronation of George III. after which he lingered out a despicable existence in low intoxication and domestic quarrelling, occasionally alarming the palace by the manual discipline he gave or received from his concubine. Not being recognised by any of the foreign courts, he retired, on his father's death, to Albano, and married in 1772, the princess Louisa Maximilia de Stolberg; he died at Rome on the 31st of January 1788. His brother Henry, nominal duke of York, who had been created a cardinal, lost the whole of his revenues in the revolutionary wars; and after subsisting for some years on the bounty of our late venerable sovereign, who allowed him L.4000 per ann. died June 1807, *Æt.* 63, and with him terminated a race of princes proverbial for misconduct and misfortune.

Proceed-
ings in
Scotland a-
gainst re-
bels under
the treason
act.

III. With a show of clemency and of confidence, government remitted to Scotland the task of pronouncing finally on the fate of those who had been exempted from the general act of grace. The first grand jury that sat under the British treason act, met at Edinburgh on the 10th of October, one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, to take cognizance of the charges against such rebels as had not surrendered. It consisted of twenty-three good and lawful men, chosen out of forty-eight who were summoned; twenty-four from the county of Edinburgh, twelve from Haddington, and twelve from Linlithgow. The court consisted of

Form of the
court, &c.

three justiciary lords, of whom Tinwald [justice-clerk after Milton's resignation] was elected preses. Subpœnas under the seal of the court, and signed by the clerk, were executed on a great number of persons in different shires, requiring them to appear as witnesses under the penalty of L.100 each, and about a dozen were brought from England by a king's messenger. The preses named sir John Inglis of Cramond foreman of the jury, who was sworn first, in the English manner by kissing the book, the others followed by three at a time; after which, his lordship, addressing the

Grand jury
sworn—
the charge
to them.

BOOK
XXX.
1748.

jurors, informed them that the power which his majesty's advocate possessed before the union, of prosecuting any person for high treason, who appeared guilty upon a precognition taken of the facts being now done away, that power was lodged with them, a grand jury, twelve of whom behoved to concur before a true bill could be found. An indictment was then preferred in court, and the witnesses indorsed on it were called over and sworn; on which the jury retired to the exchequer-chambers, and the witnesses were conducted to a room near it, whence they were called to be examined separately. Mr. Mastermen of London and Mr. Alston of Edinburgh, solicitors for the crown, were present at the examination, but none else; and after they had finished, and the sense of the jury was collected, the indictment was returned "a true bill," if the charges were found proved, or "ignoramus" if doubtful. The proceedings continued for a week, in which time, out of fifty-five bills, forty-two were sustained and thirteen dismissed. The lord advocate, on relieving the jury from their duty, thanked them, and told them that he had directions from his superiors to present no more bills against any of the persons exempted from the act of grace, and he believed it possible—very possible, that none of those gentlemen would meet with further trouble, provided their behaviour was such as not to provoke government.

Lenity of
the govern-
ment.

iv. External peace allowed time for consolidating the internal tranquillity of Scotland. Ten thousand pounds were voted by parliament to the town of Glasgow, in consideration of their eminent loyalty and suffering; and the court of session devoted the most unremitting attention in settling the claims upon the forfeited estates; these consisted of real or fictitious debts, marriage settlements, entails, misnomers, and every species of incumbrance or right which legal ingenuity could muster up by which the property might be retained in the family. The judges, with a natural, if not a laudable feeling for the sufferers, sustained in general the pleas when the law allowed of any favourable construction; and even in some of those which were reversed, it is doubtful whether the merciful construction of the court below were not more consonant to equity than the ultimate deci-

Money
voted to
Glasgow.

Proceed-
ings of the
court of
session re-
specting
the forfeit-
ed estates.

BOOK
XXX.

1752.

Partiality
imputed to
the Scot-
tish court.Estates
vested un-
alienably in
the crown
for im-
proving the
highlands.Conditions
on which
they were
to be let.

sion of the lord chancellor, especially considering that the forfeiture of minors under entail was an innovation upon Scottish law and practice.

v. The conduct of the Scottish court did not however escape imputations of partiality, which were strongly insinuated against them in the debates upon an act passed in March* 1752, for annexing certain forfeited estates in Scotland to the crown unalienably, and for making satisfaction to the lawful creditors thereupon, and to establish a method of leasing the same, and applying the rents for the better civilizing and improving the highlands of Scotland, and preventing future disorders there. These were the chief estates upon which the claims had been rejected, and the forfeitures confirmed by the house of lords, the duke of Perth's, earl of Cromarty's, Lovat's, Lochiel's, Kinlochmoidart's Macpherson of Cluny, and several others whose owners had exhibited the most unequivocal and indefensible jacobitism. The yearly income of these estates was to be applied as the king and his successors should direct, by their sign manual, for promoting among the highlands and islands of Scotland the protestant religion, good government and manufactures; for which purpose commissioners were to be appointed, without salaries, to manage the estates, but who were to nominate stewards, with an allowance not exceeding five per cent. of the rental, and clerks and other officers with salaries. Leases were to be granted for any term not exceeding twenty-one years, at not less than three-fourths of the real annual value, and not above twenty pounds a year, to any one person, excepting mines and fisheries; the lessee to be a resider, without the power of subsetting or assigning his lease.

vi. Considerable astonishment was expressed, when a statement was laid before the house of commons, at the amount

* Hitherto the legal year in England had commenced on the 25th day of March; this year 1752, as in Scotland, and the nations on the continent, began with the 1st of January, and the Gregorian style was adopted by dropping eleven days in the month of September, reckoning the third as the fourteenth, which henceforth became the common mode of computation, though the Scottish vulgar were long unwilling to accept an alteration which as to "homologate" the right of the man of sin to alter times and so long sturdily adhered to the old style.

of the mortgages upon these estates, which, in several instances, exceeded their value; and the spirit of the government—then directed by Mr. Pelham—must be considered as anything rather than vindictive, when these claims, although known to be fraudulent, and made by trustees for the use of forfeited persons, were yet protected. Nor was the remark of the duke of Bedford altogether groundless, “that if, after having paid £10,000 to Glasgow for the kilts and bonnets furnished the rebels, £152,000 to the nobility and gentry for heritable jurisdictions, England should now pay more than both these sums put together for planting religion and loyalty in the highlands of Scotland, it would be for the interest of that portion of the kingdom to have frequent rebellions.” This bill did certainly contribute much to the prosperity of the country, although one of the proposed objects, that of preventing for ever the return of their ancient inheritances to the heirs of the rebels was, by the generosity of a succeeding administration, at once dispensed with and rendered unnecessary.*

BOOK
XXX.

1752.
Conduct of
the parliament.

Duke of
Bedford's
remark.

VII. Already, however, the process of improvement had begun to accelerate in the more genial soil of the south, where the capital of right took the precedence. The city itself this same year began to be new modelled, and committees were appointed to draw out a plan and procure an act of parliament for carrying on what was then considered a national work. Two banks before the year 1746 had been established; since then, the British Linen Company had been added, which also issued notes; and the following branches of trade and manufactures had been introduced:—the rope and sail cloth manufacture, the iron and carpenter manufacture, the whale fishing company, the gold and silver lace company, the glass and soap works, and the her-ring fishing. The tonnage at Leith, which in 1744 had amounted only to two thousand two hundred and eighty five, in 1752 was five thousand seven hundred and two, and a direct communication had been opened with the West Indies.

Progress of
improvement in the
capital.

* No other proceeding of parliament, during the intervening years, related to Scotland as a distinct member of the empire.

BOOK **VIII.** Linen, which continued still the staple, had during
XXX. the same period increased by more than half a million ster-
 ling in the amount of its sales, while the turnpike roads af-
 forded a facility of intercourse unknown before this period,
 —perhaps one of the surest commercial criterions of a na-
1752. tion's advancement.* Agriculture advanced too, not in one
In the linen or two districts only, but throughout the whole country,
trade, &c. and the invigorating influence of the money which the re-
 bellion had caused to circulate was felt in every corner of
 the body politic. Glasgow was increasing in importance,
 although it had not as yet attained that commercial emi-
 nence for which her situation is so admirably adapted, and
 to which the spirit of enterprise, now awakened, was here-
In agricul- after to raise her. The introduction of inkle-weaving,
ture. which an adventurous individual, Mr. Alex. Harvey, brought
 from Haarlem at the risk of his life, was the feeble type of
 her future manufactures, being the first step which was ven-
 tured in this country beyond the track prescribed by the
 board of trustees. One printfield was added in 1742, and
 the western metropolis had the honour, at the same time, to
 bear away the palm of typography and type-founding; nor
 have later years produced more elegant or correct editions
 of the classics than about this date issued from the presses
 of Urie and Foulis.† But her tobacco trade had attracted
 the opposition and envy of the London and Liverpool mer-
 chants, whose selfish and vexatious misrepresentations in-
 duced the treasury to interfere, to harass for a time, but
 eventually to establish, the unimpeachable integrity of the
 Clyde importers.‡

In Glas-
gow.

* A stage coach commenced running between Edinburgh and Glasgow, 24th April 1749. It set out from Edinburgh every Monday and Thursday, and left Glasgow every Tuesday and Friday; each passenger paid 9s. and was allowed one stone weight luggage. A caravan was "set up" in July the same year, to run twice a week; 5s. for passengers, and an equal quantity of luggage; but the business between the two cities could not then afford such rivalry, and it was soon knocked up.—Scots Mag.

+ A silver medal given by the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, &c. for the best printed book in Scotland, was gained by Messrs. Foulis, 1756, for an edition of the hymns of Callimachus, Greek.

‡ Among the remarkables of the year 1748, stands recorded the following:—

ix. Church politics, during this period, also underwent a material revolution. Formerly the Scottish ministry contained a number of men allied to the first families of the country by birth, who had private patrimonies of their own to aid their support, and their object in undertaking the holy office was less to procure a living, than to labour in a cause in which their heart was engaged; or if they had an ambition for distinction, that was only to be obtained by a laborious discharge of parochial duties, and the exercise of popular pulpit talents. But now—from the more intimate connexion with England, and the sources of honourable and lucrative employment which this opened up, from the influx of wealth, and the spirit of agricultural and commercial enterprise now awakened at home, the scope for adventure in colonies, in the army and navy, together with the field of opportunity at the English or the Scottish bar—the younger branches of the nobility and landed interest were allured to other occupations, while the new style of living introduced, and the more expensive, luxurious, and licentious modes of fashion borrowed from their neighbours, required incomes which the emoluments of the Scottish church did not produce. The candidates, therefore, for the ministry, sprung chiefly from the ordinary and lower ranks of life, and a majority began to consist of those whose only aim was to obtain the rank and influence of gentlemen, from which, in almost every other direction in their native land, their birth and the prejudices of their country still excluded them.* Leaving to the remains of the ortho-

BOOK
XXX.
1752.
Church po-
litica.

Revolution
in the
church.

“Robert and George Forresters, chapmen, debtors to some Glasgow merchants in between five and six hundred pounds sterling, were found fraudulent bankrupts by the court of session, on the 23d July, and ordained to be pilloried at Glasgow on the 10th of August, and then transported to America for seven years.—Scots Mag. Had succeeding years been equally rigid, the spectacle, I doubt, would not have been so rare.

* Lindsay, M. P. for Edinburgh, inveighs against the manner of supplying churches in his day.—“When one minister dies at least three young men are licensed: the reason of this seems to be, that mean people, out of vanity, because some of their relations are ministers, will educate a son in this way, to push him into a rank in the world above his birth and condition. And to effectuate this, all his acquaintances are teased with constant solicitations to procure a bursary for this hopeful boy, because his parents are not able to give him such an education. This bursary serves him for bread, and mean bread

BOOK
XXX.

1752.

Ministers'
apply for
an augmen-
tation of
stipend.

dox, and to the seceders—who, in the midst of their blunders, never neglected to cherish and lean on that antiquated arm of power—the affections of the people, a majority endeavoured about this date to meet the exigencies of the times by strenuous exertions for an augmentation of their stipends.* They did so at a most unfortunate juncture, and managed it with little of their usual prudence.

x. Scarcely had the rebellion closed, when the subject was agitated; and presuming upon the gratitude of government, they ventured to encounter the opposition of the whole landholders. If they had waited for a few years, till the prospects of the country had begun to brighten, and it had felt something of the genial influence of an almost unhopèd for prosperity, their claims, which were not unreasonable, would most probably have met with a very different reception; but before the country had recovered from the shock of intestine warfare, it was deemed exceedingly ungracious to bring forward such demands; and when, instead of applying to the court of session, they determined to petition parliament, there was not a county meeting in the country

it is, during his four year's attendance at the university; and then another must be procured to maintain him other four years at the divinity hall. After this, and perhaps sooner, they get into some family as chaplain or tutor to a young gentleman. So many as can procure business of this kind are in a fair way of success; but many are forced to take up with a private family, or an old widow gentlewoman, and serve her as chaplain for his diet; and by assisting a few boys at public schools to get their lessons, pick up as much as keep them in clothes. What can be expected from such a poor education, and so low a way of life? The public suffers greatly." "The settlement of vacant parishes, ever since that by this so great overstocking of clergymen so many competing candidates appear for every vacancy, has also been the cause of so much strife and debate, &c."—*The Interest of Scotland Considered*, p. 117, *et seq.*

• Had the two parties in the church decidedly separated upon this point, and those who contended for purity of principle uniformly shown a repugnance to alienate the minds of their flocks by urging their claims for augmentation of stipend, they might perhaps have regained an ascendancy in the church; but as numbers of them joined their brethren in this obnoxious procedure, their merely voting with the high-flyers in points of doctrine or discipline, that did not go to affect their pockets, did not tend to raise their credit with the public. What gave rise to much sarcastical remark at the time, was the transmission of the overture from the synod of Glasgow, in which the plan originated, along with another, for the more frequent dispensation of the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

that did not produce representations and petitions against them.

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xI. The measure which they urged most strenuously, though apparently the fairest, was one which would have tended to paralyse the infant vigour of agricultural and commercial improvement, but it, fortunately for the country, was resisted with success. They wished that a general minimum should be fixed proportionate to the increased wealth of the country, which would have formed a precedent for future applications. The landed interest strongly opposed this, and contended that particular parishes should be augmented according to their extent and their means, and that the amount of these augmentations should be left, where it was by the act of 1633, in the hands of the court of session. But the assembly of 1750 resolved on applying to parliament, and appointed commissioners, at whose head was placed Dr. Cummin, professor of church history in Edinburgh, to proceed to London and forward their object, who accordingly repaired to the capital. In their intercourse with government, these gentlemen most injudiciously represented the opponents of their bill, who were nearly the whole nobility and gentry of Scotland, as actuated by infidel or jacobitical principles; and concluded a memorial, which they gave in to the ministers of state, by telling them that "they [the Scottish clergy] had hitherto been distinguished for their firm attachment to his majesty king George and his royal family." "Some of them had ventured their lives in that cause, many suffered in their substance, and all been remarkably loyal. They did their duty, but they did it with zeal and courage," and concluded thus:—"They are the objects of the hatred of the jacobites, which they despise; but would be unhappy indeed if they should be neglected by the government, and not only insulted by its enemies, but also disregarded by its friends. The consequence thereof must be, that, being disappointed, they will be dispirited; few will study for the ministry; some will give it up; and those who continue in it will, from the meanness of their circumstances, be incapable of having any prevailing influence upon their people: for the poor man's wisdom is despised, and his word is not heard."

Commissioners repair to London.

Their representation to government,

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1752.

Opposed.

XII. The earls of Morton, Lauderdale, and Hopeton, with Messrs. Hope Weir, Dundas, and Murray, the Mid-Lothian committee, were instructed to oppose the application, and accordingly met it by asserting,—that although the application was voted by a majority of the general assembly, yet that they had good grounds to believe it was come into contrary to the opinion and inclination of many of the wisest and most prudent of the clergy themselves; that great numbers of noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and heritors in Scotland, looked upon the attempt to be an open attack and violation of their properties, and altogether unreasonable and unnecessary, as, by the laws made before the union, and still in force, a very sufficient and ample provision was made for the maintenance of ministers, and for the augmentation of such of their stipends as had not been legally modified.

It fails.

XIII. These assertions were made with many expressions of affection for the national church, and respect for her humble pious ministers, a great majority of whom were represented as content with their stipends, and averse to measures which could only produce dissension between the landed gentlemen and the clergy, whose very best interests it would injure, while it would merely gratify the selfish worldly ambition of a few. The commissioners were at the same time flattered by an interview with the king, and professions of high regard from the ministers; but after they had been amused for some months in London, they had the mortification of returning without having effected any thing, and perceived that they had overrated their importance with government, when they imagined their alliance would be preferred to that of the county freeholders.

XIV. An attempt to engross the entire management of the poors' funds, independently of the heritors, was likewise decided against the ministers, who, from this date, politically cultivated the natural support of the landed proprietors for the establishment, instead of attempting to beard them. In an action brought by the heritors of the parish of Humble against the kirk-session, the lords gave judgment, February 15, 1751, and found that the heritors have a joint right and power with the kirk-session in the administration, ma-

nagement, and distribution of all and every of the funds belonging to the poor of the parish, as well collections as sums mortified for the use of the poor, and money stocked out upon interest; and have right to be present and joint with the session in their administration, distribution, and employing such sums, without prejudice to the kirk-session to proceed in their ordinary acts of administration and application of their collections to their ordinary or incidental charities, though the heritors be not present nor attend; but, for the better preventing the misapplication or embezzlement of the funds belonging to the poor, they also found, that when any acts of extraordinary administration, such as uplifting of money that hath been lent out, or lending or re-employing the same, should occur, that the minister ought to intimate from the pulpit a meeting for taking such matters into consideration, at least two days before holding of the meeting, that the heritors may have opportunity to be present and assist as they think fit. The moderates were more successful in securing the complete ascendancy in other ecclesiastical matters, after which for many years they had been visibly aspiring.

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XXX.

1752.

Decisions
respecting
the man-
agement of
the poor's
funds.

xv. Debarred from all prospect of obtaining more than a competence in the church, while the general and increasing laxness of religious habits among the higher ranks precluded every idea of attaining eminence or power from the rigid exercise of their ministerial functions, a new race of leaders who had sprung up—young men of superior abilities, but of no family—sought to gratify their ambition by engrossing the power, and to exhibit their talents, in conducting the business of the venerable court, now the only popular assembly in Scotland, adapted for such a display; and supported by a majority of young gentlemen, who exercised their gifts as ruling elders, to prepare themselves for the house of commons or the bar, maintained an overpowering majority, while the talents of their opponents rendered a contest reputable, and a victory no mean triumph.* The

Moderates
obtain the
ascendancy
in the
assembly.

* The rising leaders of the moderates were Drs. Robertson, the historian, Blair, Drysdale, &c. Those of the high-flyers, Dr. Witherspoon, of Paisley, afterwards president of the college of New Jersey, author of the *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*, one of the few polemical works distinguished for genuine wit. Drs. Erskine, Macqueen, author of *Letters on Hume's History*, &c.

BOOK
XXX.

1752.

Method
now adopt-
ed in vio-
lent settle-
ments.Protest a-
gainst it.Not allow-
ed to be
read.

subject of patronage furnished an ample field for the disputants.

xvi. In the act against violent intrusions, 1736, it had been solemnly affirmed that the intrusion of a minister against the inclinations of the people was in direct opposition to what has been the principle of the Scottish church ever since the reformation; yet in the face of this declaration, very little regard had been paid by the venerable court to any complaints against such settlements, and the consciences of the scrupulous were satisfied with protesting against its authorised violations by the assembly, and by not being present at or sanctioning what they did not approve. Where presbyteries refused to induct the obnoxious intruder, the assembly, from some small remains of shame, winked at the disobedience of their injunctions, and a committee of the commission, less precise, was usually appointed to perform the disagreeable duty, and relieve the presbytery from the hatred of the dissatisfied parishioners. The last indulgence of this kind was allowed to the presbytery of Linlithgow in 1751, who refused to settle the presentee in Torphichen, but it was accompanied by a censure, against which principal Wishart, Mr. Rob of Kilsyth, and other twenty protested, "because whatever privileges the church of Scotland has by law, these can never make her a merely voluntary or merely legal society, so as to be governed only by rules of her own making, or only by civil rules, or by both together, but she must still be reckoned part of the church of Christ, and therefore censures of the church are never to be inflicted but upon open transgressors of the law of Christ; that as protestants they acknowledged the infallibility of no supreme judicatory; for their engagement to obedience to the judicatories of this church, is with the express limitation of its being in the Lord, and there are many ways whereby the sentences of the supreme court may take place, without bearing hard on the consciences of such as do not see with the eyes of the majority, or rather who think what is commanded not only unlawful in itself, but sinful in them to execute." The assembly, however, would not suffer it to be read.

xvii. The ruling party did not appeal either to the stand-

ards of presbytery, or the authority of the New Testament; they had been long striving to introduce the principles of civil policy, and the natural rules of political society, into the church of Scotland, as more agreeable to the superior acquirements of a polite age, than the antiquated maxims of their forefathers and their rustic apostles. These sentiments they openly avowed in a manifesto published during this year as their reasons of dissent from an act of the commission respecting the settlement of Inverkeithing; which deserves particular attention as the last decisive struggle made by the constitutional party in the church against the unqualified admission of lay patronage.

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XXX.

1752.
Principles
of moderate
church
government,

XVIII. Mr. Andrew Richardson having obtained a presentation from the patron of the parish of Inverkeithing, the commission, which met in November, appointed the presbytery of Dunfermline to admit him to that charge on the third Monday of January 1752, under the threat of a very high censure. Against this order two members of that presbytery appealed, and several members of the commission entered their dissent; and as the parishioners were almost unanimous in their opposition, it was not carried into effect. A petition was in consequence presented from the patron and some non-resident heritors to the commission in March, complaining against the presbytery, and craving that they might be censured, and the sentence of the commission made effectual. A strong attempt was made by the constitutionalists to get the whole referred to the ensuing assembly, but the commission found that they had power to carry their own sentence into effect, and likewise to judge of the conduct of the presbytery; and they appointed the synod of Fife, at their next ordinary meeting, to adjourn to Inverkeithing, in order to Mr. Richardson's settlement before the 1st of May, and to report to the assembly; but their opponents carried it not to inflict any censure upon the presbytery of Dunfermline. With this forbearance the moderates were violently displeased, and in reasons of dissent, ascribed to Dr. Robertson, complained loudly that it was destroying the basis of all society and government, and particularly of the subordination of judicatories in presbytery, which required unqualified submission from the inferior courts to the decisions of

illustrated
in case of
Inverkeithing.

Moderates
complain
against the
synod of
Fife

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1752.

the supreme, and implicit obedience, except only in a case of such gross iniquity and manifest violation of the original design of the society, as justifies resistance to the supreme power, and makes it better to have the society dissolved than to submit to established iniquity.* The other party of the commission replied to these reasons, and the synod not obeying the injunctions of the commission, the whole came before the assembly that met May 1752.

Assembly
orders the
settlement
to be car-
ried into
effect.

xix. It had always been understood that the leaders in that court took their instructions from some of the officers of state, generally known by the descriptive epithet of "the managers:" on the present occasion, the earl of Leven,—twelfth time commissioner,—in his opening speech, explicitly directed them to support the dignity of the church, by putting a stop to the disobedience of the inferior courts to the supreme judicatory; and the venerable court followed his lordship's directions by approving the dissent from the proceedings of last commission, and upon a complaint from the patron, voted, by a majority of 102 to 56—that the presbytery of Dunfermline should proceed to Inverkeithing, admit Mr. Richardson on the Thursday, that five should form a quorum, and each minister appear at the assembly bar on Friday at twelve o'clock, to give an account of his conduct. From this decision two ministers and one ruling elder dissented, "As making a very material alteration in the constitution of the Scottish church, according to which three ministers are sufficient for constituting a presbytery; as bringing those ministers of that presbytery who had openly declared they could not with a good conscience concur in that settlement, under the unhappy necessity of disobeying an express appointment of the assembly; and lastly, as preventing Mr. Richardson's admission from taking place, seeing it was well known that three ministers of that presbytery were ready to admit him, had the appointment run in general terms, without extending the quorum to five;" thus forcing the concurrence of unconvinced men in an act which, to them so situated, was undoubtedly sin;—an instance of the

* They were signed by William Robertson, John Home, Hugh Blair, John Jardine, &c. ministers; the Master of Ross, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, Ca. Whytt, &c. ruling elders.

wanton abuse of power, more worthy of popish than of protestant divines, but which formed an appropriate prelude to the subsequent parts of the transaction.

BOOK
XXX.

xx. When the ministers returned, they reported, that of their whole number only three had attended, who not being a quorum, they did not proceed. Of those who had absented themselves, several presented excuses which were received; but six pleaded conscientious scruples, and gave in a humble representation, stating, "that from their own acts and resolutions entered into their records, it was evident that the law of patronage had been considered as no small grievance, and inconsistent with the union-settlement. And reduced as they were, by the intolerant mandate of the assembly, to this unhappy dilemma, either of coming under the imputation of disobedience to a particular order of their ecclesiastical superiors, or contributing to the establishment of measures which they could neither reconcile with the declared principles nor true interests of the church, they deemed it their duty to follow the dictates of conscience, and adhere to the established constitution."* The moderates were, however, determined to enforce unconditional submission, and treated the plea of conscience at once with unbecoming levity in their debates, and unwarrantable disregard in their sentence; and while they affected to venerate the practice of their predecessors during the purest period of the church, pursued methods which these predecessors would have re-

1752.

Report of the ministers sent to enforce the settlement.

Representation of those absented from conscientious scruples.

* The following clause, which they quoted from the act of assembly 1736, declares, "that it is, and has been since the reformation, the principle of this church, that no minister shall be intruded into any parish, contrary to the wish of the congregation; and, therefore, it is seriously recommended to all judicatories of this church to have a due regard to the said principle in planting vacant congregations—so as none be intruded into such parishes, as they regard the glory of God and the edification of the body of Christ. Sir Henry Moncreiff-Wellwood, who apparently wishes to soften down the harsh conduct of Principal Robertson and his party, in remarking on this act, produces one of the most severe charges against those by whom it was enacted, that can be brought against any legislative body. "It is scarcely conceivable," he says, "that this act could have done more than sooth the discontent of the people by conciliating language; unless more could have been attempted than perhaps was practicable, and unless it had been followed up by a train of authoritative decision," which, he adds, "was far from being intended!"—Life of Erskine, App. p. 419.

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XXX.

1752.

sisted to the death. The six brethren concluded their defence in language becoming the station they assumed as witnesses for truth: "If the venerable assembly," say they, "shall on this account judge us guilty of such criminal disobedience as to deserve their censures, we trust they will at least allow that we have acted as honest men, willing to forego every secular advantage for conscience sake. In such an event, this, through grace, shall be our support, that not being charged with any neglect of the duties of our ministry among those committed to our care, we are to suffer for adhering to what we apprehend to be the will of our great Lord and Master, whose we are, whom we are bound to serve in all things, and on whom we cast all our care."

Gillespie
deposed.

xxi. The reply of the assembly was a vote to depose one of the number as an example; and, "after prayer for light and direction," Mr. Thomas Gillespie, minister of Carnock,—"one of the most inoffensive and upright men of his time, equally zealous and faithful in his pastoral duties, as in his private life he was irreproachable; charged with nothing but being absent from Inverkeithing on the day appointed for the induction of the presentee,"* was, by the general assembly, "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the sole king and head of the church, and by virtue of the power and authority committed by him to them, deposed from the office of the holy ministry!" Mr. Gillespie listened with becoming gravity, and replied,—“Moderator, I desire to receive this sentence of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, pronounced against me, with real concern and awful impressions of the divine conduct in it; but I rejoice that to me it is given on behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.” He then with unaffected humility submissively retired, and resigned, without a reproachful or murmuring expression, all the temporal emoluments of his charge. On the Lord’s day following, he would neither enter the church nor allow the bell to be rung, but preached in the open fields to an immense concourse of people assembled from both sides of the firth, and from many miles distant; his text was 1 Cor. ix. ver. 16.

His obser-
vation on
the sen-
tence.

He preach-
es in the
fields.

* Moncreiff’s Life of Erskine, App.

“Necessity is laid upon me : yea woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel.” He told his hearers that though the assembly had deposed him from being a minister in the established church, for not doing what he believed it would have been sinful in him to do ; yet he hoped through grace, no public disputes should be his theme, nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified, desiring at all times to remember, that the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God ; nor did he make any further allusion to his own case, but proceeded to enforce the great truths of the gospel ; and the writer of this work has heard some who were present that day, many years after, when far advanced in life, speak most feelingly of the universal stillness that pervaded the audience, and of the solemn delight with which they listened to that sermon.

BOOK
XXX.

1752.

xxii. Mr. Gillespie, thus thrust out of the national church, showed no inclination to form a party, but continued for several years to stand alone, officiating in a meeting-house in Dunfermline,—which after his death became a chapel of ease—till Mr. Boston, minister of Oxnam, son of the venerable Boston of Ettrick, accepting of a call from the people of Jedburgh, while another had the presentation, gave in his demission to the general assembly and joined him. In 1761 they two formed themselves into a presbytery, and admitted Mr. Collier to the charge of a congregation formed at Colinsburgh in Fife, in consequence of another violent settlement, and from that time a new body of dissenters separated from the church, known by the name of “the Relief,” who soon received an accession of numbers, and to this day continue to increase, not differing in their principles from the established church, except in the article of patronage and more extended communion, and in these particulars affording relief to congregations oppressed in their christian privileges.

Relief
presbytery
formed.

xxiii. The circuit justiciary court had already commenced, and had carried the terrors of the law to the north, where their proceedings against the heretofore venial trespasses of sheep-stealing, or the more heroic acts of cattle lifting, were inveighed against as cruel and rigorous inflictions. But unhappily in the west, one trial occurred this year, to which

Proceed-
ings of the
circuit
court of
justiciary.

BOOK

XXIII

1754-5.

Prospect of
a war with
France—
Parliament
offer unli-
mited sup-
port.

tions were carrying on between the two courts when Mr. Pelham died. The duke of Newcastle succeeded to the whole responsibility, and a new parliament, which met in May, continued to him the support their predecessors had given to his brother.* From the encroachments of France it was evident that war could not long be avoided, and they were liberal of their supplies, though it was not till next year, that active measures of hostility were undertaken. In the month of March 1755, a royal message acquainted the house of commons that his majesty had found it requisite, from the state of affairs, to augment his forces, and the intimation was met by the most affectionate assurances of support: the insults and injuries that France had heaped upon the colonies were universally resented, and the whole empire united in demanding reparation; and so cordial were the people in their desire of humbling their rival, that when the king, in his speech on their re-assembling in November, announced the probability of the flames of war spreading to Europe, they were willing to indulge his majesty's predilection for his paternal acres, and subsidize half the powers of

* Of the election in Scotland a singular trait is preserved probably unique in the history of burgh electioneering; it is narrated in an advertisement, and deserves to be recorded. "Queensferry, 16th January, 1754. The magistrates and town council of Queensferry being this day convened, and taking into their serious consideration the many dismal effects that follow upon the canvassing and pothering for votes in several boroughs, with a view to the ensuing general election of members of parliament, such as the raising and fomenting of animosities, grudges, and feuds among neighbours whose happiness, in a great measure, depends on their mutual peace and good-will; the corrupting the consciences, and debauching the minds of severals by bribes and excessive drinking; taking them off their proper callings and the ordinary means of providing for their families; and habituating them for sometime to a luxurious and riotous manner of life, to the endangering of their health and the weaning of their affections from their ordinary business; besides the loading the candidates with an intolerable expense, and thereby exposing such of them as succeed to a violent temptation of somehow or other getting themselves reimbursed; and as the members of this town council are already resolved upon colonel George Haldane as the gentleman they propose should represent them in the next parliament, they make this public intimation, that such as are concerned in knowing it may save trouble and expense to themselves, as the council is determined to admit of no further solicitations or potherings on that head. Signed in name and by desire of the council, by James Murray."





the continent to protect Hanover from any attack the French might meditate in revenge for the opposition Britain offered to their favourite scheme of foreign empire.

BOOK
XXX.

xxvii. Amid the preparations for war Europe was appalled by one of those tremendous visitations with which God sometimes afflicts a guilty world,—in the end of the year an awful earthquake, or rather series of shocks, were felt from Iceland to the confines of Turkey ; but the most dreadful effects were experienced at Lisbon, the greater part of the city being destroyed ; and as if to mark with heaven's own solemn imprint of vengeance one of the most terrific blasphemies of Rome, on the very day on which an “ auto-de-fe ” was celebrated, the earth opened and swallowed up alive nearly ten thousand of the deluded votaries of that bloody superstition ; nor is it perhaps unworthy of remark, that many of the chief protestants who had left the city to avoid being insulted by the rabble during the festival, escaped being involved in the more tremendous ruin. In Scotland, it was felt merely in the agitation produced upon some of the lochs, whose waters rose and fell without any apparent cause.* The British parliament, with a generosity becoming a great and free people, voted one hundred thousand pounds for relief of the sufferers—which was immediately transmitted, a considerable portion in provisions and necessaries for immediate use ;—and then proceeded to vote as supplies ten times the sum, to be employed in carrying misery and desolation to a much wider extent than had been done by the fearful convulsions of nature. This was followed by an act for the speedy and effectual recruiting of his majesty's land forces and marines, empowering commissioners to impress for the

1755.
Dreadful
earthquake
at Lisbon.

Generosity
of parlia-
ment to the
sufferers.

Act for re-
cruiting
the army
by impress-
ment.

* On the 1st of November, Loch-Lomond, all of a sudden, and without the least gust of wind, rose against its banks with great rapidity, and immediately retiring, in about five minutes subsided as low in appearance as ever it used to be in the greatest drought of summer ; in about five minutes it returned again as high, and with as great rapidity as before. The agitation continued in the same manner from half an hour past nine till fifteen minutes after ten in the morning, the waters taking five minutes to subside, and as many to rise again. From ten to eleven o'clock the agitation was not so great ; at about eleven it ceased. The height the waters rose was measured immediately after, and found to be two feet six inches perpendicular. Loch-Long, Loch-Katrine, and Loch-Ness, were also violently agitated.

**BOOK
XXX.**

1755.

Occasions
riots.Outrages
of the im-
press par-
ties.Court of
session re-
fuse re-
dress.

land or sea service all able bodied men who did not follow any lawful calling, or possess some lawful means of subsistence, of which they were the judges,—a power capable of much abuse, and which in some instances gave rise to great oppression.

XXVIII. No portion of the empire evinced greater zeal than Scotland for the prosecution of the war; almost every town and county, besides numbers of the nobility, vied with each other in offering bounties for the land and sea service, yet no sooner were the pressgangs let loose than scenes of riot and outrage pervaded the country. Before the union, no such thing as forcibly haling a man from his family and friends, without a crime alleged, and sending him to serve abroad or in the standing army, was ever heard of; when obliged to take arms, it was in a levy which comprehended the whole fencible men of a district; but now, under the pretext of being without any lawful employment, or being seamen—for having occasionally engaged in fishing—numbers of industrious peasants or labourers were torn from their homes, and dragged to the most painful exile or slavery; and what rendered it particularly obnoxious, the sanctity of the Sabbath, and even the sacredness of divine service was violated by these myrmidons, backed by the military, and screened by the law. At Perth, a party of soldiers were brought into the town, and upwards of forty young men, servants and apprentices, were seized and carried to the barracks, where the greater portion inlisted through fear. At Dundee, the town was surrounded by a battalion of foot, and a similar seizure made. In the vicinity of Edinburgh, a church was surrounded during divine service and several carried off, and, throughout the country, a number of equally gross outrages were committed; the only favour allowed to pressed men, in many instances, being that of choosing the land or sea service. Several applications made to the court of session were ineffectual for procuring redress; the men were found to be soldiers under the act, and though proved to have been trepanned into the service, were gravely pronounced to be beyond the power of liberation—but they might have recourse against the recruiting officers! Great exertions were however made by the county gentlemen to

discourage these irregularities, and prevent at least the forcible enlistment of landsmen ; as a general dread had seized the country labourers, many of whom deserted their employment, and fled to the hills, to avoid a service they viewed with horror. Resolutions were adopted at the county meetings for raising the number required ; first by apprehending all the sturdy beggars and able-bodied idlers, and then balloting for any deficiency. But a disjointed, nerveless ministry were incapable of wielding with success the almost despotic powers, and the munificent resources with which they were intrusted ; and the first years of the war did not answer the expectations of the people ; the French gaining at all points in Europe, and defeating the expeditions sent against them in America.

BOOK
XXX.

1755.

Resolutions of the county gentlemen.

xxix. Meanwhile fresh ecclesiastical commotions arose. The ruling party in the church were not more distinguished for their unmitigated severity towards the conscientious scruples of their brethren, than for their unbounded liberality towards the sceptical philosophy of their literary associates—who, led astray by the false brilliance of French genius which engrossed the then fashionable reputation of Europe, were anxious to distinguish themselves, by introducing similar “enlightened principles” among their bigoted countrymen. The orthodox leaders, who viewed with a natural jealousy the intimate friendship that subsisted between the ostensible masters of that school and their moderate brethren—though they could not arraign this intimacy as an ecclesiastical crime in their courts—arraigned the latter at the bar of the public for their indifference, in several small publications, which created such a sensation as rendered it necessary for the general assembly to notice the subject. They did so in an act expressing their utmost abhorrence of these impious and infidel principles, which are subversive of all religion, natural and revealed, and have such pernicious influence on life and morals ; and earnestly recommended to all the ministers of the church of Scotland, to exercise the vigilance and exert the zeal which became their characters, to preserve those under their charge from the contagion of the abominable tracts which contained them.

Affairs of the church.

Act of assembly against infidel principles.

xxx. It was attempted to follow this up next year by a

**BOOK
XXX.**

1756.
Orthodox
attack.

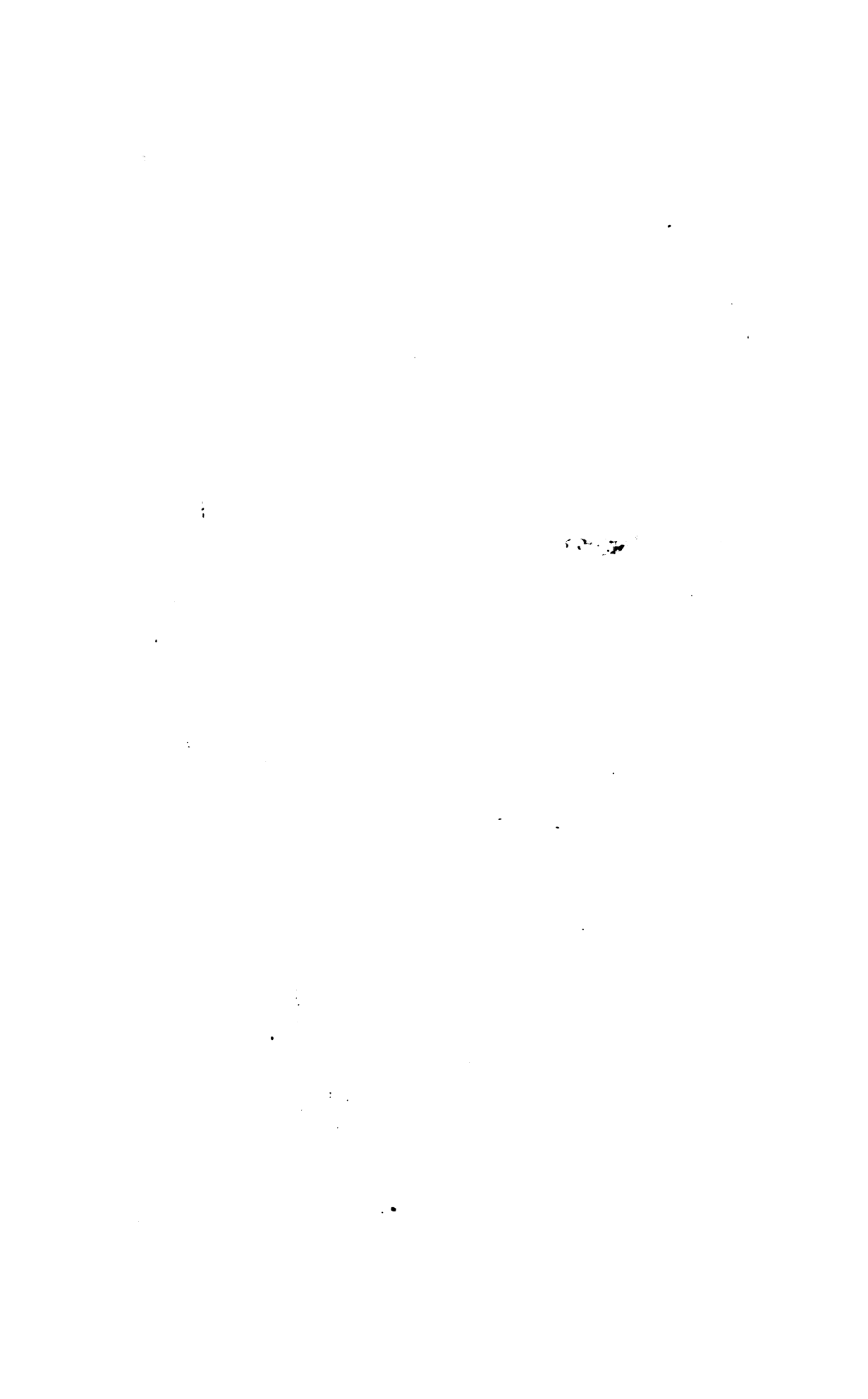
Defended
by the mo-
derates.

Subject
dropped.

Tragedy of
Douglas
acted in
Edinburgh.

direct censure upon David Hume. The formal exclusion of a man from the established church, however despised as innocuous, or fanatical, even yet involved inconveniences in the intercourse with respectable society in the Scottish capital, to which neither Hume nor his friends wished to be exposed. Every exertion was therefore used to avert a sentence which must have ruptured their consociation; and the skill of his friends was not a little displayed in the manner in which they contrived to evade what they could not with credit oppose. After a debate in the committee of overtures;—in which they urged that as Mr. Hume had thrown off the profession of christianity he was to be considered one of those, who, in scripture language, are said to be “without,” and so not proper objects of christian discipline; and to which it was replied, that professing christians did ordinarily hold voluntary, unnecessary communication with him, and even ministers were seen freely conversing with him, which, it was presumed, they would not do if he were publicly censured, and that the end of discipline is to separate the members of the church from her avowed enemies;—they procured the motion to be negatived, for this, among other reasons, “that it would greatly please the man himself, and promote the sale of his book:”—the major part acquiescing in what was certainly the most prudent advice; to allow his metaphysical disquisitions to sink by their own weight, nor lend their aid to keep them afloat by controversy.

xxx1. The religious public were not, however, altogether satisfied; they thought some more distinct mark of reprobation ought to have been affixed to avowed infidelity—an insult to the established faith of the land till then unknown in Scotland. But they were still more grievously shocked by the appearance of “Douglas, a tragedy,” written by one of the party, which was acted at Edinburgh to crowded houses, in the winter of 1756, and countenanced by the presence of several of the ministers of the church of Scotland at the theatre. As the delinquency occurred within the bounds of the Edinburgh presbytery, they took instant cognizance of it, by issuing an admonition and exhortation to be read from all the pulpits, addressed particularly to teachers of





See H. B. 1000.

1. 1000.

THE
HISTORICAL
AND
GEOGRAPHICAL
DESCRIPTION
OF
THE
CITY
OF
LONDON
AND
THE
COUNTY
OF
MIDDLESEX
IN
THE
SEVENTEENTH
CENTURY

BY
J. H. B. 1000.

youth, parents, and masters of families, to restrain by every habile mode, such as were under their influence, from frequenting these seminaries of vice and folly, and desiring the youth themselves to beware of being misled into such pernicious snares as must retard or mar their progress in the necessary and useful parts of their education. They, at the same time, suspended Mr. White of Libberton; and wrote to the several presbyteries to which the ministers belonged who had been at the play-house, recommending them to take such measures as they should think proper, for supporting the credit and promoting the usefulness of the holy ministry. The presbytery of Dunse replied with scorn; others compromised. Dalkeith prosecuted Mr. Carlyle, the minister of Inveresk, who contested the point from presbytery to synod, whence it was carried to the general assembly, which affirmed the censure of the synod; and earnestly recommended to presbyteries "to take such wise and effectual measures as may promote the spirit of our holy religion, and preserve the purity and decorum of the ministerial character; and that they take care that none of the ministers of this church do attend the theatre." Mr. John Home, minister of Athelstaneford, the author, having, through the interest of the earl of Bute, procured a pension, resigned his charge rather than stand the chance of being deposed; from which, after the active part he had taken against Mr. Gillespie, it was suspected, even the powerful influence of his party would scarcely have been able to have preserved him.

BOOK
XXX.

1756.

Proceedings of the
presbytery
in consequence.

General
assembly
prohibit
ministers
from attending the
theatre.

Home, the
author, resigns his
charge.

xxxii. Failure had hitherto attended almost every warlike attempt of the British, till the voice of the public, calling loudly for some more efficient arm, to wield the energies of the country, William Pitt, distinguished by the splendour of his eloquence in the house of commons, in compliance with what appeared to be the national choice, was intrusted with the direction of the government. Nor did his administration disappoint the high expectations that had been formed of his ability; his measures were in general concerted with wisdom, and marked by a fearless decision, which inspired those to whom their execution was intrusted with a portion of the spirit by which they were planned.

Administration of
W. Pitt.

BOOK
XXX.

1756.
He sends
highland
regiments
to America.

His policy
in employ-
ing rebel
officers.

1757.
Successful
conduct of
the war.

1760.
Thurot's
expedition.

xxxiii. Lord Loudon's regiment had acquired a kind of national reputation on the continent, and had been dispatched to America, where the highlanders were reported to have captivated the Indian allies by the similarity of their nether garments to the rude cinctures of the Cherokees, as they themselves afterwards attracted the admiration of the army by their admirable adaptation for American warfare. Pitt, who perceived at once the advantages to be derived from employing the kilted mountaineers, adopted, without hesitation, the most generous policy for securing their attachment. Not many weeks after he was in office, two highland regiments were ordered to be raised and officered by men who had served in the rebel army. One of the regiments consisted almost entirely of Frazers, and the command of it was given to Simon, late master of Lovat. Archibald Montgomery, brother to the earl of Eglinton, was lieutenant colonel of the other, and their valorous achievements in many a bloody field, evinced the soundness of that great statesman's judgment.*

xxxiv. Dissensions in the cabinet where Pitt would not yield to be second, occasioned his dismissal for a few weeks, and on this occasion some of the burghs of Scotland exhibited the rare, though not singular spectacle, of addressing an honest ex-minister. From the period of his return in June 1757, till the end of George II., was a time of increasing prosperity at home and glory abroad. The threats of invasion which France had thrown out, were turned into fears for her own shore. Boscawen and Hawke drove her fleets from the ocean, while the British banners waved triumphant on the plains of Hindostan and the heights of Quebec. Yet early in the year 1760, a petty squadron struck momentary terror along the unprotected west of Scotland. Monsieur Thurot, who had signalized himself as cap-

* It is foreign from the object of this history to narrate the various services of these, and the other highland regiments, raised at this time and afterwards, in the various quarters of the globe where they pre-eminently distinguished themselves. And would besides be superfluous, as this has been done so amply by major-general Stewart in his Sketches, a work to which I refer, and than which, not many more interesting to Scottishmen have lately appeared, notwithstanding a few Celtic partialities, and disputable positions.

tain of a privateer, by his extensive depredations on the British trade, and the daring defence of his vessel against two British frigates, was promoted by the French king to the command of a small flying squadron, and instructed to alarm the coast of Ireland by occasional descents, on purpose to distract the attention of the British from a larger armament intended for an attempt on the English coast. This attempt was frustrated by the destruction of their fleet off Belle-isle : and Thurot, whose plans also had been deranged, appeared in the month of February among the western islands. Being short of provisions he landed at Islay, but paid for the cattle, flour, and potatoes that were furnished, and treated with the utmost politeness the gentlemen who came on board, even ordering his officers to refund to the full amount for some plunder they had taken. Unwilling to return without attempting something, he landed and took Carrickfergus in Ireland, from which he levied a small contribution ; but being intercepted by captain Elliot with an equal force, he was slain in the engagement, and three of his vessels were taken.

BOOK
XXX.

1760.

Lands at
Islay—his
conduct.

Takes Car-
rickfergus
—killed.

xxxv. The alarm, however, which he had created, and the inability of the people to have defended themselves from so insignificant an armament raised a universal cry among the Scots for a national militia, similar to what had been established in England ; and it is not incurious to mark among the inconsistent freaks of our politicians, that while they were creating dissatisfaction by forcing the measure on some of the counties of England, they were doing the same by refusing it to those of Scotland. Ere the commotion thus occasioned had subsided, the subject was revived by Mr. Oswald, Mr. Gilbert Elliot, and other northern representatives. Leave was granted in the house of commons to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, which was presented by Mr. Elliot on the 24th of March 1760, and the table was crowded with petitions, entreating the legislature to grant the favour ; but the motion for its committal, April 15th, was lost by a great majority ; and while Scottishmen abroad were carrying the military renown of their country to its highest pitch, the wretched jealousy of the English members

Bill for a
militia in
Scotland
lost.

BOOK prevented their being entrusted with arms for their defence
XXX. at home. The duke of Argyle, who then chiefly directed
 1760. Scottish affairs, was accused of the cause of this failure,
 having meanly given up the point of honour for his country.*

Death of
the king.

xxxvi. Notwithstanding, however, these petty interrup-
 tions, Scotland never experienced so much real internal
 tranquillity, while she enjoyed her full share of the splendour
 that illustrated the British name; but a cloud passed over
 the scenery at the moment of its brightest noon. The king,
 who had outlived the reverses and animosities of a long and
 troublous reign, and whose hale unbroken constitution pro-
 mised yet years of glory among an united, exulting, and tri-
 umphant people, was suddenly called from his flattering
 prospects of earthly grandeur. At Kensington, on the
 morning of Saturday, October 25th, he rose about his usual
 hour—five o'clock—breakfasted without any sign of indis-
 position, and expressed an intention, as the weather was
 fine, of enjoying a walk in the garden; but the page in at-
 tendance, when leaving the room, hearing his majesty sigh
 deeply and fall, returned, and found him on the floor. “Call
 Amelia,” said the king faintly; but before she could reach
 the bed to which they carried him, he had expired. He
 was in the seventy-seventh year of his age, of which he had
 reigned thirty-four; and what rarely happens, he was more
 popular during the last two, than at any other period of his
 being on the throne.

Review of
his govern-
ment.

xxxvii. The predilection which George II. inherited for
 Hanover, involved Britain in two continental wars for its
 protection, during which, with the exception of France, al-
 most every European prince and potentate, had been large-
 ly subsidized, first to protect, and then to circumscribe
 the power of Austria; and all in their turn had pocketed
 the money and envied the power of Britain. In the ad-

* “Pitt had acquiesced: but the duke of Newcastle, solicitor-general Yorke, and the young whigs, attacked it with all their force. Even the Scotch lord-advocate spoke with spirit against it. Elliot defended it masterly, and sir Henry Erskine went so far as to say, that all Scotland would come and demand it at the bar of the house. Unluckily for that menace, the man who had most weight in that country, the duke of Argyle, was not cordial to the bill.” Lord Orford’s Mem. vol. ii. p. 436.

ministration of England, he was liberal, humane, and just ; and if, in punishing the rebellion in Scotland he was more rigorous than his predecessors, the nature of the case is an ample excuse ;—the abettors of an insurrection against a more paternal government than any the kingdom had almost ever enjoyed, who rose at the mad call of a stranger-boy, to effectuate the restoration of a race of imbeciles, who could only have brought to the country exploded maxims of despotism and slavish modes of superstition, deserved the fate they courted ; and that their families were involved by their folly, is among those incidents which we may regret, but for which we can attach blame nowhere but to themselves. That so many were spared after a double rising, is an instance of forbearance not easily paralleled in modern history, and of which I doubt if any other dynasty in the world could produce an example. His majesty was distinguished by no very remarkable talents, but he had the more requisite accomplishment of a limited monarch—moderation in the exercise of his constitutional power. In private life he was passionate but placable, regular and parsimonious, yet liberal to his friends and occasionally munificent ; personally brave and of unblemished integrity. He had quarrelled with his eldest son, Frederick prince of Wales, whose cause was of course espoused by the patriotic opposition ; but the tenderness and affection he showed to his children more than compensated for any coldness to their father,—whose character maintained an elevation with the public they are always willing to allow to untried princes, though it did not altogether escape court scandal.*

BOOK
XXX
1760.

His cha-
racter.

* Orford's Memoirs of the last ten years of the reign of George II. 2 vols. 4to. A work that does more to expose the littlenesses of the great, and level the distinctions of rank and talents, than any publication since the heat of the French revolution.

GEORGE III.,

- BOOK XXX.** **xxxviii.** RECEIVED the crown in circumstances peculiarly auspicious. Victorious abroad, the nation was united at home under a minister whose transcendent genius seemed to annihilate opposition and command success. He was in the bloom of youth, decorous in his conduct, and, if unacquainted with the business, he was also uncontaminated by the follies of a court. On the day after his grandfather's death, he was proclaimed in London, and on the Wednesday following at Edinburgh, where, as if emblematic of the changes destined to mark the era now commencing, the proclamation was read, not as heretofore from the venerable cross, but from the balcony in front of the Royal Exchange, the first of the new buildings, for the sake of which that ancient gothic structure had been most unnecessarily removed. A royal proclamation against vice and immorality was read from all the pulpits next Sabbath, and a deputation from the commission, composed of five of the Edinburgh ministers, hastened to congratulate the young monarch. No immediate change took place in the plans of government, or in the persons intrusted with conducting them; but the earl of Bute,* who had been intrusted with the superintendence of the prince's education, being immediately introduced into the privy council, early alarmed the jealousy of the English courtiers with the danger of Scottish influence. Meanwhile the king delighted the multitude by identifying himself with them in his first speech to parliament, November 18th. "Born and educated in this country," said he, "I glory in the name of Briton;" and every thing fortunate was anticipated from the reign of a native sovereign. The session closed March 19th, and next day the parliament was dissolved. Before the new one met, the splendid Pitt administration was broken up, and he had retired.
- George III.** **1760.**
- Proclaim- ed.**
- Deputation from the church sent to congratulate him.**
- His declaration.**
- Parliament dissolved. —Pitt retires.**
- xxxix.** In Scotland the elections were remarkable for the conduct of the capital, where the magistrates for once re-

* His mother was lady Anne Campbell, only daughter of Archibald, first duke of Argyle.

sisted the nomination of "the manager," and chose the lord provost, George Lind, as their representative, in opposition to one supported by the duke of Argyle.* With this exception, as usual, the returns were with the court. Bute, elevated to the chief station in the ministry, concluded a peace upon terms by no means commensurate with the expectation of the people, or the unrivalled success of the British arms; and by which, together with his inexperience, and perhaps presumption, in the arts of government, he created at first a powerful opposition among the statesmen; who, favoured by some palpable blunders in the internal administration, succeeded in raising against him and his country such a tempest of popular clamour in the capital, and such a torrent of intemperate abuse from the press, that after a very short and turbulent premiership, he resigned his unenviable office. Several unstable changes succeeded, and among others Pitt was raised to the peerage as earl of Chatham, with a seat in the council—but his commanding influence was gone. A licentious turbulence had been excited among the people by the rancorous opposition in parliament, over which the noisy demagogues of the day possessed more influence, and he retired from the cabinet almost without observation.

BOOK
XXX.

1761.

Edinburgh
elects a re-
presenta-
tion in op-
position to
the court.

Bute re-
signs.

XL. During a time of agitation, in order to allay the public ferment, by lessening the burdens of the English, in an evil hour, the project of taxing the colonies presented itself; and a stamp duty was imposed by the British legislature. The Americans—many of whose fore-fathers had left their native land, and peopled the wildernesses of the new world to avoid tyrannic enactments—rose almost as a man against the act; which, when the ministry found it impossible to enforce, they repealed, but asserting the principle that the mother country had a right both to legislate for and to tax their dependencies. The Americans, who treated with scorn the assumption of a right to the contents of their pockets, by an

American
revolution.

* Archibald duke of Argyle, died at London 15th April, Æt. 80. He was in his usual health at dinner, and before five o'clock that same evening he was a corpse. He was a man of abilities, and of much use to his country, but esteemed selfish in his politics. His cousin lieutenant-general John Campbell of Mamore, succeeded to the estate and title.

BOOK
XXX.
1762.

his first act of administration was granting a bond of provision to his son Archibald, by lady Jane Douglas.

Duke of
Douglas'
various
settle-
ments.

XLIII. Meanwhile the duke of Douglas, who lived unmarried and in seclusion at Bothwell castle, refused to acknowledge his nephew; and by undue interference, as was alleged, was induced in the year 1754 to execute a settlement of his whole real estate upon the duke of Hamilton;* and in 1757, by a second deed, declared his intention, that his sister's son should in no event succeed to his possessions. To the astonishment of all his acquaintance, however, his grace entered the holy state of matrimony in the year 1758, with Margaret, eldest daughter of James Douglas of Mains, in the county of Dunbarton, and by a post-nuptial contract in 1759 devised the whole dukedom of Douglas, failing the issue of that marriage, to his own nearest heirs; in 1760 he cancelled his settlements in favour of the duke of Hamilton, and in 1761 executed an entail of the whole estate in favour of the heirs whatsoever of the body of his father, James, marquis of Douglas, and in a separate deed named Archibald Douglas, alias Stewart, as his successor in the dukedom of Douglas; the duchess of Douglas and the duke of Queensberry trustees and guardians.

Stewart's
claims es-
poused by
the duchess
of Douglas.

XLIV. As soon almost as the news of lady Jane's delivery reached this country, rumours of its being an imposition began to be privately circulated by the agents of the Hamilton family. This operated much to the disadvantage of the lady with her brother, whose retired habits rendered him suspicious and easily influenced by those about him, and produced the settlements in favour of that duke. But his new duchess, convinced of the legitimacy of young Stewart's claims, espoused his cause warmly, and procured the subsequent deeds in his favour. Then the former reports were revived by the same people, and became so public, that upon the duke's death, when his nephew was served heir, counsel for the duke of Hamilton attended, and

* The marquis of Douglas [created by Charles I. 1633] was twice married; by his first wife he had Archibald earl of Angus, grandfather to the late duke of Douglas and lady Jane; by his second he had another son, William earl of Selkirk, afterwards duke of Hamilton, great-grandfather to the duke mentioned in the text.

a more full examination of witnesses took place than usual upon such occasions. The pregnancy and delivery of lady Jane were distinctly proved, to the entire conviction of the jury, as were the facts of Mr. Stewart's being owned and acknowledged by her ladyship and sir John, her husband, as their son, also the habit and repute of the country. The acuteness of the duke of Hamilton's legal agents, however, perceived some partial discrepancies in the evidence, and having failed in the two short processes, persuaded his grace's guardians to doubt the filiation of his rival, and brought an action of reduction before the court of session. At the same time one of the most active, Mr. Andrew Stewart, was despatched to France to collect evidence to overturn the whole, to prove that the pregnancy was feigned, that lady Jane was never delivered; that the two children she had in her utmost penury, and in her dying moments, treated as her own, were two infants she had purchased; and he succeeded in procuring, by means not the most honourable, a number of plausible negatives to undermine the positive testimony of his opponents. At the distance of twelve years he commenced to lead a circumstantial proof to show that the story was a fiction; that there was no such person in Paris at that time, as the pretended accoucheur, that no such lodging-house existed as that in which lady Jane was said to be delivered, and that at the date when her ladyship ought to have been in bed after her delivery, she was in Paris in perfect health. Almost every circumstance in the lives of lady Jane and sir John became then the subjects of separate investigation, and each gave rise to a new debate, while the evidence of every individual witness, and the observations upon them, generally filled a volume; but although legal ingenuity distracted the attention by a multiplicity of reasonings upon topics only slightly or incidentally connected with the main object; and found out—as is no very difficult matter—inconsistencies regarding secondary facts, the original statements of the parents, and the explicit testimony of the witnesses examined on the service, remained unshaken.

XLV. What rendered this dispute peculiarly interesting was:—both of the claimants were minors, and neither of

BOOK
XXX.

1762
Served
heir.

Action of
reduction
raised.

Proceed.
ings in it.

BOOK
XXX.

1762.

Action be-
fore the
parliament
of Paris.

Court of
session de-
cide against
Stewart—
house of
lords re-
verse the
decision.

Public re-
joicings ge-
neral on the
result.

Death of
Hamilton.

them could be guilty of fraud or intended fraud; which yet involved a most disgraceful or cruel alternative, that of either forcing a supposititious heir upon the family of Douglas, or of turning out from the possessions of his ancestors a real descendant of that illustrious house. Not only was all Scotland agitated, but the plea was carried to France, and an action brought before the parliament of Paris, accusing sir John Stewart and Mrs. Hewitt of procuring false children when there; the proceedings and proofs upon both sides were voluminous beyond precedent; and by the subtlety of the lawyers—for the highest talents in the country were engaged—the real question became so obscured, that the court of session divided equally, and by the president's casting vote, it was decided against Mr. Stewart, upon the 14th of July 1767. From this judgment an appeal was made to the house of lords, where February 25th, 1769, after twelve days pleadings, the judgment of the court of session was reversed, and the service of Mr. Stewart Douglas as heir of his uncle, affirmed. On this occasion lord chancellor Camden delivered one of the clearest and most admirable speeches, in reviewing the evidence, which perhaps ever was delivered in that house, upon a legal question; and was followed by lord Mansfield on the same side, equally lucid, perhaps more beautifully eloquent.

XLVI. The news was received in Edinburgh a little before eight o'clock at night on the 2d of March, and excited great public rejoicings. The town and suburbs were splendidly illuminated, and the populace expressed their unruly satisfaction by demolishing the windows of the judges and others unfavourable to the acknowledged representative of a line of heroes. Throughout Scotland the event was celebrated with universal gratulation, as if a public national triumph had been obtained. But what was very affecting; on the day Mr. Stewart Douglas was celebrating his victory at Bothwell castle, his rival, an aimable and promising youth, [Æt. 15.] was borne to the family vault at Hamilton. The expense of the litigation was said to have exceeded one hundred thousand pounds.

XLVII. At the return of peace, the trustees for the forfeited estates in the north were exceedingly desirous that the

discharged soldiers and sailors should settle upon them either as labourers or fishers, and projected numerous villages and stations which the short cessation of hostilities did not allow to be fully matured or completed; they offered the sailors, if unmarried, a bounty of L.2 sterling each, and a boat fitted for the herring or cod fishery to every eight; and to married men a dwelling-house and three acres of ground rent free for seven years. Soldiers were to have the same, only in lieu of a boat their bounty was to be three pounds per man. Some of the large landed proprietors even offered higher encouragement, and appear to have been successful to a considerable extent, till the introduction of new improvements rendered them less careful about attaching inhabitants to the soil; and a spirit of emigration was excited among the people, by more tempting prospects abroad. About the same time, a transference of property highly gratifying to Scottish feeling took place. Several of the estates forfeited in 1716 had been roused by the commissioners, and bought by the York-building company at sixteen years purchase, who attempted to open mines, and introduce new modes of culture; but from the general aversion of the natives to strangers, and the inexperience and extravagance of their managers, the company became bankrupt, the property was again brought to judicial sale in the parliament-house, Edinburgh, February 20th 1764, and knocked down to the heirs of the original owners, without opposition, amid the acclamations of a crowd of nobility.

BOOK
XXX.

1762-4.
Plan for
improving
the north.

York-
building
company
fail.

Forfeited
estates pur-
chased by
the heirs.

*LVIII. Peace abroad, however, seemed to be the signal to England for internal disturbances; but notwithstanding all the turmoil of the sister kingdom, distracted with the raving of faction, Scotland remained little disturbed; and while the low and rascally mobs of the metropolis were bawling Wilkes and liberty, their compeers in the northern capital were with less noise committing the demagogue's effigy to the flames. Two subjects of more importance connected with the peculiar situation of the country occupied for several years much of the public attention;—the possibility of procuring some amendment in the law of entail, and the state of the paper currency. The former was taken up by the faculty of advocates and the landed interest with

Discus-
sions on
the law of
entail.

BOOK
XXX.

1764.

And the
paper cur-
rency.

great spirit, and much was written and spoken upon the subject; but although an act was obtained, 1770, allowing entailed estates to be burdened to a certain extent, many of the material grievances remain still to be redressed. The latter was also keenly discussed, and it is not a little amusing to remark, that the same arguments which have lately been applied to prevent a return to metallic currency, were then urged against the calling in five shilling notes. The banks, whose numbers had increased considerably, were accustomed to issue notes with an optional clause of payment on demand, or six months after with interest, and for sums so small as five shillings, which had almost banished silver from the circulation; when the county gentlemen applied to parliament, and the evil, then hourly increasing, was effectually remedied by an act [5th Geo. III.] forbidding the issue of notes under one pound, or otherwise than payable on demand; and silver immediately became as plentiful as ever. The system however of Scottish banking companies, to lend out their capital upon securities not always available, had already exposed some of the banks to difficulty; and to prevent any similar occurrence, the Edinburgh chartered companies contracted their issues, and diminished the credits of their cash-accounts.

Ayr bank.

It becomes
involved.

XLIX. Much discussion followed on the nature of banking; and from the plausible theories of private profit and public advantage, confidently advanced by speculative writers, a number of noblemen and gentlemen, of extensive property, at whose head stood the dukes of Buccleugh and Queensberry, and Mr. Douglas of Douglas, were induced to subscribe one hundred and sixty thousand pounds, and erect a banking company at Ayr, under the firm of Douglas, Heron, and Co. with the intention of supporting and encouraging agriculture and manufactures. Too generous and sanguine, they accommodated tradesmen, farmers, and landholders with a liberality beyond the line of cautious prudence, and sent almost instantly into circulation a quantity of paper above what they had the ready means of honouring. In the spring 1772, some eminent houses, with whom they corresponded in London failed, in consequence of trafficking in the funds; and an unprecedented number of

bankruptcies following, struck the commercial world with universal panic. Taking advantage of this, the bank of England and the banks who were unfriendly, refused the company's notes, and they suddenly finding themselves unable to procure cash to answer the demand upon them, to the dismay of the country, were under the necessity of stopping payment in June of that same year. The partners now discovered that besides their capital they had lost nearly three hundred thousand pounds, and as they were individually responsible, many were irremediably ruined. Scotland had escaped the destructive folly of the South Sea Scheme; but this public-spirited, rational, and promising undertaking, by unfortunate mismanagement, involved whole districts in almost equal distress. The public, however, did not share to an equal extent, the whole of the debts being paid with interest, within a short time after the concern was broken up.

BOOK
XXX.
1772.

Stops pay-
ment.

L. A large majority of the English, there can be no doubt, supported lord North in his measures respecting America, and a still greater considered it treason to listen to any proposal respecting their independence. The public sentiment of Scotland was similar; but the west was particularly zealous in enforcing their abhorrence of the ingratitude and rebellion of the colonies. When Burgoyne's surrender excited doubts as to the issue of the contest, Glasgow stepped forth the first among the Scottish burghs, with a loyal offer for raising a regiment; Edinburgh followed; but the faculty of advocates were so much divided in opinion respecting the justice or policy of the contest, that they declined concurring. Almost every town of consequence seconded the forward loyalty of the two cities, by bounties for sailors and soldiers; and among the nobility, the dukes of Hamilton and Athole each volunteered a regiment, while, instead of militia, the dukes of Buccleugh and Gordon, and lord Frederick Campbell raised fencible corps.

1775-8.
Zeal of the
Scots for
prosecuting
the war
against
America.

LI. When the war deepened, and recourse was again had to the mountains for soldiers, the conduct of the privates evinced that the principle of clanship, if not entirely broken, was greatly weakened. They could not now be in-

**BOOK
XXX.**

1778.

Mutiny of
the Sea-
forth regi-
ment.Of high-
land re-
cruits at
Leith.

duced to follow the banner without inquiry ; but had learned, like their lowland neighbours, to bargain for their services. To the disgrace of the agents employed, if not of the government for whom they acted, these bargains were in several cases shamefully infringed ; and the shrewd uneducated highlanders—taught to dread deception—were thus exposed to the arts of designing men, and upon several occasions, excited to mutiny. The Seaforth regiment, in September 1778, upon being brought for embarkation at Leith, refused to move unless their arrears and the bounty they had been promised were first paid ; and notwithstanding the entreaty of the officers, upwards of five hundred retired to Arthur's seat, with pipes playing and their plaids fixed on poles for colours. There they remained from Tuesday till Friday, plentifully supplied with provisions by the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and visited by persons of all ranks. The first regiment of dragoons, two hundred of the duke of Buccleugh's fencibles, four hundred Glasgow volunteers, and some troops of the line, were brought to the capital, and there was every appearance that they would rather risk an engagement than embark ; till through the good offices of lord Dunmore, and after much negotiation with general Skene—second in command in Scotland—upon a written assurance being given, signed by the duke of Buccleugh, the earl of Dunmore, sir Adolphus Oughton, K.B. commander-in-chief, and general Skene, that all past offences should be pardoned, their demands satisfied, and that they should not be sold to the East India Company, they left the hill ; and on the Tuesday following marched with the earl of Seaforth at their head to Leith, where they quietly went on board the transports. Another mutiny at the same place in April following was attended with more serious consequences. A detachment of highland recruits, who understood not one word of English, and who had inlisted in the forty-second and seventy-first, two corps of which their native garb was the uniform, and Gaelic the language, being ordered to be turned over to two lowland regiments, wearing breeches, and ignorant of erse, the poor fellows refused to obey ; and when some troops arrived to carry them prisoners to Edinburgh castle, resisted, a desperate affray ensued, when near-

ly fifty were killed and wounded upon both sides before the mutineers were reduced. Three of them were afterwards tried and sentenced to be shot, but upon the facts being laid before his majesty, were pardoned, and afterwards served with credit in their own regiment.

BOOK
XXX.
1778.

LII. Proceeding on the principle, that a presentation with or without a call from the people, must be carried into effect, the majority in the general assembly almost uniformly decided in opposition to popular candidates. Many long litigations came before the venerable body, and many violent settlements took place in the country, where an armed force was occasionally employed to support a system of patronage, not more adverse to the doctrines of the New Testament than to the original constitution of the church of Scotland, till the people, disgusted with tedious processes, from which they received no redress, became indifferent about the business; and being able easily to find among the dissenters, without any sacrifice of principle, ordinances administered by pastors who were more acceptable, left the parish churches peaceably when they were dissatisfied, and went elsewhere:—a practice which has increased to our own day, when a disputed settlement would be a strange occurrence in any of the church courts. From the period when the Relief separated, these contests relating chiefly to individual parishes, come more immediately under the pure ecclesiastical department, of which I now deem it expedient to take leave, after noticing the semi-political transactions respecting the Roman catholics.

Church
affairs.

People be-
come indif-
ferent
about
them.

LIII. Among the numerous offers of service against the American rebels which were now pressed upon government, the Roman catholics zealously urged theirs, and as his majesty protected that religion as established in Canada, it was judged but fair that its professors should be relieved from the penalties to which they were exposed in England. A bill was accordingly brought into the house of commons, by sir George Saville, [May 14, 1778] which afterwards passed, for repeal of certain penalties and disabilities imposed upon them by an act of William III.;—such as, punishing officiating popish priests as felons, forfeiting popish heirs edu-

A Bill for re-
lief of Ro-
man ca-
tholics in
Canada.

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1778.

cated abroad, depriving papists of the power of acquiring landed property by purchase, and giving right to the next heir, being protestant, to take possession of a father or other relation's estate. The Scottish laws were still more severe, but they had remained a dead letter:—yet the conviction and banishment of one Connachar, an episcopalian non-jurant, only a short time before, for marrying those of his own profession, showed the risk of leaving a dangerous power in the hands of any party, and trusting to their making no improper use of it.

Causes
great sen-
sation in
Scotland

LIV. Information of what was projected in England was speedily conveyed to Scotland, where the measure raised a great sensation; not so much on account of what was really granted by the bill, as from a dread that it was merely an introduction to the complete emancipation of the catholics, and their restoration to power. While it was in progress, the general assembly met, [May 21st] and Dr. Gillies, one of the ministers of Glasgow, put the question to the lord advocate, whether government intended to extend the measure to Scotland? His lordship, in reply, told him, it was not proposed to extend that bill to Scotland; but he did not doubt, but upon some future occasion, a similar measure might be adopted for that purpose. A motion was therefore brought forward for instructing the commission to watch over the interest of the protestant religion in that part of the country, and to require them to call an extraordinary meeting, if any thing should occur to make an extraordinary meeting necessary. This motion, which was merely applying the spirit of the assembly's annual charge to the commission,—“to keep a correspondence with the committee for reformation of the highlands and islands, for suppressing popery and superstition,” “and, if need be, to apply to government for a proper remedy and speedy redress;” which its proposers considered necessary, on account of the general apprehension of the country, and which most probably would have quieted the public mind, was opposed by principal Robertson as unnecessary. “His intercourse with society,” he said, “was perhaps as extensive as most gentlemen in that house, and he could not find that any alarm had been

Motion in
the general
assembly
on the sub-
ject.

Opposed
by Dr. Ro-
bertson—
rejected.

taken!" The motion was in consequence rejected by an immense majority, but a dissent was read by Dr. Gillies, and adhered to.

BOOK
XXX.

1778.

LV. The Scottish public were irritated already against the moderate party in the church, and their opposition to this reasonable proposal of watching over her interest, was construed into an entire dereliction of duty. Their professions of liberality were stigmatized as indifference; and the people took into their ruder hands the preservation of a religious establishment, which its own chief court was accused of betraying. Associations were every where formed, and from innumerable violent resolutions published, it soon appeared that the calculations of the ruling party in the assembly were far from being well grounded. The synods, with the solitary exception of Lothian and Tweeddale, fanned the flame; that of Glenelg asserted, that popery of late had made alarming progress within their bounds; Glasgow and Ayr appointed a fast; and resolutions to restrain the growth of popery within their districts, and to prevent the repeal of the Scottish acts against papists, were adopted by those of Dumfries, Angus and Mearns, Galloway, Perth and Stirling. Had the assembly agreed to any popular measure, they might have guided the opposition; but their leaders despised the vulgar, and the business had now got other directors; petitions were signed by the town council of Glasgow and Edinburgh, by the Protestant Interest Society, and by almost every town and village in the kingdom.

Feelings
expressed
by the dif-
ferent sy-
nods.

LVI. While matters were in this state of combustion, an incendiary letter was dropped in Edinburgh, January 31st, 1779, pointing out to popular indignation a place in Leith Wynd where the Bishop resided, which was supposed to be also used as a chapel by the Roman catholics, and inviting them to pull down that "pillar of popery." In consequence, a numerous mob assembled, and in spite of the magistrates, the city guard, and a party of fencibles, reduced the "land" to ashes. Next day several other houses where popish clergymen resided were destroyed, and the shops and dwellings of a few private individuals plundered. At night they proposed to attack the house of principal Robertson, but by this time some troops of dragoons arrived, and a party

1779.

Roman
catholic
chapel
burnt in
Edinburgh

**BOOK
XXX.****1779.**

Paul Jones
plunders
the Earl of
Selkirk's
seat.

Appears
in the
Forth.

opportunity of harassing or humbling Britain for France to allow escaping, and threats of invasion were revived; not, however, for the purpose of advancing a pretender to the throne, for Ireland instead of Scotland, became now to be considered as the vulnerable point; yet the defenceless shores of the latter continued to invite insult. Privateers had occasionally visited and plundered the north, but in the year 1779 a petty squadron created nearly as much alarm on the east coast, as that of Mons. Thurot had done on the west towards the close of the former year, and retreated with more honour and success. Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, in an American privateer carrying 20 guns, had in the month of April, 1778, landed at the earl of Selkirk's seat, St. Mary's isle, Kirkcudbrightshire, with the intention of carrying off his lordship. Missing him, the desperado took his plate, burned some small vessels at Whithaven and after alarming the Galloway coast, escaped to France. He returned with a squadron the following year, menaced the south of Ireland, and proceeding for Scotland on the 16th of September, was descried from Edinburgh steering up the Frith, with the intention, as was supposed, of burning the shipping in Leith, and levying a ransom, or inflicting further mischief. As the place was entirely defenceless, the utmost consternation prevailed in the Scottish capital, and some hasty measures for resistance were adopted; when suddenly a tem

highly inexpedient, therefore the appellations of fanatical, enthusiastic, illiberal, ignorant, persecuting and narrow-minded, have been thrown out on us, not merely by the bigots of a party, but by those from whose education and avowed principles we did expect a very different treatment. The friends of perversity are at the same time permitted in their pamphlets to assert the most notorious falsehoods, to deny the best established truths, to misrepresent the plainest facts, and even load us with the most injurious reflections; yet they are not blamed, the zeal for their religion is pleaded for their excuse, they are regarded with favour as a persecuted people! And if we presume to detect their falsehoods, we are marked out as seditious pamphleteers, who wish to raise a flame in the country, or revive the spirit of persecution." Dr. Robertson complained personally "of having his character as a man and citizen delineated in the most odious colours, as a pensioner of the pope, an agent for Rome, and held out to an enraged mob as the victim who deserved to be next sacrificed; his family had been disquieted, and his house threatened, he had received numbers of incendiary letters by lovers of truth and friends of the protestant religion, warning him that his death was resolved, and the instruments prepared for shortening his days."

pest from the west, which increased to a hurricane, drove the dreaded enemy into the German ocean, and relieved not only the port, but the whole country, from the apprehended danger. Perhaps it may not be impertinent to notice an incident which occurred on this occasion, and caused considerable remark at the time: when the vessels were lying off Kirkcaldy, the terrified inhabitants assembled on the links, and while they remained there trembling and awaiting the issue, a dissenting minister proposed, that as there seemed no prospect of assistance from man, they should join in prayer to God; the proposal was agreed to, and during the time they were so engaged, the gale arose that freed them from their anxiety. After that visit the coast and the waters of Scotland remained unviolated by the presence of an enemy, though the Spaniards and the Dutch were added to the number; and unless by the increase of taxes, and the interruption of trade, the country felt comparatively few of the evils of war during the three following years of its continuance.

BOOK
XXX.

1780.

Driven out
by a tem-
pest.

LVIII. A minority, small in number, but powerful in ability, had, from the beginning, opposed in parliament the pretensions of the mother country respecting America, as unjust in principle and impracticable in fact. The ruinous and unsuccessful trial of a seven years' contest at length convinced the nation of the truth of the latter part of the position. The foreign powers, who had hoped entirely to overwhelm Britain in the day of her calamity, found themselves not less mistaken in their calculations; and in spite of all the folly and imbecility of infatuated councils, the valour and energy of the British arms were displayed with their wonted effect on the ocean, in India, and at the rock of Gibraltar. France, Holland, and Spain, had each suffered for interfering in a quarrel with which they had no concern; and heartily sick of what they had so wantonly sought, when Britain consented to the independence of America, listened to the mediation of the empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany, under whose auspices preliminaries of peace were settled at Paris in the latter end of 1782, and signed at Versailles January 20, 1783.

1782-3.

Britain ac-
knowledges
the inde-
pendence
of America
—peace
ensues.

LIX. Thus, after wasting blood and treasure to obtain a

**BOOK
XXX.****1782-3.****The minist-
ry retires.****Coalition
formed.****Dismissed.****Pitt prime
minister.****H. Dun-
das, ma-
nager for
Scotland.**

power which must have been a curse to Britain, if gained, peace was concluded with an independent and estranged federation, upon terms infinitely worse than what, without the irritation of a sanguinary struggle, would have rivetted the affections of a grateful kindred-people, had the parent state only had the wisdom to resign with grace what the fate of the stamp act might have shown could not be retained by force. Votes of disapprobation soon passed upon the articles by both houses of parliament, and the ministry by whom the negotiations had been carried on were forced to retire. They were succeeded by an administration, including the heads of two parties [Fox and North] once the bitterest political opponents, and celebrated in British history by the name of "the Coalition;" under them the definitive treaties were signed, September 30, 1783. This incongruous junto retained their places only a few months. Being defeated upon Mr. Fox's India bill, his majesty dismissed them, and next day [Dec. 18.] appointed a new ministry, at whose head, as first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, was placed William Pitt, second son of the earl of Chatham, then in his twenty-fourth year, who thus early possessed the confidence of the crown, and inherited the affectionate veneration of the people. With him was associated Henry Dundas, as treasurer of the navy, who succeeded to the entire management of Scottish affairs: and whatever difference of opinion may exist with regard to his general politics, the attention he uniformly paid to the interest of Scotland, and the zeal with which he urged every scheme that tended to promote her literary, agricultural, and commercial prosperity for a long series of years, entitle his memory to the affectionate respect of his country. His efforts commenced with his entrance into power, and his first act was procuring a bill for restoring the forfeited estates, which finally closed the wounds rebellion had inflicted on Scotland; and with an account of which I shall close my history of that portion of the empire.

LX. He introduced his bill on the 2d August 1784, by recounting the services the highland chiefs had performed in the preceding wars, and quoted the earl of Chatham's ex-

pressions. "I am above all local prejudices," were the earl's words, "and cared not whether a man had been rocked in a cradle on this or the other side of the Tweed. I sought only for merit, and I found it in the mountains of the north. I there found a hardy race of men, able to do their country service, but labouring under a proscription. I called them forth to its aid, and sent them to fight her battles. They did not disappoint my expectations; for their fidelity could be equalled only by their valour, which signalized their own and their country's renown all over the world." These were at once an eulogium on the deceased statesman's penetration, and a testimony to the value of the services which he wished to reward. The measure was warmly supported by Fox, and passed the house of commons unanimously: in the house of peers it was opposed by chancellor Thurlow, who was unwilling to lessen the legal penalty of treason, but the influence of the minister carried it by a large majority. The estates were not, however, bestowed free and improved, but burdened with the debts due at the time of their forfeiture, from which fifteen thousand pounds were allotted for building a register-office for the public records of Scotland, and fifty thousand for completing the grand canal between Forth and Clyde.

BOOK
XXX.

1784.

The forfeited estates restored.

Gift for public works.

LXI. Years of rapid and unexampled prosperity followed, chequered, indeed, occasionally by the failure of unwise speculation, but founded on solid and progressive improvement. A clear excess of revenue enabled the minister to propose a small but efficient sinking fund, while the general tranquillity subsisting in Europe authorized a considerable reduction in the expenditure; and an astonishing rise in the public funds attested the universal confidence in the public credit. American independence, which threatened at first to involve the new republic in bankruptcy and confusion, was not productive of the injurious consequences, either to the commerce or the resources of Great Britain, which all parties at the time predicted; both attained a magnitude and a vigour, shortly after the war, of which they would have been deemed incapable before its commencement; the mother country appeared to have got rid of incum-

Flourishing state of Britain.

BOOK
XXX.

1784-93.

Pitt's anti-
cipations.

branches, by allowing her untractable offspring to take the management of themselves, and to have acquired real strength, in proportion to her loss of troublesome and unruly authority. In a committee of the house of commons, early in 1792, Mr. Pitt congratulated the house on the flourishing state of the finances; the revenue of the last year had so much exceeded the average of the four preceding, that the permanent income, he informed them, would surpass the permanent expenditure, including the annual million set aside for extinguishing the national debt, by four hundred thousand pounds! whence, government would be enabled to take off taxes, that bore chiefly upon the poorer classes, to the amount of two hundred thousand pounds, and apply the other two hundred thousand to increase the sum appropriated for the sinking fund! which, acting with compound efficacy, promised speedily to relieve the country from all the oppressive burdens, that clogged her industry or cramped her exertions. Peace, lasting peace only, was wanted to realize prospects more bright than the most sanguine imagination could have anticipated! and he did not hesitate to confirm the language from the throne, "that, unquestionably there never was a time when a durable peace might be more reasonably expected, than at the [then] present moment."

LXII. But the transatlantic revolt, though it did not operate in the manner that was expected, was productive of effects the most sagacious politician never dreamed of; it hastened, if it did not originate, a revolution the most stupendous the world ever witnessed;—whose consequences as yet are but very imperfectly developed. The political transactions in Scotland during this eventful period, it is impossible to separate from those of the empire, as these in their turn could be little understood without a general view of European politics. I shall not, therefore, mutilate by detaching them.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

Book XXXI.

Origin of the French Revolution.—British sympathy for France in Scotland.—Trial of Scottish Revolutionists.—Revolutionary clubs.—War commenced with France.—Naval victories.—Successes of Bonaparte.—French invasion of Egypt.—Improvements in Scotland.—Forth and Clyde canal.—Early steam navigation.—Manufactures.—Religious history.—Relief of Scottish Episcopacy and Popery.—The French expelled from Egypt.—Peace of Amiens.—War resumed.—Campaign of Austerlitz.—Impeachment of Lord Melville.—Prussia chastised.—Bonaparte invades Russia.—Treaty of Tilsit.—The Peninsular invasion and war.—Wellington.—State of Scotland during the war.—Battle of Waterloo.—Fate of Napoleon.—State of the Scottish church at this period.—1789–1815.

1. WHILE the French court was covertly aiding our American colonies in emancipating themselves from the mother country, and thereby wreaking its hereditary hostility against Great Britain, it little guessed how fearfully this interference would recoil upon its own head. The claims of the Americans opened the eyes of the French to a perception of those political rights, which their own government had withheld from them for centuries; the success of this transatlantic struggle, wherein their countrymen had borne so distinguished a part, showed how easily they might achieve for themselves the same political blessings which they had so effectively toiled to procure for mere aliens and strangers; while the establishment of the new republic, with its equal rights, its simple and economic government, and promise of future grandeur and prosperity, presented an alluring picture that made the contrast of their own condition only the more irksome and intolerable. Might not France, too, be made thus free and happy? And, indeed, it was full time to ask the question. All the offices of value

BOOK
XXXI.

Origin of
the French
Revolu-
tion.

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Its neces-
sity.

in church and state, all the high appointments in the law and the army, were withheld from the people, and exclusively bestowed upon the noblesse. On the other hand, the taxes, which were oppressively heavy, as well as unequally distributed over the provinces, fell only upon the industrial classes; while the nobles and clergy, who reaped the fruits of the land, were exempt from taxation. These imposts also, although so heavy and so unequally levied, were utterly inadequate to the expenditure, of which they were yearly falling short by about £7,000,000 sterling; so that a national debt of more than £200,000,000 had already accumulated. This responsibility, too, which threatened nothing short of national bankruptcy, was embittered by the fact, that it had been incurred by the Crown, without the concurrence of the nation; and that, while the greater part of it had been expended in the gratification of royal ambition, and court prodigality, at least £20,000,000 had been absorbed by the royal mistresses, and their worthless trains of minions and parasites.

II. While merit was thus condemned to obscurity, unless it was stamped by a hundred years of noble descent; and while the peasantry, who are the bones and sinews of a country, were permitted to enjoy but a twelfth of their industrial produce, instead of eight times that amount, as in England, a complete change was not only a desirable event, but one of imperious necessity. If France was still to remain a nation, instead of being gradually extinguished like the Roman empire, or violently partitioned like Poland, she must undergo the perilous experiment of revolution. Such was the conclusion of even the wise and the humane of other countries, who looked with pity upon a people so miserably enthralled, and yet so fitted for a nobler destiny; and they thought that this might be cheaply purchased by remonstrance, by revolt, or even by a civil war. Little, however, was it deemed, that even the worst of these would not be the uttermost. In England, when the revolution was accomplished, men quietly returned to their occupations; and the ploughshare quickly erased the traces of battle from the fields where liberty had been won. In like manner, the new republicans of America, as soon as their war of inde-

Difference
of revolution
in
France and
England.

pendence was over, applied themselves to agriculture and commerce, and proceeded to traffic with the mother country, whose authority they had thrown off. But in the encouragement of such examples, as fitting for France, it was too often forgot that these men who had rebelled so promptly, and battled so bravely, and afterwards returned so peacefully to their homes, had neither been debased by such a long course of servitude as France, nor had such an amount of evils to redress, and injuries to revenge. In the field, they met with their enemies as those who had committed a political blunder, and nothing worse, and with whom they were ready to renew their old amity as soon as the blunder was recanted. And above all, these revolters of England and America were Puritans, and the sons of Puritans. They had been nurtured in a religion that inculcated forgiveness and brotherly love; and when they rose in arms, it was to obtain from their mistaken rulers their rights both as Christians and citizens, which that religion allowed; and without which, its duties could neither be fully implemented nor its worship freely enjoyed. It was nothing less, and nothing more which they demanded; and having obtained what they asked, the controversy was ended. Very different, however, it was in the case of unfortunate France. Her people were not only maddened by oppression, but blinded and perverted by religious infidelity; so that, when the nation rose, it would be more like the sightless and drunken Cyclops, to riot in a universal vengeance, than a calm, deliberate movement, where destruction is only the necessary prelude of regeneration. A corrupted Christianity and a worthless priesthood had produced upon the national mind a recoil into utter indifference or unbelief; so that, while some, like Voltaire, sneered alike at every religion, others, like Rousseau, had no creed but their own perceptions, no moral code but their own sensations and impulses. A revolution was inevitable; but, from such a people, what was to be expected as its character and fruits?

III. At length, the event, which might have been delayed, but not prevented, was only accelerated by the obstacle opposed to it. To arrest the coming change, it was necessary to reconcile the public mind to the present state of

**BOOK
XXXI.**

**Attempts
to arrest
the Revolu-
tion in
France.**

rule; and to effect that reconciliation, the exchequer must not only be restored to a state of solvency, but the taxes lightened, and the people fed. Here was a union of contradictions, for which money must be created, as well as saved and won; and to create is beyond human power. To work, however, went the French financiers, each in his own fashion; but only to be encountered by discomfiture. Such was the fate of the virtuous Necker, who tried to save France by economy; but whose retrenchments were quickly stopped short by those selfish courtiers who had hitherto lived upon the taxes as their hereditary property. Such was the fate of the showy subservient Calonne, who reversed the process by gratifying the privileged classes at the expense of the nation at large; and who, by extravagant loans for that purpose, involved the country in a fresh debt of more than £60,000,000 in the short space of five years. Such also was the fate of Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, summoned to the rescue at the last hour, because he was a man of brilliant conversation, and very pretty political theories; but who soon showed, when placed in the midst of actual difficulties, that he had neither wisdom to plan, nor firmness to execute. It was found that neither premier nor minister of finance could reform the public abuses, nor replenish the empty treasury; and, therefore, the experiment must be changed. The wisdom of one man having failed, they would try the collected wisdom of the many, and convoke these legislative meetings so dangerous to monarchical despotism, and which had been so seldom allowed a voice in the government of France. The Assembly of the Notables, composed of the chief nobility, was, therefore, summoned; but as their prescribed duty was merely to impose fresh taxes, they became refractory, and were dissolved. Then came the parliament of Paris; but as they, too, refused to register new loans and taxes, they were banished from the capital, and their place supplied by a Bed of Justice, over which the royal authority was paramount. That bed was soon found too short and too narrow for the occasion, and a *cour plénière*, that relic of ancient feudalism, was next proposed; but as such a meeting only consisted of courtiers, the proposal was indignantly rejected. As yet, in all these

meetings, the voice of the people had been unheard, the nation had not been represented. Let the many now appear, and give their assent to the wishes of the few! It was a perilous demand, but the emergency was more perilous still; and, therefore, a convocation of the states general, by which the nobles, clergy, provincial assemblies, and people were all equally represented, was appointed to be held on May 1, 1789. Here was the beginning of the French Revolution; the first stroke of that tocsin whose terrible pealing was the death-knell of nations, and under the echoes of which, Europe is still compelled to tremble.

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iv. The assembly of the states general met, and the first symptom of insubordination was, that the *Tiers Etat*, the representatives of the people, rose, and covered their heads, like the other estates, in the presence of the king, by whom the meeting was opened, instead of remaining uncovered and upon their knees, before royalty, as they hitherto had done. They felt their strength, and were determined to use it. It had been intended that the two higher estates of nobles and clergy should meet in one chamber, and the third in another, like the two Houses of Lords and Commons in England; but here the third estate interposed, and refused to act unless they were joined by the other two. At length, after much contention, the *Tiers Etat* declared themselves the representatives of France, under the title of the National Assembly, proclaimed all taxes illegal that were not sanctioned by themselves; and on being hindered from entering the hall of meeting on account of this bold act of insubordination, they adjourned to another place, and pledged themselves to stand fast by each other until the Government was reformed. Thus they remained a self-constituted, independent power, notwithstanding the concessions made to soothe, and threats held out to awe them; and on being joined by many adherents from the other estates, they felt that the whole power of the kingdom was lodged in their hands. So also felt their constituents, the people, who proceeded to act accordingly. Furnishing themselves with arms from the arsenals and gunsmiths' shops, they attacked the Bastile, that hated prison-house of despotism, and razed it to the ground. The contagion

Meeting of
the states-
general.

The third
estate pre-
dominates.

The Revo-
lution.

**BOOK
XXXI.**

spread to the provinces, where the peasantry attacked the stately mansions of their lords, and by fearful acts of plunder and massacre, more than requited the wrongs of whole centuries of feudal oppression. The Revolution thus commenced, went onward in full career. The soldiers made common cause with the people; while the nobility, the natural supports of the throne, fled from the country, and left their sovereign helpless in the hands of a fierce democracy, who had achieved their liberty, but knew not how to use it. The distinctions of nobility and titled rank were abrogated, the taxes equalized, and tithes abolished; and to complete the sovereign authority of the people, the king was dragged from his palace of Versailles, and compelled to dwell in Paris under their own superintendence, and with no remains of his former power but that of a simple ~~etc.~~, which was little more than a dead letter; while the oath of the new constitution was "fidelity to the nation, the law, and the king." Then followed the attempted escape of Louis XVI. from Paris, with his re-capture, and subjection to a harder captivity than before. The people, already maddened by a long course of oppression, by poverty, and, finally, by a severe famine; and who had hitherto acted as if liberty could remove every national evil, and that it consisted in a reckless defiance of kings, were now to be driven into wilder extremities by an additional incentive. Their neglected and famine-blighted fields were to be invaded by hostile armies, and themselves compelled to become loyal at the points of foreign bayonets. Austria was the first to enter the conflict which was so soon to extend over Europe; and the march of her legions into France was preceded by a proclamation commanding the assembly to set free the king, and restore the monarchy, as they should answer with their heads; and threatening that if the royal family were injured or insulted, Paris should be reduced to ashes. This proclamation, which fully equalled the frenzy it denounced, hastened on those deeds of violence which it sought to prevent. The population of Paris rose, the palace of the Tuileries was stormed, and the king and his family thrown into the prison of the Temple, where they were subjected to every hardship and indignity. The frightful massacres of

Foreign intervention
hastens the
Revolution.

September quickly succeeded, in which the prisons that were gorged with nobles, clergy, and gentlemen in thousands, because they were suspected of attachment to the old regime, were emptied, and their miserable inmates massacred in the court below, or in the street, where an armed mob was drawn up for the purpose. But as the Austrian armies still continued to advance, backed by the forces of Prussia and Russia, that had now made the defence of royalty a common cause, the new French republic resolved to hurl at the sovereigns of these three powers a fearful gage of combat, after which, there should be war to the uttermost. That gage was to be nothing less than the head of their imprisoned king. Accordingly, Louis XVI., one of the most amiable, but at the same time one of the most incompetent of sovereigns for such headlong anarchy, was brought before the bar of the convention, and, after a mere mockery of trial, was proclaimed a traitor to France and human nature, and condemned to public execution. The sentence was carried into effect on January 21, 1793; and that war was resumed with double fierceness, under which every nation in Europe was for years to be a sufferer, and of which it may be sadly predicted that the "end is not yet."

v. It was not without a far deeper and more personal motive than the mere preservation of Louis and his family, that the allied sovereigns had taken arms in their defence. The contagion had already reached their own kingdoms and capitals; and the first movements of the Revolution were regarded with a sympathy that might have soon led to imitation. Nor were the French slow to take advantage of this feeling. As their fervour for liberty increased, they were anxious that every other nation should be as themselves; and for this purpose, while they adopted for their motto, "War to the throne, peace to the cottage," they were eager by publications, manifestoes, and missions, to indoctrinate all people of the earth with their new political creed. And its doctrines were too alluring to be heard with indifference, so that murmurs against kingly rule, aristocratic privileges, and unequal or excessive taxation, threatened to convert the French Revolution into a great European movement. The popular impulse, it was felt,

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was taken during the whole of this uproar, and but little personal violence offered. †

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VII. While the established state of things was thus menaced in England by French tendencies and political clubs, it might have been thought that Scotland would be exempted from the general delusion. A people so cautious as the Scots, so strict in religious belief, and so staid and decorous in moral character, must surely have recoiled at the mad excesses, as well as the loudly avowed infidelity and atheism of France. Such indeed was the case with the bulk of the nation, who stood aloof and remained uncontaminated. Still, however, the new republicanism could form a party among them, and originate political societies for the overthrow of the government; and it is to be observed, too, that the language of these meetings was more violent and revolutionary than even that of the similar meetings in England. Perhaps it was that having broken loose from religious restraints of peculiar strictness, they were but the more disposed to hurry into the opposite extreme; and possessing less liberty than their more favoured brethren of England, they felt the greater need of political reform. These causes acting upon the natural temperament of Scotsmen, produced such speeches and resolutions, as, if carried into effect, would have reduced the riot of Birmingham to utter insignificance. But the law in Scotland was more stringent than in England, and proved sufficient for the emergency; and in the beginning of 1793, a series of trials commenced, by which the revolutionary spirit in the north was crushed with a somewhat despotic hand. The first of these was in the case of James Tytler, a chemist, in King's Park, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, who was charged with publishing an address "To the people and their friends," in which he told them that they were robbed and enslaved, and advised them to pay no more taxes until universal suffrage was conceded. This was dangerous language for the time, and Tytler failing to appear in court, his bail was forfeited and himself outlawed. Only three days after (January 8), James Anderson and Malcolm Craig, journeymen printers, and John Morton, a printer's apprentice, were brought to the bar. The charge against them was, that they had gone

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into the castle of Edinburgh, where they attempted to seduce a corporal and some soldiers from their allegiance, by telling them that their pay was too scanty, and that they would be paid higher wages if they joined an association of "Friends of the people," or a "Club for equality and freedom;" and that in the castle they drank as a toast, "George the Third and *last*, and damnation to all crowned heads." The three were found guilty, and sentenced to nine months imprisonment, after which they were to give security for their good behaviour for three years. Other trials followed, in which most of the culprits were booksellers, who were charged with publishing libels against the Government, and tracts inciting the people to rebellion, and with forming and frequenting clubs whose text books were Paine's *Rights of Man*, and other such inflammatory productions. One or two of the accused failed to appear, and were outlawed, the others were punished with a short imprisonment.

VIII. In spite of these warnings, the revolutionary spirit still went onward, and the "Scots Jacobin Clubs," as they were called, which assembled in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other principal towns, held such language, and proposed such measures, as shocked the ears of their sober countrymen and awoke a spirit of severe retaliation. Counter-associations were therefore formed, in which a loyalty as furious as the republicanism of their enemies, became the order of the day; so that it seemed as if the devoted cavalier spirit of the time of Charles II. had once more taken up its residence in Edinburgh. But something more was found necessary than mere speeches on passive obedience and non-resistance, and the Crown lawyers prepared for action, by selecting for punishment the more distinguished leaders of the insurrectionary movement. These were soon found in Thomas Muir, a young member of the Faculty of Advocates, and the Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer, a native of England, and Unitarian preacher, who for some time had been settled in Scotland. The trial of Muir was held on August 30 and 31, 1793, and the charges against him, which sufficiently illustrate the spirit of his party, were numerous and heavy. At the close of the previous year, he had presided at a convention held in Edinburgh, which was modelled upon that

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of France. He had recommended the perusal of seditious works, calculated to bring both king and government into disfavour with the people. He had convoked Jacobin meetings in various parts of the kingdom, and caused a most rebellious appeal to the convention of delegates, entitled "An Address from the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin, to the Delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland," to be received, read, and answered. It was also urged against him, that he was a fugitive from justice, for on being summoned before the sheriff-depute of the county of Edinburgh, on January 2, 1793, soon after the meeting of the convention, he had signed a declaration, and immediately after had absconded, and failed to appear upon the day appointed, before the court of justiciary. It was also shown that nearly five months after having been proclaimed "fugitive" by the court, he had been apprehended at Portpatrick, when a copy of an Address from the Society of United Irishmen, and other suspicious papers, were found in his possession; and that during the interval, he had not only been in Ireland, but in France, even after the declaration of war between the latter country and Britain, and that he had lived on friendly terms with some of the chief leaders of the Revolution. Muir's defence and answer to these charges, would have been available at any other time than the present. He proved that his departure from Scotland was not a private absconding from justice, but a journey publicly announced; that he had afterwards appeared openly in London, and attended public meetings; that by the advice of friends he had repaired to Paris before the execution of Louis XVI., to attempt to avert that crime, as an outrage upon the cause of liberty; and that he had been prevented from quitting France sooner than he had done, by an embargo laid on all vessels, so that he was obliged to embark in a neutral American ship, that landed him in Ireland. He showed also, that during his short stay in that country, he had taken no share in its political insurrections, and had returned openly to Scotland to abide a public trial. As for the charges of rebellion and treason that were accumulated against him during these public proceedings, he declared that the societies to which he belonged had no such plan or

purpose, and that their only design was to effect a reformation in the House of Commons by the constitutional means of petition and remonstrance. This defence he gave with eloquence and spirit, and the witnesses he produced in his favour testified that he had often moderated the intemperate language of the political clubs and meetings, and had been the advocate of monarchical government, and denouncer of equality as a doctrine unfitted for Great Britain—in fact, that reform and not revolution was the remedy which he sought for the country. They also testified, that in his addresses to the people at club meetings, he had insisted upon the necessity of good order and self-reformation, before they attempted to make others better; and had impressed upon them the duty of reading good wholesome books of history and general literature to make themselves wiser and better, and encouraging others to do the same. But his defence was unavailing. Even at the best he had been guilty of much imprudence, and that too at a season when imprudence was a crime. Of this the lord-advocate took advantage, and in pleading against the panel, whom he stigmatized as a “demon of mischief” and “pest of Scotland,” he endeavoured to extract from all this moderation a more conclusive proof of his guilt. The result was, that Muir was pronounced guilty by the unanimous voice of the jury; and the judges, after declaring, in answer to the lenient expectations of his friends, that they possessed the power of banishing, fining, whipping, imprisoning, and transporting at their own option, condemned him to transportation for fourteen years. In the abstract it was an iniquitous, and in peaceful times it would have been an absurd sentence; but unfortunately, the period was so pregnant with danger, and even Muir’s eloquent defence admitted so much, while his friends so loudly cheered him in open court, that the judges felt as if they had no alternative.

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IX. As for the Rev. Thomas Fyshe Palmer, whose trial came on before the circuit court of judicary at Perth on September 12, although he had neither been a fugitive from justice, nor a resident in France or Ireland, nor yet a voter in the mad schemes of the Society of United Irishmen, yet he was already fore-doomed with the previously condemned Muir,

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because he had been the friend and correspondent of the latter. This unfortunate man, the descendant of a respectable family in Bedfordshire, had been educated for the English church at Cambridge, and had obtained a living, but was afterwards converted to Unitarianism by the writings of Dr. Priestly. It is evident, moreover, that he had imbibed the political, as well as theological ideas of his talented preceptor. He then came to Scotland, of all countries the most opposed to his adopted creed, took charge of a small congregation of Unitarians in Montrose, and afterwards of another in Dundee, and was noted as a zealous preacher of his doctrines among the towns of Forfar and in Edinburgh. The crime of which he was accused on his trial, was of writing and publishing the "Dundee Club Address to the People," a most inflammatory manifesto, breathing hatred against the existing Government, and encouraging the people to overthrow it. It appeared, however, on his trial, that he had only revised and corrected, not written this address, which was the production of a young weaver in Dundee; and that in his editorial superintendence he had struck out several of the most insolent sentences, and softened others. An attempt was also made by Palmer's counsel to obtain the acquittal of his client on the plea of insanity, by alluding to the pamphlets he had published, and offering to quote from them; and in these curious productions enough might have been found to satisfy a humane modern jury. In one he had attempted to prove, that the cock-crowing which Peter heard, was the sound of a trumpet; and in another, that the fallen angels were only the sons of Seth. But the judges and juries of the day were too deeply alarmed to allow even the intemperance of insanity to be an apology for treason, and therefore he was unanimously declared guilty, and sentenced to transportation for seven years. He and Muir, after a short imprisonment, were conveyed to the hulks at Woolwich previous to transportation, and their case was the subject of debate in the House of Commons, as to whether their trials should be revised, on the plea of being too oppressive and severe. But the motion failed, not only in the House of Commons, but also in that of Lords, and the prisoners were left to

their fate. Their history was afterwards full of romantic incident. After a voyage, in which they suffered much annoyance from their fellow-prisoners who were transported for the same political offences, Muir and Palmer arrived at Sydney, and were treated with great kindness by the governor, and the few settlers who as yet occupied that infant colony. Soon after, Muir escaped in an American vessel that had been commissioned from the United States for the purpose of carrying him off, and was conveyed to South America, where, after having resided till 1796, he set sail for Spain. But on the voyage, the vessel was attacked by a British frigate, and in the action Muir was severely wounded in the head; and on reaching Spain he was thrown into prison, as the country at that time was at war with Britain. Being afterwards released, by an application from the French republic, through the famous Talleyrand, Muir resumed his troubled pilgrimage, and passed over to France, where he hoped to find a peaceful home at last, but he died prematurely at Bordeaux, through the effects of hardship, imprisonment, and wounds. Such was the fate of an amiable talented young gentleman, because he anticipated changes that were unsuited to the time, and pursued them with an ardour that defied all consequences. As for Palmer, he remained in the colony until his sentence had expired, after which, having joined several of his fellow-exiles in the purchase of a vessel, he embarked in the first instance for New Zealand, intending there to take in a cargo of timber for the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards to return to England. But the vessel was not sea-worthy, and after spending half a year at New Zealand, where they were unable to obtain sufficient provisions for a long voyage, the adventurous navigators cruized about the Pacific half-starved, but still finding no port of abundance, until they stuck fast on a reef at the island of Goraa. On obtaining assistance from the natives, and repairing the timbers of their crazy bark, they changed their intended route, and resolved to make a voyage to China; but after narrowly escaping drowning by the opening of fresh leaks, under which their vessel was well nigh foundered, they were obliged to take shelter in the island of Guam, in possession of the Spaniards, by whom

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the ship was seized and themselves made prisoners; and there Palmer died after a captivity of eighteen months, during which he was treated with kindness and humanity.

x. It had been hoped that the trials of Muir and Palmer, and the severe sentence passed upon them, would have inspired caution at least, if not terror in the hearts of their associates. But the contrary was the case, for the Jacobin clubs in Scotland became more numerous, and their proceedings more daring than before. The chief meeting at Edinburgh, called the Convention, was still more closely assimilated to that of France, with this striking difference, however, that its sittings were opened and closed with prayer. Its places of meeting had new names imposed upon them of a revolutionary character; they gave the "honours of the sitting," even as in France, to strangers who sought to fraternize with them; and discarding all honorary titles from "prince" to "gentleman," they would have none but that of *citizen* prefixed to every name indifferently. They instituted primary and provincial assemblies, divided the country into departments, and appointed their official journals, in which their proceedings were to be recorded; and for the purpose of enlisting the Highland broad-swords upon their side, should force be ultimately necessary, they agreed that the Highlands should be enlightened with patriotic tracts, and that each tract should cost not more than a halfpenny, and have the figure of a Highlander, armed and in full costume, upon the title page, to excite the interest of the simple mountaineers. Thus the convention went on until December, when the magistrates of Edinburgh resolved to arrest its proceedings; and on the 5th the Lord Provost, with a sufficient attendance, entered the place of meeting, ordered the members immediately to disperse, and informed them that they were at liberty to assemble only in private houses. They replied, that their present place of meeting, which had been hired for the uses of the British Convention, was only a Free Masons' Lodge, and therefore a private house in the strictest sense of the term; and on being told that their assembly was illegal and must be dispersed, they doggedly expressed their resolution to remain. Even when the president left the chair, they elected another in his room, and

were about to proceed to business in defiance of the interruption, when the provost, declaring that he would act as chief constable, stepped up to the newly elected president, and pulled him out of the chair. The members then adjourned to another Masons' Lodge at the head of the Canon-gate, where they declared their sittings permanent; but here also they were invaded on the following day by the sheriff-substitute and magistrates of Edinburgh, attended by a strong posse of constables, and after a little resistance the Convention dispersed. The principal members, however, were not suffered thus easily to escape, and on the following month (January 1794), Skirving, the secretary of the Convention, and Margarott, a delegate from London, were tried and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation; and in March, Gerald, another English delegate who had been active in the Edinburgh Convention, and who had there contemptuously likened the British Constitution of 1688 to a dead horse, was also tried, convicted, and sentenced to the same punishment. Of all those who were thus transported to New South Wales, including Muir and Palmer, none returned but Margarott, who seems to have been the least worthy of the five. He died in London in 1815, in needy circumstances and with but an indifferent character, while his friends were collecting a subscription for his relief.

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Trial of
club mem-
bers.

XI. This, however, was not the end of the Scottish revolutionary trials, neither was transportation the worst punishment inflicted. Before a special commission held at Edinburgh, on August 14, 1794, Robert Watt, a tradesman in embarrassed circumstances, was charged upon eighteen overt acts of high treason. The chief of these were, that he had encouraged the meetings of the Edinburgh Convention, which assembled for taking the powers of legislature and government into their own hand; that he had plotted to seize the castle of Edinburgh by force and warlike weapons; and that he had issued proclamations for the raising of money to purchase arms for the overthrow of the government, and the establishment of a republic in Great Britain. As appeared on the trial, his plot was most miserable and shallow; for, according to the testimony of his brother-conspirators, who now witnessed against him, he

Trial of
Watt.

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His confession and execution.

had not been able to muster more than fifty pike-heads. And yet, with these, he proposed to storm the castle, seize the persons of the judges, and obtain possession of all the banking-houses in Edinburgh! But the example of Paris had shown what a popular war-cry and a few pikes might accomplish at this period of sudden and miraculous change.

The trial of Watt, and the confession he published on the evening previous to his execution, showed that he was worthy of the death-sentence that had been passed upon him. It was manifested from these, that, in the first instance, he had been a spy in the employment of government upon the insurrectionists, with whom he fraternized, and whose meetings he attended as a leader in the cause, only, however, to betray them; but that afterwards, either being baulked of his expected reward, or thinking the other side more promising, he had thrown himself into the ranks of those whom he had intended to betray, in the hope of being refunded by the spoils of a revolution. He thus expected, in the uproar of a universal overturn and all the mischief it might produce, to repay himself for his labours, and clear off the accounts of his creditors. But despicable as these motives were, and scanty as were his means of realising them, his alarmed judges refused to be merciful, and he was sentenced to the uttermost punishment of treason. Accordingly the quiet citizens of Edinburgh were dismayed on October 15, with the spectacle of the chief parts of the sentence. Watt was dragged in a hurdle painted black to the west end of the Luckenbooths, the place of execution, and there, after being hanged on the gibbet, his body was taken down and beheaded by the executioner, and the head held up before the crowd, with the usual cry, "This is the head of a traitor!"

XII. While such were the effects of the French revolution in Scotland, the democratic principles continued to extend themselves more widely in England, where every fresh success of the French arms against the allied powers, only multiplied the number of revolutionary societies, and provoked more daring language in favour of overthrow and change. There too, as in Scotland, the government tempted to quell the rising spirit by trial and punish

but from the leniency of the English juries as compared with those of Scotland, it was found difficult to procure the condemnation of the culprits. The still continuing aggressions of France also against the principles of common government, and the encouragement afforded by the Convention of Paris to the democratic societies of Great Britain, were tantamount to a proclamation of war, so that our Cabinet found itself compelled to accept the challenge. The French envoy was therefore ordered to leave England, an act of hostility to which the Convention responded on February 3, 1793, by proclaiming war against Britain in due form. Active preparations instantly followed, and an army of 20,000 British soldiers, under the command of the Duke of York, was sent to Holland in April, where it joined the allies, and on the following month distinguished itself in an engagement, in which Dampierre, the French general, was slain. Soon after, Valenciennes and Conde fell into their hands, and the allies, following up their successes, might have marched to Paris, and there dictated the restoration of the monarchy. But many a year of calamity had to intervene before this enterprise was realised; and while France called forth all her resources for the conflict, the allied sovereigns began to pursue their own separate plans of aggrandizement, utterly regardless of the French royalists whom they came to assist, or the principles for which they had entered the field. But full dearly they paid the penalty of their selfishness, for they were all attacked and routed in detail, and driven across the French border. The British, who attempted the same line of narrow policy, shared in its unfortunate results. They confined themselves to the defence of the frontier of Holland, but were unable to make effectual head against the French armies, by whom it was overrun and conquered. They were still more unsuccessful in Toulon, that had revolted against the Directory in favour of monarchy, and was garrisoned by 5000 British, and 8000 Spanish and Italian soldiers. The town held out bravely and effectually, until a certain youth, whose name was Napoleon Bonaparte, arrived at the investing army, to take charge of the artillery. From that moment the fate of Toulon was sealed, and the

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War com-
menced
with
France. 25

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British and their allies were obliged to save themselves by sea. These disasters were in some measure compensated by naval successes. Tobago, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Gnadalupe, fell successively, and in a brief period, into their hands; and on the first of June, 1794, a naval victory was achieved by the British Channel fleet, that tended materially to influence the future fortune of the war. In this engagement, twenty-six French ships of the line were attacked by Lord Howe at the head of an equal force, who broke the enemy's line near the centre, and would have destroyed half their fleet, had not his captains engaged their opponents to windward, instead of to leeward, by which they were enabled to escape into Brest. As it was, the French lost 8000 men in killed and wounded, and six of their ships, which fell into the hands of the British.

Discontent
at the war.

XIII. The successes of the French republic in 1794 so effectually broke up the coalition formed against it, that it had no enemies but Britain and Austria. But Britain had been of late so unfortunate upon the continent, that she had no inclination to renew the conflict, while discontents at home obliged her to confine her attention to domestic emergencies. The spirit of democracy and discontent had been continually gaining strength, not only by the disasters of the late war, but the heavy subsidies that had been paid to the allied powers; so that while George III. was repairing to open the parliament in person on October 29, 1795, the royal carriage was beset by the mob, and a shot, probably from an air-gun, passed through one of the windows. To satisfy the popular clamour, a proposal of peace was made to the directory, but without effect, from the desire of the latter to retain possession of the Low Countries; and at length Spain was induced to make common cause with France, and proclaim war against Britain. This additional increase to our naval difficulties, by which the whole coast of Europe was arrayed against us, produced fresh associations for peace; but these, as before, were abortive, in consequence of the high demands of the French government. During this year, also (1796), an attempt was made on the part of France to invade Ireland, to which she was enraged by the numerous malcontents of that unhappy

who hoped to free themselves from the dominion of Britain through French assistance. A well-disciplined army, commanded by Hoche, one of the best generals of the French republic, was accordingly embarked for this expedition, and it seemed as if little more than a safe landing was necessary to crown it with success. But a storm arose, and the hostile squadron was dispersed, so that with great difficulty the ships returned to the harbour of Brest.

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XIV. The war that had hitherto been so unprosperous to Britain, became tenfold more menacing, through the wonderful successes of the French arms in Italy, under the command of Bonaparte, and the conflict had now to be waged with an enemy, under whose supremacy Europe was beginning to quail. Even this, however, was trivial, compared with the mutiny that broke out in the British fleet, in consequence of the complaints of the seamen about their scanty wages, the unequal distribution of prize money, and the severe discipline to which they were subjected. Never did our country seem in greater danger: it was a new species of rebellion, in which her cherished right hand was to be turned upon herself with a suicidal and mortal blow. Happily, however, both the nation and the government stood firm, and, awed by the spectacle, the mutineers returned to their duty. The few lives that were lost on this momentous occasion were forfeited through the sentence of the court-martial, and the evils that were complained of were so satisfactorily redressed, that our navy became more efficient than ever. Just before and after the mutiny also, the sailors showed that their hearts were as sound as the good oak which they manned and defended. On February 14, 1797, two months before this naval insurrection commenced, the Mediterranean fleet, under the command of Sir John Jervis, consisting of only fifteen ships, attacked off Cadiz the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line. Four of the largest Spanish vessels were taken, and the rest so discomfited, that they were driven into Cadiz, and shut up by a blockade. Another more difficult, and therefore a more glorious naval victory, was obtained over the Dutch fleet off Camperdown, on October 11, little more than three months after the mutiny had terminated. In this engage-

Mutiny in
the British
navy.

Naval vic-
tories at
Cadiz and
Camper-
down.

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the Nile.**

with certainty the purposes of the enemy, he once more returned to the Nile, and found the French fleet anchored in the bay of Aboukir, on August 1, one month after its arrival. The French ships were skilfully drawn up in order of battle, being protected at one extremity by shoals, and at the other by land batteries, while they were anchored so near the shore, that it was thought impossible for a British fleet to break their line by passing between them and the land. But Nelson quickly undeceived them. He knew that where a French ship could swing there was room for a British to anchor, and accordingly the battle commenced with this bold manœuvre, each British vessel casting anchor between its antagonist and the shore, so that about two-thirds of the enemy were enveloped by a superior force, while the rest of their fleet was at too great a distance to aid them. The result was something more than a complete victory: in the language of Nelson, it was a *conquest* in favour of the British. Of their thirteen line-of-battle ships, the French lost eleven; the two ships that escaped, with two frigates, were afterwards captured by the British at sea. Such was the battle of Aboukir, that counterbalanced the best of Bonaparte's land victories, by shutting him up as a prisoner in Egypt, whatever might be his fortunes there. He now felt himself completely isolated from France, and surrounded by a victorious enemy at sea, while the native population were everywhere in arms to oppose him. But with these odds against him, and a diminished army, he still continued the war. Arish fell into his hands, Jaffa was taken by storm, and he pressed onward to Acre, hoping, after the capture of this frontier town, to pass into Syria, and there gather round him a native army for the formation of an eastern empire, or the invasion of India by the way of Persia. But in estimating the feeble defences of Acre, and the chances of its speedy surrender, Bonaparte did not take into account the aid of Sir Sidney Smith, and a party of British seamen and marines, by whom the Turks, long famous for their stubborn defence of stone walls, were so animated and directed, that the French were foiled in every attack, and after a siege of sixty days were obliged to retire with severe loss. Bonaparte now saw that the form

an eastern empire was hopeless for the present at least, while the more alluring prospect of one at home tempted his ambition ; for the government of the Directory had now become so odious, and the difficulties of France so complicated, that his return was ardently desired by all parties. He therefore set sail for France in two frigates, which were all that remained of his naval armament, and after escaping the British cruisers, he landed at Frejus on October 9, 1799. Soon after his arrival, he was appointed First Consul with kingly power, and an imperial throne within his reach ;—and thus ended the French republic, which had been established upon such a vast amount of crime, suffering, and bloodshed.

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xvii. The battle of the Nile had been attended with important consequences in Europe. Up to this period France had been every where successful, and the fruits of her victories were not only an extended frontier, but an ample increase of wealth, the spoil of conquered provinces. Austria was humbled, Prussia daunted, Italy, Naples, and Switzerland, overrun and subdued; and France, with six affiliated republics at her disposal, had extended her sway from the furthest bound of Calabria to the shores of the Texel. Britain, also, the most formidable enemy of France, was fully occupied by her own internal disquiet and an Irish rebellion, as well as oppressed by the debts which her liberal subsidies to the foreign powers had occasioned, and seemed in no condition to wage a single-handed conflict against such a powerful antagonist. But still she was even more powerful by sea than France on land; and her conquest of colonies, and, above all, the establishment of her growing empire in India, by the overthrow and death of Tippon Sultaun, the most formidable of our Asiatic opponents, were more than a counterbalance to her disappointments and losses at home. In this state the victory of the Nile re-echoed over Europe, and roused the humbled nations to a fresh effort against their common enemy. Austria, Russia, and Turkey arrayed their armies, and the ten years' peace that had ensued upon the treaty of Campo Formio was at an end. But the Directory, though deprived of their greatest general, who was fully occupied in Egypt, prepared for

Effects of
the battle
of the Nile.

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Bona-
parte's
return to
Europe.

resistance. A series of conflicts rapidly followed, in which the French, inferior in numbers and resources to their combined enemies, lost ground over the immense surface of their late conquests. It was at this crisis that Napoleon Bonaparte returned from Egypt to commence, as ruler of France, the history of a new century; and never was an arrival more opportune for the relief of a sinking nation. "What we want," said Sièyes, "is a head and a sword;" and both had just landed at Frejus, and were on their way to the French capital. Even the period of his landing seemed the return of victory to France, for only eight days after that event the worst enemy of France was compelled to submit to a humbling treaty. Animated by the general rising of Europe, Britain had also entered the conflict on a larger scale than she had hitherto attempted during the war, by an invasion of Holland; and the army, which was commanded by the Duke of York, was not wanting in its usual courage; but in veteran discipline and practice it was sadly inferior to the enemy, while the Duke himself was no match in military skill for the generals of the French republic. Thus, after a series of valiant blunders, in which the British were considerable losers, they were obliged to purchase liberty to re-embark unmolested, while eight thousand French and Batavian prisoners in England were to be released as the price of this permission.

Improve-
ments in
Scotland
during the
war.

xviii. Having thus hastily glanced at the condition of Great Britain in its relation to the other European powers, and its naval and military achievements till the close of this century—a relationship by which Scotland was deeply affected, and achievements in which her children bore a distinguished part—it is gratifying to notice the state of Scottish commerce during the progress of these wars, in which our country was slowly but firmly progressing towards the enviable position she has now attained. It appears, from the official register of imports and exports, that from 1782, the last year of the American war, to 1792, the foreign trade of the country had nearly, if not altogether, been doubled, an advantage of which Scotland also enjoyed a full proportion. This is evident, not only from the rapid extension of the towns, the increase of Scottish shipping, a

multiplication of the comforts of life, but the energy with which every mercantile crisis was successfully surmounted. Such was especially the case in the alarming mercantile disaster of 1792. After two years of unexampled prosperity, a sudden shock was felt that threw a panic over the whole empire; and in 1793, the number of bankruptcies in Britain more than doubled that of any preceding year, many of them also having occurred in houses of the oldest standing and eminence. Of the country banks in England, more than three hundred were shaken, and upwards of a hundred stopped. The evil necessarily extended to Scotland, where bills received from the purchasers of goods sent to London could no longer, as heretofore, be discounted, even although of long date. Accordingly the Scottish banks had ceased to discount to any extent; and in Glasgow, Paisley, and the places connected with them in different parts of Scotland, there were about 160,000 men, women, and children, dependent upon the manufactures, reduced to utter poverty by the change, and very many of them altogether discharged from employment. To restore public credit, an advance of public money, in the shape of exchequer bills, was granted by Government to the amount of more than two millions sterling, of which Glasgow received £319,730 (nearly a third of the amount allotted to London), Leith, £25,750, Paisley, £31,000, Dundee, £16,000, and Edinburgh, Perth, and Banff, £4000 each. Of this money, the whole sum advanced, as well as the interest, was afterwards repaid to the uttermost farthing; confidence was restored, and mercantile credit became stronger than ever. During the whole crisis, the distress was stated to be much less in Scotland than in England, an advantage that was attributed to the greater stability of the banking system in the former country. Even at the worst period of this depression, the exports of Scotland had been diminished by little more than one-tenth, while the entire tonnage of shipping, instead of lessening, had been gradually increasing. "I am inclined to believe," says Chalmers, while concluding this part of his statement upon the condition of Scotland, "that had not any unusual bankruptcies happened in England during 1793 from the imprudent management of country banks, her

Mercantile
crisis sur-
mounted.

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trade and shipping had been little lessened by sudden hostilities."

Forth and
Clyde canal
begun and
finished.

xix. An important event connected with the Scottish commerce of this period, was the completion of the Forth and Clyde canal. This plan, by which a direct communication across the country was to be opened by a junction of the Forth and the Clyde, had been proposed so early as the reign of Charles II., but the expense of such a work, which was estimated at £500,000, caused the project for the time to be relinquished. It was not, however, utterly lost sight of, but was more or less contemplated till 1768, when a company was incorporated for the purpose, and the work commenced in good earnest, and continued until 1775, when the want of funds suspended further operations. So successful, however, had been the attempt, that vessels could reach Glasgow from any part of the east side of Britain, and but for the heavy toll which the impoverished company was obliged to impose, the canal would have come into general use. These facts were stated in 1779, and an urgent appeal made to Government to aid in completing the undertaking, by which coasting and foreign navigation would be reduced, and the dangers of the voyage round the northern extremity of Scotland avoided. It was not, however, until 1784 that the appeal was successful; and the works, in consequence of Government assistance, being resumed with fresh vigour, the union of the two firths was completed on July 28, 1790. This important alliance of the Clyde and the Forth was commemorated upon that day with all the pomp of a great national affiance; and, as a marriage present, a hogshead of water drawn from the Forth was launched into the Clyde. Thus, as M'Pherson properly remarks, "we see the intercourse of distant nations promoted by a canal occupying nearly the same ground on which the barbarous Romans erected their unavailing fence to obstruct the intercourse of brethren." The first sea-vessel that had the honour of passing through the Forth and Clyde canal was the "Experiment," in May, 1791, and by this facility, the voyage from Dundee to Liverpool was made in four days. On the following year, the "George" availed itself of the same means of transit sailing from North Queensferry to Madeira and back ag

xx. But a spirit had already awoke in Scotland that became impatient of the slow conveyance of canals on land, and the impulse of breezes upon the wide sea; and that ere long was to carry the ship to the most distant ports, and within a given time, let the winds blow or slumber as they might. One honoured native of the country (Watt) had already evoked the powers of steam, and devised those marvellous engines by which human strength and skill were increased an hundred fold. Was it not possible that a similar increase to human activity might be imparted by the same wondrous power? This question was already not only propounded, but also solved in Scotland. So early as 1788, the attempt was made upon the Lake at Dalswinton, in Dumfries-shire, where Mr. Miller, one of the authors of the experiment, resided. He launched a small pleasure-boat, in which a temporary steam-engine had been erected; and while the vessel moved at the rate of five miles an hour, the rustic onlookers, whose heads were doubtless filled with legends about Michael Scott, saw his wonders outdone by a "boat driven by reek." Aided by James Taylor and William Symington, who had joined him in his first experiment, Miller attempted a second on the following year, upon a larger scale, and was equally successful. The trial was made on the Forth and Clyde canal, with a vessel sixty feet long, fitted with an engine made for the purpose at the Carron Iron Works, and the motion attained was nearly seven miles an hour—a speed equal to that of steamboats on canals in the present day. It might have been thought that these three would have followed this successful issue by converting it into a source of distinction and wealth; but no farther movement was made, nor patent taken out, for Mr. Miller was a quiet old country gentleman, who pursued science for its own sake, while Taylor, who was a tutor in his family, and Symington, who was but a mechanic, had no means of pursuing the discovery on their own account. No farther attempts were therefore made in steam navigation until 1802, when Lord Dundas employed Symington to construct a steam tugboat to draw vessels upon the Forth and Clyde canal, in which he was an extensive proprietor, instead of employing horses. Even this limited attempt was

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Early
steam navi-
gation in
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soon relinquished, from a fear that the agitation of the paddles would injure the banks of the canal, and some years more elapsed before another followed. But the trial had been made, the principle had succeeded, and navigation by steam, which had been born in Scotland, was there also to be brought to full maturity, and sent forth in due time, like one of its own enterprising children, to traverse the world at large, and make every country its home.

xxi. While these experiments were in progress, the application of the power of steam to the purposes of manufacturing in Scotland had been going on, notwithstanding the popular prejudice, that where one man was thus enabled to accomplish the work of two, an individual would be deprived of the means of subsistence. The result, however, belongs to a later period of our history, when this prejudice was completely overcome, so that one man was allowed to accomplish the work of twenty, or even of a hundred, if he so pleased, without the risk of molestation. In the meantime the statistics of the cotton manufactory in Scotland, towards the close of this century, as set forth by M'Pherson, are as follows. In 1796, water-mills had increased to thirty-nine, which was more than double the number they had reached nine or ten years previously. These mills, the machinery and working of which cost £390,000, or £10,000 each, worked 124,800 spindles. There were also 1200 common jennies of 84 spindles each, which, at £6 per jenny, would cost £7200; and 600 mule jennies of 144 spindles each, the cost of which was £30 per jenny, or £18,000 for the whole. All this made a total of 312,000 spindles working night and day, and a capital of £490,200 expended upon the machinery and buildings. The number of people of both sexes employed by these works was estimated at 25,000, of whom the greater part were under fifteen years of age. Besides these spinners there were employed 38,815 weavers, 12,938 women in winding warp and weft, and about 105,000 women and girls in tambouring; making a grand total of 181,753 persons deriving their *immediate* subsistence from the cotton manufacture in Scotland. M'Pherson also adds that from this period (1796) to 1800, the amount of work and numbers employed had very materially increased. The

Scottish
manufac-
tures.

linen manufacture, in the meantime, was making equal progress in Scotland, although the mechanical difficulties with which the spinning of flax was attended, prevented that successful employment of automatic machinery which was used in the spinning of cotton. In 1800, the quantity of linen-cloth stamped for sale in Scotland was 24,235,633 yards, having increased nearly one-sixth in fifteen years, while the value during the same period had increased from £835,081, to £1,047,598. This was fully a larger amount than that produced, even in England, from the linen manufacture at the same period. It is to be observed also, that notwithstanding this abundant produce of linen in Scotland for the market, many millions of yards were annually woven for domestic uses, which were not included in the statistics. With this increase of cotton and linen manufacture, it is gratifying to add that the immense improvements in bleaching, so essential to these textile fabrications for the purposes of an extensive commerce, were introduced into the island, mainly through Scottish enterprise and skill. Till the middle of this century, bleaching had been a slow process, occupying six or eight months, and was performed by steeping the cloths in alkaline leys, washing them, drying them for weeks on the grass, and submitting them to a renewal of these operations till they had attained the requisite purity. This tedious process was afterwards shortened to half the time by the use of diluted sulphuric acid, instead of sour milk, that had hitherto been used; an improvement that was introduced by Dr. Home of Edinburgh. But in 1786, Watt having visited France on a mission connected with the uses of the steam-engine, was there made aware of the new theory of Berthollet, who suggested the advantage with which dephlogisticated marine acid might be employed in the art of bleaching. The practical mind of the Scottish engineer at once grasped the idea, and, on returning home, he proceeded to act upon it, by introducing the process, with several improvements of his own, into the bleachworks near Glasgow, belonging to his father-in-law, Mr. M'Gregor. By this, it has been justly observed, "bleaching is as well performed in a few hours, and in the space of 100 yards square, as, on the old process, would have occupied weeks

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Improve-
ment in
dyeing.

Religious
history of
Scotland.

of exposure upon 100 acres of land." An improvement was still needed to remove the noxious smell, occasioned by this dephlogisticated marine acid, afterwards better known by the name of oxymuriatic acid; and this improvement was made by the admixture of lime, for which Mr. Tennent, of Glasgow, took out two patents in 1798 and 1799, after having made several improvements upon the process. In the important process of dyeing also, the honour of several improvements towards the close of this century are justly due to Scotland. Among these may be mentioned, the art of dyeing cottons of the colour, commonly known as turkey red, which had hitherto been confined to the East, until, in 1785, it was introduced into Glasgow, by Mr. Charles Mackintosh, where it was brought to such perfection, that cotton handkerchiefs of this colour were produced, equal in beauty and durability to those of India. In calico-printing, also, the invention of printing from copper cylinders, by which a hitherto tedious process was so wonderfully simplified and abbreviated, was made by a Scot of the name of Bell, and first used, about the year 1785, in Lancashire.

xxii. In passing from the political and commercial to the religious and ecclesiastical history of Scotland at this period, we can still descry, under a comparatively tranquil surface, the working of those elements that have been so productive of change in our own day. To these, however, we can only briefly advert, as they have been familiarized to the mind of every Scotsman by the frequent reference that has been made to them in the controversies of the present period. The great head and front of debate, as might be expected, still continued to be the subject of patronage; a subject that had so lately rent the national church by a secession which now numbered two hundred congregations, and almost a hundred thousand adherents. Was this calamity to be increased, or even repeated? Such was now the fear of several, even among the moderate party, who began to doubt whether the retention of this obnoxious patronage was worth the price that had been already paid for it, as well as the risk that still impended. Impressed with these feelings, Dr. Thomas Hardy, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and professor of church history, published

pamphlet in 1782, entitled "The Principles of Moderation, addressed to the Clergy of the Popular Interest in the Church of Scotland." This work, which was eloquently written, exposed the evils of absolute patronage as irreconcilable with the genius of Presbytery, as well as the fruitful source of dissent; and the remedy which he sought was a union of the most conscientious of both parties of the church, by which the extremes of each might be controlled. The conscientious statements of the author, and the position he occupied, commanded general attention, and many of the opponents of patronage hoped that a favourable time had come for overtures to the General Assembly on the subject. Accordingly, in 1783 and 1784, these overtures formed the chief subject of debate; but in 1784 Dr. Hill moved, in the Assembly, that they should be "rejected as inexpedient, ill-founded, and dangerous to the peace and welfare of the church." His motion was carried, and this success emboldened him to a further proposal. Hitherto it had been the practice to insert a clause to the charge given annually to the Assembly's Commission, in which they were instructed to protest against patronage and apply for its removal; and although the practice had lately become little more than a dead letter, it was still continued as a vindication of the original right of the church, and the means of keeping the question still open until a better day should arrive. But Dr. Hill now moved that this clause should be omitted, and in this he was also successful. The removal of what has degenerated into an empty form may be fraught with serious consequences, for that form is the symbol of important principles whose memory at least it behoves us to retain. And so felt the Presbyterians of Scotland who still adhered to those doctrines under which their fathers had suffered and triumphed. It was the erasure of a land-mark, the downfall of a banner, after which country and national honour become things of no account. But even then the fire of patriotism, though thus diminished, may only be converged to leap forth more brightly with the return of a purer atmosphere. Thus it was among the few lights of the evangelical party in the Church of Scotland. Honoured names of this period might still be mentioned

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who, amidst the general despondency, resumed their labours with greater zeal than ever, and whose eyes were not closed until they had seen the dawn of a better day.

XXIII. While Moderatism was thus so prevalent among the Scottish clergy, and fast degenerating into a cold ethical philosophy or heretical Socinianism, it is worthy of remark that the mass of the people remained untouched by its influence. Was it that the national *ingenium perferendum* was opposed to such a lifeless system? Such was the case undoubtedly; but a still stronger cause is to be found in the religious education of the people, which had become as distinct a national characteristic as any of those deep broad lineaments by which its peculiar physiognomy is distinguished. It was as natural that children should be taught the *Shorter Catechism* as that they should be taught to read at all; the former was an inseparable consequence of the latter; and from that admirable compend of theology, which every youthful mind had been required to commit to memory, even the simplest of our peasantry possessed an amount of correct theological knowledge that detected and repelled alike the defective and erroneous instructions of the spiritual guides whom patronage had placed over them. In this way the departures from the church that had taken place were in the form of secession, not dissent; the people only sought, by this movement, to be more closely assimilated to the standards of the Church of Scotland than the hierarchy, with whom these standards had fallen into abeyance. Thus circumstanced, those temptations also to strange heresies, so prevalent in other countries, and even in England, as the natural fruits of clerical remissness or unbelief, were unavailing in Scotland. This was fully shown by an incident, such as elsewhere has sufficed to produce Southcottism, Socialism, Mormonism, and other similar extravagancies. We allude to the attempt to form a wild sect, distinguished by the name of Buchanites. The founder of this was Mrs. Elspeth Buchan, the daughter of a humble innkeeper, and wife of a workman of her own rank in Glasgow, by whom she had several children. It might have been thought that, thus circumstanced, she had little temptation to become a tagogue and heresiarch. But who can tell the li

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limits of religious perversity? Like many of her kind, she first commenced with interpreting literally the figurative expressions of Scripture; and having drawn from them wild conclusions, she was impatient to communicate her discoveries, and became the teacher of a new faith. She soon gathered round her, in Irvine, where she was now settled, a small band of people as crazy as herself, who were ready to worship her as a prophetess, among whom was Mr. Whyte, a Relief clergyman, who abandoned his charge to become her chief follower and expounder; Mr. Hunter, a lawyer; and a few substantial tradesmen. She continued to prophesy, and Mr. Whyte to preach in Irvine, the place of worship being the dwelling-house of the latter, until April 1784, when a lawless mob assembled round the building, broke the windows, and dispersed the worshippers. Resolved to find a safer home, the Buchanites, to the number of forty-six persons, left Irvine, and after wandering through several districts of Ayrshire, they at length settled at a farm in the neighbourhood of Thornhill, where they hired the out-houses, and forthwith proceeded to organize their little community, and propagate the tenets of their creed. These, as might be expected, were a strange compound of fanaticism and fraud. A community of goods was one of the chief, and such an implicit reliance upon the bounty of Providence as to make care and toil unnecessary. As for Mrs. Buchan, she not only continued to multiply her revelations, which became more and more extravagant, but to increase her authority over her little community; and for this purpose she took the provision store under her own direction, and so distributed its allowances, that those whose faith wavered, or who showed symptoms of rebellion, soon found themselves reduced to short commons. She also had recourse, like other popular deceivers, to miracles; and when these failed, she laid the blame, not upon her own want of power, but the unbelief of her followers. At length her doctrines became too wild, and her rule too tyrannous for most of her people, and some of them stole away; upon which she kept a strict watch over the remainder, and caused any one suspected of a design to apostatize, to be locked up, and ducked every day in cold water, until he

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was tamed down to submission. A sharp touch of persecution from without might have made all this severity unnecessary; but, unfortunately for the diminishing sect, none came, for the people among whom they lived regarded them with pity or contempt, as poor bedlamites, rather than dangerous heretics. Thus affairs continued with the Buchanites until 1791, when their founder was removed from them by death. It speaks favourably for the sincerity, at least, of Mrs. Buchan, that, even to her last moment, she persisted in her delusions, thus showing that she was self-deceived, as well as a deceiver. She gathered her followers round her death-bed, and delivered her parting charge, which was, that they should continue steadfast in the doctrines she had taught them. She told them, also, that she had still one secret to impart to them, which was, that she was, in reality, the Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord; and that it was herself, also, whom John beheld in the Apocalypse clothed with the sun, and who was afterwards driven into the wilderness. Of late, she had been sojourning, she said, in Scotland, and was now apparently about to die; but instead of dying, she would only sleep for a short space, and afterwards would visit them again, and conduct them to the new Jerusalem. In consequence of this promise, the few adherents who still remained kept the corpse unburied, until they were compelled, by the outraged feelings of the country people, to consign it to the earth; after which, Mrs. Buchan and her creed were nothing more than a mere fireside tale.

XXIV. While this outbreak was so trivial, on account of the healthy state of the public mind, as to call for no interposition either from the ecclesiastical or civil courts, the predominant Moderatism was proceeding onward in its career, and every day more nearly approaching that utter Socinianism towards which its natural tendencies inclined. Such was especially the case in the west of Scotland, where the more violent of the Moderate party boldly adopted the principles, if not the title of Socinianism, and waged a keen controversy with their more orthodox opponents. This was familiarly known throughout the country under the name of the Old Light and New Light contest.

Socinian
manifestations of
Moderatism.

memory of which will be perpetuated to future generations in the imperishable writings of Burns. Little, indeed, did the New Lights or Socinian party understand, when they summoned the great national poet to their aid, that thereby they were sorely missing that happy oblivion into which they would have sunk, and enrolling their names for the wonder and reprobation of posterity. They acted, however, a wiser part, where the temporalities of manse, glebe, and stipend were at stake; and by confining their opinions to oral discussion and to sermons, instead of boldly publishing them to the world and abiding the issue, they made their conviction in a church court very difficult, if not entirely impossible. One of them at length overleapt this caution, by committing himself to print. This was Dr. M'Gill, minister of Ayr, who published *A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ*, a work so dull, that nothing could have buoyed it up, even for a short time, except the martyrdom or prosecution of its unlucky author. And prosecuted he was, for the production was too deeply tainted with Socinian views and principles to be allowed to descend to the grave in peace. He found many of his brethren to excuse or defend him, so that the trial had to be carried, after considerable delay, to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. There the arena was too open, and the "Old Lights" were too numerous to permit an easy acquittal, and M'Gill stood before them as a culprit. Still, however, the sounder party were not strong enough to inflict the deposition he had merited, so that, after apologies, explanations, and confessions, he was absolved, and sent home to his charge.

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XXV. The French revolution appears to have acted with a diametrically opposite effect upon the two parties in the Church of Scotland, although both regarded it with equal abhorrence and alarm. The diversity was produced because each party beheld it from a different point of view. The evangelical portion regarded it as a fearful consequence of irreligion and infidelity, that summoned them to double carefulness and labour in behalf of pure Christianity, and the community over which they were placed; while, in the eyes of the Moderates, it was a wild political uproar, the result of too much liberty among the people; and they

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the French
Revolution
on the two
Church
parties.

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thought that, to prevent such an outbreak in Britain, the popular will must be still more strictly coerced than it had hitherto been. Was it then safe to allow the people a choice either as to the men who were to be their spiritual teachers, or the doctrines they should accept and obey? This additional incentive to the antagonisms of the two parties, was soon called into action upon the great question of missionary enterprise. The Protestant communities had begun to perceive that, hitherto, they had been woefully remiss in the great duty to "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," and that, while they thus slumbered, the popish missionary and French propagandist had entered into their destined places, to preach religious error and political anarchy to the nations. The pious-minded in Scotland caught the awakened feeling, missionary societies were formed in Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1796, and two overtures were sent to the General Assembly upon the subject—one being from the Synod of Fife, craving the Assembly "to take into consideration by what means the Church of Scotland might most effectually contribute to the diffusion of the gospel over the world;" and the other from Moray, requesting that an act might be passed, "recommending a general collection throughout the church, to aid the several societies for propagating the gospel among the heathen nations." Here the two parties in the Assembly were at issue, and a keen contest followed, in which the Moderates, unable to deny the great missionary duty of a Christian church, endeavoured to reduce it to a vague assent, by which nothing was specifically pledged or promised. While, therefore, they agreed, in general terms, that it was most desirable that the whole world should be pervaded with the influence of Christianity, they found that the overtures before them were not exactly suitable for such a purpose. Among a barbarous people, learning and philosophy, it was alleged, must precede the gospel, and communities must be civilized before they could be converted. As for such people as the Hindoos, who were no barbarians, but already a refined and civilized people, wherefore disturb the excellence which they had already attained under their old by the introduction of a new? And then, the ign

and immorality at home!—why not convert all our countrymen before we went forth in quest of new fields of Christian enterprise? Even the proposed collection, also, was stigmatized as a fraudulent attempt to bereave the poor of our parishes of that aid which was their due. In the meantime, they would pray for the fulfilment of prophecy regarding the final prevalence of Christianity, and reserve their missionary spirit for the proper mode and season of action. These arguments prevailed, and the overtures were dismissed.

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XXVI. This zeal of the Moderate party for the spiritual interests of our countrymen at home, instead of heathens abroad, was now to be fully tested. In many districts, where an ethical or Socinian style of preaching prevailed, the people were still too fondly attached to the church of their fathers to take refuge in secession, but, at the same time, too much alive to their own eternal interests to rest contented under such ministrations. But, besides this, the population had so greatly increased, that the old church accommodation was insufficient, and unless new churches were erected, no resource remained for the surplus numbers but the meeting-houses of the seceders. Upon this pressing necessity the Assembly had been repeatedly addressed, and the entreaties were urgent, that new churches should be built in the more populous districts. Here, however, the Moderate party shifted their ground for a fresh act of opposition. This was a popular demand, and at such a season all popular demands were dangerous. But, besides this, it came from the party opposed to them; and these chapels of ease, if erected, would be nothing less than strongholds of evangelism, the very cause which they were labouring to extinguish. The official consideration of the case was, therefore, held off from year to year; and when it could no longer be retarded, the Moderate party in the Assembly prepared themselves to confront it. From 1795 to 1798, it was the important point of discussion, and in the last of these sittings it was disposed of. By this final decision, every petition for the erection of a chapel of ease was to receive a final judgment, not from the presbytery before which it was laid, but from the General Assembly, to which it was to be carried. In this way they deprived the

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chapels of
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presbyteries of their old established right to pronounce judgment, in the first instance, subject only to an appeal in a higher court; and by transferring the right to the Assembly, they made their own party, who there predominated, the sole judges of every such petition.

XXVII. While these events had been going on in Scotland, the condition of our national church, in relation to its connection with the state, had been occasionally mixed up with the debates in the British parliament, and that, especially, in the great question of the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. These Acts had been regarded as the great safeguards of our British Protestantism against the aggressions of Popery, by requiring every one, before his admission into office under the Crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. The appeal, however, was made, not so much in the name of the Papists as the Dissenters, who thought it a hard thing to be classed among the enemies of the Protestant faith, and made sharers in their disqualifications. After the subject had been repeatedly discussed in parliament, and the demand finally settled by a refusal from the votes of an immense majority, an application was made in favour of Scotland, before the new parliament, in May 1791. There, Sir Gilbert Elliot presented a petition from the General Assembly, and moved, according to its tenor, that "the house should immediately resolve itself into a committee, to consider how far the clause of the Test Act, imposing upon persons taking office the obligation of receiving the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, extended, or ought to extend, to persons born in that part of Great Britain called Scotland." Eighty-five years had now elapsed since the Union, and yet this was the first application of the kind that had been made by the General Assembly. This long forbearance was occasioned by the doubt that existed as to whether the Test Act extended to natives of Scotland, as the fourth article of the Treaty of Union had confirmed a communication between the subjects of the two kingdoms of all rights, privileges, and advantages which did, or might belong to the subjects of either. On the other hand, the act for se-

Appeal of
the Assem-
bly on the
Test Act.

curing the Presbyterian church government in Scotland, had exempted its people from any oath, test, or subscription, inconsistent with the said Presbyterian government, worship, and discipline, *within that kingdom only*; while a similar act, for the security of the Church of England, had provided that its doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, in which, of course, the Test and Corporation Acts formed a part, "should still remain, and be in full force for ever." We have no desire to enter into the animated debate that followed, where Mr. Fox, and Dundas, the secretary at war, were the principal speakers. The latter declared that the Scottish nation were aware that the Test Act existed in England at the time of the Union, and, knowing it, had, notwithstanding, ratified the treaty. It was quite unfair, therefore, he argued, that having undeniably acquired their share of the advantages of the Union, by yielding this point at the time the bargain was made, to turn round now, and demand back what they had so given up. Pitt, also, in his reply to Fox, who, in his speech, had gone farther in behalf of religious liberty than on any former occasion, came to the firm conclusion, "that historical inference, contemporary exposition, and the practice of eighty years, proved it to be law, that members of the Church of Scotland were not exempted from the Test Act in England." To this conclusion the house assented, and the motion was negatived by 149 votes against 62. From this number, it appears that only two-fifths of the members had taken any interest in the question.

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The subject
debated in
Parliament.

XXVIII. On the next session of Parliament, another measure, connected with the religious history of Scotland, was introduced, in the form of a bill for the relief "of the pastors, ministers, and lay-persons of the Episcopal communion in Scotland." That church, so patronized by the Stuarts, had never lost sight of the original principles in which it was founded; and therefore, while the parent church in England had abjured James VII., in favour of the prince of Orange, and afterwards passed from William to Anne, and from Anne to the House of Hanover, with little demur or disputation, the little church in the north, instead of throwing itself into the rising sunshine, had stuck fast to

Relief of
Scottish
Episcopacy.

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its old, and now most unpopular tenets about passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of kings. On this account, they had always regarded the Hanoverian dynasty as a sinful usurpation, and in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, had manifested their leanings towards the old royal house in no unequivocal fashion. They had refused to take the oath of allegiance to George II. and his father, and to pray for his majesty and royal family, according to the statute, which refusal had been "one of the causes of the wicked and unnatural rebellion lately raised and carried on against his majesty, in favour of a Popish pretender." In consequence of this, hard penalties had been enacted against the recusants, the chief of which were, that any pastor officiating without having qualified himself, by taking the oaths to his majesty, as appointed by law, or who refused to pray for the royal family as directed, should be subject, for the first offence, to imprisonment for six months, and for the second to transportation for life, while all their aiders and abettors were liable to proportionate penalties. In spite of these enactments, which, however, were not enforced, the Episcopalian clergy of Scotland, and the greater part of their laity, remained consistent non-jurors till 1788, when the death of the Pretender freed them from their dilemma. It was true, indeed, that the Cardinal York still survived, the last scion of the house of Stuart, who assumed, as *de jure* king of Great Britain, the title of Henry IX. ; but as he was a priest, he had thereby forfeited the office of royalty, so that the allegiance of all good Scottish Episcopalians might now be conscientiously transferred to George III., the representative of the Stuarts through the electress Sophia, for whom they were bound to pray, and for whom they prayed accordingly. It was full time that the disqualifying statutes against them should be rescinded, and a bill of relief to that effect was brought forward in the House of Lords by the earl of Elgin. The only demur made was at the second reading of the bill, which occurred on May 2, 1792 ; and it was occasioned by insisting on the old enactment, that a Scottish Episcopal clergyman should have his orders from some bishop of the English or Irish church. This was stoutly advocated by chancellor Thurlow, and

effectually answered by bishop Horsley. The latter stigmatized the state's interference in this matter as impertinent and unfair, seeing no such interference had ever been attempted with any other body of dissenters. "When a clergyman, ordained by one of us," he said, "settles as a pastor of a congregation in Scotland, he is out of the reach of our authority—we have no authority there; we can have no authority there; the legislature can give us no authority there." "This attempt," he added, "to introduce anything of an authorized political Episcopacy into Scotland, would be a direct infringement of the Union." The measure passed both Houses without further disputation, and Scottish Episcopacy, freed from its political degradation, has, since that period, been continually growing in wealth, and numbers, and political influence.

XXIX. During this era of proposals for the repeal of religious disqualifications, the Popery, as well as the Episcopacy of Scotland, had its full share. The Papiasts of England and Ireland had already been relieved from the pains and penalties that affected their hereditary property, and it was proposed to extend the same exemption to Scotland. Accordingly, a bill was moved for in the House of Commons, on April 23, 1793, by Mr. Robert Dundas, lord-advocate of Scotland, to that effect, in which he stated that in one of the statutes affecting the Scots Roman Catholics, "an oath, called a formula or solemn declaration, was imposed upon them, which they could not take without renouncing the religion they professed; and if they refused to take it, their nearest Protestant relation might deprive them of their estates." Upon this application, and a statement of the hardship to which a Roman Catholic gentleman had been reduced, who had derived from his ancestors an estate of £1000 per annum, but was on the point of being stripped of it by a relative, who had no other claim than that of being a Protestant, a bill of relief, substituting a new form of abjuration and declaration for his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Scotland, was unanimously agreed to, and passed by both Houses of Parliament.

xxx. The opening of the nineteenth century upon Britain was dark and lowering. In 1799, a famine had commenced

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Britain at
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that was general throughout Europe ; a still worse harvest succeeded in 1800, so that, on the following year, the scanty provisions of England and Scotland had risen to such a price, that starvation, in a greater or less degree, prevailed in every district of the empire. In addition to famine, the evils of war had deepened around us, and by the " Maritime Confederacy," concluded at the end of 1800, the ports of Russia, Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, hitherto our granaries in seasons of agricultural depression, were closed against us. It seemed, indeed, as if the hostility of nations had banded with the opposing elements to accomplish the downfall of Britain, or drive it into the lawless anarchy of a French Revolution. But the people were already disenchanted of their republican dreams, and although cases of riot and outrage occurred in various parts of England and Scotland, they were trivial, compared with the sufferings and privations that caused them. The return of a moderate harvest in 1801, the battle of Copenhagen, that shook the Maritime Confederacy, and the death of Paul of Russia, who was its firmest support, opened the Baltic to British shipping, so that our markets were speedily filled with imported grain. A land victory also, to which our armies had of late been unaccustomed, and the political and commercial prospects it opened up, restored the confidence of the people, and enabled them to look forward with hope.

XXXI. It will be remembered that, though Bonaparte had abandoned Egypt, he had not relinquished the conquest of the country. It was still in the possession of his formidable army ; and, in consequence of his successes in Europe, there was every probability that he would resume his plans of eastern aggrandisement with greater facilities than ever. To maintain, therefore, her command of the Mediterranean, and the possession of her Indian empire, it was necessary that Britain should make a counter-invasion of Egypt upon an adequate scale ; and accordingly an army of 17,000, under the command of the brave old Sir Ralph Abercromby, set sail from Marmorice, in the Levant, anchored in Aboukir Bay on the 2d of March (1800), and, on the 8th, effected a landing in the face of a heavy fire from the enemy ~~drum~~.

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up on the sandhills, whom they attacked and dislodged from the heights and fort of Aboukir. The French rallied all their forces for a decisive engagement, that should secure their possession of the land they had won; and, on the 21st, they endured such a battle at Alexandria as they had never yet experienced. It was indeed a fearful meeting, especially between the French Invincibles, who had never yet failed, and the Highland regiments, that would not yield a foot in the onset. The desperate hand-to-hand encounter of the bayonet, so seldom had recourse to in modern warfare, was here the chief weapon of trial after ammunition had failed, and even the stones been used as missiles; and as the struggle grew closer still, the combatants wielded the butts of their muskets, and even closed in the death-gripe, to make death or victory more certain. From day-break until nine o'clock in the evening, this desperate trial continued with various fortune, until the French fled, not, however, before they had left nearly a fifth of their army dead on the field. The French prisoners declared, on this occasion, that the battles in Italy were nothing compared to those they had fought since the landing of the British in Egypt—that, in fact, they had never fought till now. This battle, independently of its immediate importance, was of great service as a prestige in future efforts; but a heavy price had to be paid for it by the death of Sir Ralph Abercromby. The brave old Scot, who was short-sighted, got entangled at unawares among the combatants, and received a mortal wound, of which he died on board the flag-ship, on the evening of the 28th. So spiritless had the French become after the battle of Alexandria, that, before Cairo, 5000 of their disciplined troops allowed themselves to be beaten and driven off the field, by an army, or rather half-arranged mob of Turkish soldiers. It was evident that they could no longer keep possession of Egypt, reinforced as the British army soon was, by the arrival of troops from India; and the French, to the number of 24,000, capitulated, on condition of being conveyed to France. When tidings of these events reached Edinburgh, the general triumph was mixed with regret for the loss of the victor of Alexandria, whose private worth, as well as high military achievements, had

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endeared him to the hearts of his countrymen; and a monument to his memory was decreed to be erected in the High church of the Scottish capital. The arrival, also, of the 42d regiment of Highlanders—the conquerors of the far-famed Invincibles—awoke the national enthusiasm of the city; and as the crowds looked upon the countenances of these brave mountaineers, now bronzed with the climates of Asia and Africa, they caught ardour and courage for the years of trial that were yet before them, and those threats of invasion that were to summon them to resistance.

XXXII. The condition of France and England after these important events, made peace desirable to both countries. Britain, now without allies on the continent, could not assail her rival by land, while the latter, with her fleets blockaded in her ports, was unable to encounter her island enemy by sea. In other respects, the advantage lay on the side of Britain, whose mercantile shipping had increased nearly one-third since the commencement of hostilities in 1793, while that of France had been nearly annihilated. The revenue of France, also, notwithstanding her victories and conquests, was still less than it had been previous to the revolution, while that of Britain was nearly doubled. The negotiations for peace, therefore, which had now been going on for some time, were listened to more cordially by France, after all hope of the occupation of Egypt had been destroyed; and on the 27th of March, 1802, a definitive treaty, called the peace of Amiens, was signed. Nothing could exceed the delight of the two hostile nations at this cessation of hostilities: here was peace extended over the whole world, in which men would sit under their own vine and fig-tree. It was a most delusive hope; for Bonaparte would not, and dared not stand still, in that career of ambition in which he proposed to be all or nothing; so that, even during the continuance of this short peace, he proceeded to consolidate his power by aggressions that were certain, sooner or later, to provoke a fresh outbreak. Such was especially the case when he persisted in occupying Holland, and reducing Switzerland to French dominion, notwithstanding the guarantee of former treaties. These proceedings, and his demands upon Britain for the ~~same~~

Peace of
Amiens.

ation of Malta, Egypt, and the Cape, led to their natural results. In May 1803, after fourteen short months of peace, that had only served as a breathing interval, war was again proclaimed by France against England—a proclamation that was welcomed in the latter country with huzzas and hats in the air. The proceedings of Bonaparte had awakened universal alarm, and it was thought better to endure at once the stern realities of war, than the protracted torture of such a life of doubt and uncertainty.

xxxiii. The first blow which Napoleon struck was at the commercial prosperity of Britain; and this he did by invading Hanover, occupying the free cities of Bremen and Hamburg, and closing the rivers Elbe and Weser against our commerce. Tarentum and Leghorn were also seized, and all the British merchandise in these ports confiscated. His next preparation was for the invasion of Britain itself; and Boulogne, which was his great rendezvous for this purpose, was soon crowded with armies and flotillas. It seemed as if the English invasions of France in the days of Edward III. and Henry V., were now to be fearfully requited. These preparations, however, were met by correspondent musterings, so that our whole island bristled with bayonets, and resounded with marchings and counter-marchings. It was now the season for Russia, Austria, and Sweden, to remember past injuries, and avail themselves of the present opportunity; and, accordingly, they broke off with France in favour of Britain, and received aid from the latter in substantial money subsidies. Still, however, the preparations at Boulogne went forward, and all was ready for the invasion. Nothing was wanting but the arrival of the combined French and Spanish fleets, by which the flotilla was to be covered in its passage across the straits, as Bonaparte had calculated. But Nelson, every way as formidable on sea as Napoleon on land, after having watched and pursued the enemy's naval squadrons as often as they attempted to muster, at length closed with them on October 21, 1805, a few leagues off Trafalgar, from which cape the battle that followed derives its name. The enemy numbered thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates; the British fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, four frigates, one schooner, and a cut-

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sumed.

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ter. It would be impossible in our short limits to tell how ably Nelson manœuvred his fleet, and how fully the national expectation was realized of "every man doing his duty." The combined fleets were crushed: twenty French and Spanish ships struck their colours, and 20,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the British. The imminent danger of an invasion was thus scattered by a single blow; the public mind of Britain, so long wound to the utmost stretch, was restored to its former tranquillity—and Nelson's great work was ended. In the middle of the engagement he was mortally wounded by a musket bullet, but lived to hear that the victory was secured, when he exclaimed, "Thank God, I have done my duty!" and expired. His body was brought home, and buried in solemn funeral triumph, amidst the tears of a people who could scarcely be persuaded that the death of their greatest of naval heroes was counterbalanced by the glory of the victory, and the safety to which it had restored them.

xxxiv. Finding that he could no longer hope to invade England, Napoleon Bonaparte, now Emperor of France, resolved to anticipate the hostile movements of the Austrians, before they could be joined by their allies the Russians. He therefore suddenly broke up the encampment at Boulogne; and while the courts of Vienna and London wondered what had become of the numerous and splendid army that had been destined for the conquest of Britain, the detachments of which it was composed had proceeded by various routes, and by movements that were profoundly calculated, towards the Rhine, so that at one and the same instant the whole were concentrated within the Austrian territory. Thus its destination was only ascertained when it was too late to prevent it. After a series of engagements, in which the French were successful, and the defeat of the Russians, who arrived too late to aid the Austrians, the decisive battle of Austerlitz was fought, in which Bonaparte may be said to have eclipsed his former victories. So complete was his success on this occasion, that the Russian army was glad to obtain an unmolested retreat. Prussia withdrew from the coalition, and joined the prosperous cause of Napoleon; while the Austrian emperor, reduced to a helplessness, was fain to submit to whatever terms the

Campaign
of Auster-
litz.

queror might dictate. Such was the result of the campaign of Austerlitz. In three short months from the breaking up of the army at Boulogne, Germany was overrun and Austria prostrated. The thought makes us ask, with a sort of shudder, what would have been the fate of Britain under such an army, and so commanded, had the battle of Trafalgar not happened? Europe was again helpless under the foot of Napoleon, who proceeded to dispart territories and create sovereigns at his pleasure, not only from among the princely houses of Germany, but the members of his own family. The blow of Austerlitz struck deeply even into the heart of London. Pitt, on receiving the tidings, looked mournfully for a time upon the chart of Europe, and seeing no hope or promise there, exclaimed, in a desponding tone, "We may close that map for half a century!" It was indeed so, for the constituted landmarks of empires were to undergo wonderful changes. He died at the commencement of the following year (January 23, 1806), and his last words, prophetic of the coming calamities, without the prospect of a successful termination, were, "Alas, my country!"

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xxxv. After such events, it seems almost ridiculous to turn from them to such an incident as the impeachment of Lord Melville. But happy it would have been, at this time, for the other countries of Europe, if their history had had nothing more serious to record; and besides, the said impeachment was at this season a matter of excitement as stirring to the Scottish mind as even the battle of Austerlitz. For Melville was an honoured name in the eyes of his countrymen; he held the important appointment of treasurer of the navy; and not only had his political character and talents stood deservedly high, but he had also used his great influence for the especial welfare of his country, and the procurement of snug appointments for many of its well-born and enterprising, but penniless children. It was no light circumstance, therefore, for the Scotsmen of the day, that such a man should be accused, more especially when the charges were mingled with abundance of national dislike and aspersion on the part of the people of England. His lordship was impeached of having applied the public money to his private use and profit; of having authorized his paymaster to draw large sums

Impeachment of
Lord Melville.

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from the Bank of England on his account, as treasurer of the navy, and place it in his own name with his private banker ; and of having shared with his paymaster in the profits derived from this nefarious transference. Such was the substance of ten charges contained in the impeachment of Lord Melville, and the trial commenced in Westminster hall on April 29, 1806. It lasted sixteen days, and his lordship was acquitted of each and all of the charges by an immense majority. The triumph of this acquittal in Scotland, where he had exercised all but kingly authority, the willing homage of a free people, was loud and unbounded, and it was expressed in the usual fashion by corporation addresses and civic illuminations.

**Battle of
Maida.**

xxxvi. After the peace of Presburg, by which the Continent was subjected to France, Britain was again left to maintain the contest alone. This she attempted on land by a diversion in favour of Naples, the royal family of which had been driven out by Napoleon, to give place to his brother, who was invested with the Neapolitan crown. The attempt was made in Sicily, where Sir John Stuart, at the head of 5000 of the British troops, gave battle at Maida, on July 6, 1806, to 7500 French veterans, under General Reyner. Several of our soldiers had never yet been under fire, while most of them had seen little service ; but they nevertheless advanced to the charge of bayonets with such resolution, that the French wavered, and were finally routed, with the loss of half their army. This, compared with the great events of the European warfare, was but a skirmish, and was attended with no immediate results, as the British were soon afterwards obliged to return to Palermo; but the moral effects of the battle of Maida, like those of Alexandria, were of the utmost importance in the land battles to which our armies were soon afterwards summoned. By sea, the war was more satisfactory still ; for the Brest fleet, that had not been engaged at Trafalgar, was destroyed in three successive engagements, so that nothing of Napoleon's empire was left on sea but the Rochfort fleet, which was closely shut up in port, after a narrow escape from the British squadrons during a six months' cruise.

xxxvii. In the meantime, the career of the French em-

peror went onward with gigantic steps. He had already prostrated Austria in one short campaign; and now he turned upon Prussia, which was to experience a similar fate. Nor was such a punishment undeserved; for that power, on being bribed by Napoleon with the offer of the possession of Hanover, which belonged to the British crown, had ungenerously left Austria to its fate; and now that the bribe was withheld when the victor was in a condition to refuse, Prussia resolved to rush single-handed into the war, and take vengeance for the imposture by which she had become the dupe of France and the shame of Europe. Her soldiers went to the field singing songs of triumph, as if the great Frederick were still at their head, under whose leading they had formerly discomfited the French, when the latter were as two, or even three, to one. But that sunshine of fortune had passed away from them to their enemies, and Napoleon was even a greater general than Frederick. He entered the campaign with his usual profound calculation, and his usual rapidity of execution; and the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, by which the armies of Prussia were cut down to a handful of 8000 fugitive soldiers, under the command of old Blücher, reduced the kingdom to a more degraded condition than even Austria itself. Her strong fortresses were seized; her capital was occupied by the French; the tomb of Frederick was plundered of the sword and orders of the mighty dead, which were sent as trophies to France; while Bonaparte publicly threatened that he would impoverish the Prussian nobles until they were forced to beg their bread. A contribution equivalent to nearly twelve millions of our money, which he forthwith imposed upon the country, showed that this was no empty menace. Here, also, he published his famous Berlin decree. Of all his enemies, Britain was the most hated, because the most formidable and unapproachable; it had confronted him in all his movements, subsidized every power that was at war with him, destroyed his navy, and blockaded his ports; and all this it had been enabled to do, because it was what he had contemptuously termed it, "a nation of shopkeepers"—the great mart of the world, whose merchants were princes, and whose wealth could raise up enemies against him in every

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quarter. But this Berlin decree was to be a full requital. By it, the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade. All traffic or communication with them was prohibited; all British property or merchandise found in any country under the control of France, was to be confiscated; and all British subjects residing there were to be made prisoners of war. Men laughed at the idea of blockading such an island as Britain; but when Europe, now under the control of Napoleon, was closed at every entrance against our traffic, the blockade was too serious a reality; and had it been carried into full effect, our resources would have been dried up, our fleets rotting in their harbours, and Britain would have been thrown back upon her agricultural resources, by which she would have speedily dwindled into a mere third-rate power. But, happily, even the authority of Napoleon could not annihilate the love of sugar, broad-cloths, and cotton manufactures. The tributary nations, no longer able to purchase these British articles in open market, still continued to procure them by stealth; and he soon found himself at war with whole armies of smugglers, that carried on their campaigns against the Berlin decrees, with a cunning and rapidity that fully matched his own. His agents in the continental towns, finding that they could not stop such a gainful trading, turned it to their own private account, by the sale of licenses; and at last Bonaparte, discovering all his efforts unavailing, became himself the master-trader in this singular kind of merchandise, and chief salesman of that nation of shopkeepers whose honest trade he had so disdainfully ridiculed. And that his speculations were successful was fully attested by a sum equivalent to sixteen millions of sterling money, snugly deposited under the Tuileries, and mainly derived from the sale of these licenses.

Bonaparte
invades
Russia.

XXXVIII. After the humiliation of Prussia by the campaign of Jena, Bonaparte had now full opportunity to turn upon Russia, the most formidable portion of the anti-Gallic confederacy. Having reinforced his army in Poland, he advanced with his wonted celerity, and by the end of the year had commenced a winter campaign with his usual fortune. At length, on February 8, 1807, the

Eylau was fought; and here the French found a more obstinate resistance than they had hitherto been wont to encounter. Even with all their self-sufficiency, it had now become a question among them whether the Frenchman or the Russian was the better soldier; and, had the numbers been equal, perhaps the matter would have been settled in favour of the latter at Eylau. Even as it was, the army of Napoleon was so roughly handled, and his victory was so uncertain, that he was on the eve of making his first retreat before an enemy. But the season of that terrible alternative, which he was to sustain from the combined armies and winter storms of Russia, had not yet arrived. A considerable portion of the Russian military force was occupied with a Turkish war; and the loans which were expected from Britain were churlishly withheld by the short-sighted statesmen of London who had entered into the places of Pitt and Fox, so that the Czar was unable to make those strenuous efforts by which the career of the common enemy might have been effectually arrested. The battles of Heilsberg and Friedland succeeded in the middle of the same year, with such unfavourable results to Russia, that Alexander, weary of maintaining the contest alone, and disgusted with the parsimony of the British cabinet, lent a willing ear to the overtures of Bonaparte; and on June 25, 1807, both emperors met upon a raft constructed for the purpose, and moored in the middle of the Niemen, near Tilsit. Here, the eloquence and persuasive powers of Napoleon so completely enthralled the young Russian monarch, that a treaty was quickly formed between them, known in history as the peace of Tilsit, the terms of which were in every way gratifying to the ambition of the modern Cæsar. Nearly half of the Prussian kingdom was dismembered, and erected into a sovereignty, under the name of the kingdom of Westphalia, for Napoleon's brother, Jerome, and an appanage for the King of Saxony. Turkey was to be partitioned between France and Russia, after it had been conquered by their combined armies; Egypt and the Adriatic coasts were to become the property of France; and the dynasties of Spain and Portugal were to be replaced by members of the family of the French emperor. Thus the world itself was

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Tilsit.

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thronement. Spain, Spain was the "ulcer" that destroyed him—a fact which he repeatedly and mournfully acknowledged in his last days of exile among the solitudes of St. Helena; and Cæsar, falling at the base of Pompey's statue, could not have afforded a more impressive warning, or pointed a deeper moral.

Advantages of Spain when invaded.

XL1. Although Spain was occupied by French armies, its strong fortresses held by French garrisons, and its capital made the residence of a French sovereign and his court, the country and the people were still unconquered. The peasantry were no party in the compact of their recreant nobles, and were as ready to rise and arm as if the enemy were still on the further side of the Pyrennees. All that they needed was some bold leader, let his rank be what it might, to place himself at their head, and raise the old national war-cry of "St. Jago." And such leaders they soon found in abundance. Add to this, that Spain, unlike other countries, might still be comparatively unscathed, though Madrid itself, the metropolis of the kingdom, should be in the hands of a conqueror. In invading a country, Napoleon's great military tactic was to press right onward to the capital, the seizure of which was a blow that paralyzed the nation in an instant, and to its furthest extremities, instead of wasting time upon the intermediate towns and fortresses. But Spain could not thus be subdued; for it was divided into separate provinces, not only by the sierras that intersected it, but the different races by which these localities were peopled, so that the conquest, or even the destruction of one province, would scarcely affect the activity of the others, and each could still continue "to fight for its own hand." It had no specific head or heart as its seat of life, at which a mortal blow could be dealt: instead of this it was a polypus, of which every limb had a distinct independent vitality. Upon these circumstances Napoleon does not seem to have calculated, until the war brought them out in full development, and when it was too late to counteract them.

XLII. It was not long before the Celtic, Gothic, and Moorish blood of the Spanish people was kindled by the wrongs that were heaped upon the royal family and upon themselves.

and in every province juntas were formed, armies mustered, and a fierce war to the knife commenced, irrespective of royal proclamations or heraldic defiances, that were beyond the means of the insurgents; while the French, indignant at a mode of warfare not laid down in the "bookish theoric," although it had been rendered necessary by their own proceedings, treated the enemy, not as soldiers, but as brigands, and hanged or shot them without mercy, instead of admitting them to honourable quarter. Thus the war soon deepened into a ferocity that more than equalled the worst days of Tamerlane or Gengiz Khan; and in the midst of heroic patriotism and chivalrous deeds, the blood of innocence and helplessness was shed like water, while every execution on the one side was followed by a deed of assassination on the other. Notwithstanding the gallant defence of Saragossa, a defence only to be paralleled by that of Saguntum in the same country more than 2000 years before; and notwithstanding the defeat of the French at Baylen, where 20,000 laid down their arms and surrendered—a submission most strange to the soldiers of Napoleon—the Spaniards soon showed that untrained valour is no match for military discipline and modern strategy; so that as often as they abandoned their guerilla warfare, and hazarded their fortune in the open field, they were sure to be defeated by the veteran armies of France. To England therefore they loudly appealed for aid, and England gladly responded to the call, for the cause was her own as well as that of Spain. Independently, also, of mercantile and political motives, the gallant resistance of the Spaniards, aggrandized by the enchantment of distance, so delighted the British public, that our ministry were driven forward in their measures by the universal acclamation. Subsidies were therefore voted with a profusion that makes their payment still felt; and independently of money, it was resolved that troops should also be sent to assist in the liberation of the peninsula, which was thought, from the extravagant representations of the Spaniards, to be a matter of easy achievement. And indeed, the first operations of the war after the British had landed, gave encouragement to this hope. By the battle of Vimeira the French were so completely defeated that they were obliged to evacuate Portugal, by the

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of the
Spaniards.*

*Britain
aids the
Spanish
revolt.*

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convention of Cintra; while Sir John Moore, at the head of a large British force, entered Spain, and, encouraged by the representations of the Spanish Cortes, pressed onward for Madrid, to relieve the capital, now besieged by the French. But Madrid surrendered without a blow; and Sir John, finding that he had been allured into the heart of the country by fallacious promises, and that the French were about to envelope him with an overwhelming force, was reduced to the hazardous alternative of a retreat into Galicia. And seldom was a retreat performed under such difficulties, or attended with such privations and sufferings. At last he reached Corunna, where British transports came round from Vigo, to embark his army; but hither also came Soult, who had followed Moore in hot pursuit, having received express commands from Napoleon to drive these British intruders into the sea. Sir John seeing battle inevitable, prepared for a parting blow, although his army, spiritless and toil-worn, was now reduced to 14,000 men, while Soult had at least 20,000 veterans, hearty, in trim, and eager for the combat. Moore having made his arrangements with the utmost care and skill, cheered his drooping regiments with soldierly encouragements, and roused the spirit of the gallant 42d with the short pithy exhortation, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" And well did the brave countrymen of Sir John remember his words, by the deeds of that day, in which they bore a distinguished part. Napoleon's best general was defeated, his troops were broken and scattered, and the British army was embarked in safety. But their gallant and beloved general did not share in this successful consummation of a most hazardous retreat, which his able conduct had procured for them; for he was mortally wounded by a cannon shot, and carried into Corunna by his weeping Highlanders, after he had gazed on the conflict to the last, and been gladdened by the assurance that his soldiers were victorious. His wish was to be buried where he fell, and accordingly his body was interred in the rampart of the citadel of Corunna, where his obsequies were performed at midnight amidst the throng and hurry of departure.

XLIII. For every poison there can be found an **antidote**,



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and a healing plant grows even in the dark haunt of the rattlesnake. Such is also the case in the political world, by which those wasteful processes that would end in universal destruction are checked or counteracted, and made subservient to the purposes of reproduction. This fact is conspicuous in the history of Napoleon. To become lord of the whole world, a station never destined for a son of Adam, it was necessary that he should command the ocean as well as the land; but here the naval dominion of Britain confronted him; and when it seemed as if he would prevail in the contest, Providence raised up a Nelson against him, by whom his efforts were baffled, and his navies destroyed. In like manner, when it was necessary that his oppressive dominion should be broken on land as it had been on sea, a Wellington was fitted and sent forth for the task—one, too, he it observed, who not only possessed those very qualities which were best adapted to match and counteract the wondrous powers of Napoleon, but who had learned the art of war in the military school of Angers in France; and thus, strangely enough, the country that was nursing the bane was at the same period preparing the antidote. After undergoing an arduous apprenticeship in India, where he learned the art of handling armies, and making war upon a large scale—an art in which our home generals were naturally deficient—and after having acquired a high military reputation as the victor of Assaye, Wellington, at present only Sir Arthur Wellesley, was entrusted with the important charge of the Peninsular war. He set sail with the armament, from Cork, on July 12, 1808, but, on arriving at Corunna, he found the Spaniards so arrogant in the confidence of their own power, that they did not need the aid of a British army; all that they wanted was a supply of British money, with which Sir Arthur furnished them. He then turned his course to Portugal, according to their advice; and soon after landing, he defeated the French, first at Rolica, and afterwards at Vimeira. The Convention of Cintra, which followed the last victory, so highly displeased him, that he returned to London, conceiving his services no longer necessary; but the numerous defeats of the Spaniards, and the retreat of the British to Corunna, again called him into

Fitness of
Wellington
for the
emergency

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action. His plan was to defend Spain, in the first instance in Portugal, and for this purpose he set sail from Portsmouth, and arrived in the Tagus in April, 1809. The unfortunate expedition of Sir John Moore, and his own observations, had taught him the danger of putting implicit trust in Spanish patriotism and Spanish promises.

Changes of
the Penin-
sular cam-
paign.

XLIV. It would be in vain to attempt, within our narrow limits, the particular mention of these peninsular campaigns, or to describe those movements and conflicts in which the best of Napoleon's generals—men fitted to win and govern kingdoms—were successively out-mancœuvred and defeated by the great captain of the age. But this is the less necessary, as these deeds rang in the ears of the generation that still lives, and formed the themes of their youthful enthusiasm and wonder. We can merely make a passing mention of names, and places, and dates, each of which will suffice to unfold a heart-stirring tale to the memory of the reader.

Passage of
the Douro.

XLV. The first exploit of Sir Arthur was the crossing of the Douro, a river deep, wide, and rapid, while the opposite bank was defended by 10,000 French soldiers: this was done so successfully, that a large portion of the British army had crossed and established themselves, before the enemy were aware of their purpose, and the French were driven out of Oporto, while the whole loss sustained by the British in this perilous transit, and the success that followed, consisted of twenty killed and ninety-six wounded. He then gave chase to Soult, who was unable to oppose him, and would immediately have carried the war into Spain, but for the ingratitude of the Portuguese, who withheld the necessary supplies, after he had cleared their country from the enemy and saved the rich city of Oporto from plunder. Much time was lost, therefore, before he could reach the Spanish frontier, and, on reaching it, he found Cuesta, the Spanish general with whom he was to co-operate, so stupid and impracticable, that Sir Arthur felt himself crippled hand and foot, instead of being aided by this miserable ally. Even the Junta, also, after promising everything, would supply the British army with no mules, carts, nor provisions. It was under these

fyng circumstances, and while dragging the incomprehensible Cuesta forward at one time, and holding him back at another, that the British general fought the important battle of Talavera, where the French were commanded by Joseph Bonaparte, the king of Spain, in person, who had under him, as aides-de-camp, the marshals Jourdan and Victor. The British army, on this occasion, amounted to nearly 20,000; their allies, the Spaniards, to about 34,000, whose aid was scarcely worth reckoning; while the French army consisted of 50,000 well trained soldiers, accustomed to victory wherever they fought. The whole brunt of the battle was borne by the British, who repelled every attack of the French, and compelled them to retreat across the Alberche with the loss of 9000 men. But Sir Arthur, instead of being able to follow up his success, was so hampered by the heavy obstinacy of Cuesta, and the parsimony of the Spaniards, that he was obliged to retreat across the Tagus, in the face of a superior enemy, and once more entrench himself in Portugal, after having cleared the south of Spain of the enemy. This last victory was so justly appreciated at home, that he was raised to the peerage, under the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera and Wellington, with a pension to himself and his two next heirs.

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Talavera.**

XLVI. Adhering now to his original purpose of defending Spain in Portugal, Lord Wellington entrenched himself upon the frontiers of the latter kingdom, having only 25,000 under his command, a considerable portion of whom were raw Portuguese recruits, while Massena, one of Napoleon's best generals, by whom he was now opposed, was at the head of 70,000 well trained soldiers, fresh from a successful campaign in Germany. Here Wellington stood firm but passive, as the army he commanded was the only stake upon which the fate of the peninsula for the present depended, while the Spaniards reproached him for his timidity, and the British for his inertness; and even the Portuguese, unable to understand the profound sagacity of his plans by which he effectually protected their country, opposed his measures, and plotted to counteract them. At length, after retreating before the advance of Massena, he resolved to

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Busaco.

**Fuentes
d'Onore.**

**Sala-
manca.**

give battle upon the rugged range of the Sierra de Busaco, where he took up his ground with admirable skill. Massena, himself a mountaineer, and whose military fame had first been established by successful mountain warfare, now advanced, in the full hope of driving the British into the sea, as his emperor had commanded; and, on the 27th of September, 1810, the battle of Busaco was fought. His army numbered 72,000 men, while that of Wellington consisted of 50,000, a large portion of which were Portuguese. The French were repelled at every point of attack, with the loss of 2000 killed, and nearly twice that number wounded, although, in addition to their far-famed leader, they were officered by Ney, Regnier, and Loison, men who never, till now, had been accustomed to a military reverse. The enemy being still superior in numbers, Wellington was obliged to fall back upon Lisbon, and entrench himself within the celebrated lines of Torres Vedras, where he successfully protected Portugal, notwithstanding the ingratitude of the Portuguese, who sighed for peace even at the expense of liberty; and in spite of the apathy of the Spaniards, who made no effort to aid him, and the loud murmurs of the people at home, who could not comprehend why a successful battle should not be followed by an immediate advance. But Massena was soon obliged to retreat in turn across the Portuguese borders, before the masterly arrangements of Wellington, by whom he was closely followed into Spain, and foiled in every attempt to rally, after having lost, in this campaign, nearly half his army. At length, these two great leaders once more encountered at Fuentes d'Onore; and considering that the French numbered 50,000, while the British army was only 30,000, it was honourable for the latter that the event was a drawn battle, and that Massena was foiled in his purpose of relieving Almeida.

XLVII. This event was succeeded by the successful sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, in which Wellington's movements were so rapid and decisive, that the French generals in Spain found themselves completely outstripped in their own favourite mode of warfare. These proceedings were followed by the victory of Salamanca, which was so complete, that the French, under Marmont, were utterly

defeated, with a loss of 7000 prisoners, and an immense number of killed and wounded; and the value of Spanish co-operation may be surmised from the fact, that, in this battle, they had two men killed! After this victory, Wellington entered Madrid in triumph, while king Joseph, with all his court, fled to Valencia. But Wellington was again obliged to retreat across the Douro, for every advantage which he had hitherto gained was sure to be followed by a series of blunders on the part of the Spanish generals and the Cortes; and he withdrew his army in safety into winter quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo, by a series of masterly manoeuvres, in the face of a superior enemy—a retreat that contributed more to his military reputation than a whole series of prosperous encounters. He was indeed full of hope that he should soon clear the whole peninsula of the French, for Napoleon, who was already struggling against the snows of Moscow, could spare no reinforcements for Spain or Portugal. The seat of war was soon, therefore, transferred once more to the former country, and Joseph, who mustered all his resources for the defence of his tottering crown, halted with an army of 72,000 French soldiers, to encounter the advancing British at Vittoria. This celebrated engagement occurred on the 21st of May, 1813, and the rout of the French was as complete as that which afterwards occurred at Waterloo, Joseph himself having all but escaped being taken prisoner, while the whole artillery, baggage, and well stored money-chests which he had brought into the field, became the prize of the victors. Soult, who had been previously called away to the Russian campaign, was now sent back once more to Spain, in the hope that his tried abilities would re-establish the cause of France in that quarter; but wonderful though his efforts were, and successful though they might have been against any other antagonist, he was foiled in every attempt to rally; and Wellington, after having taken San Sebastian and Pamploña, drove him across into France, and followed closely in his track. Thus was France invaded in turn, and invaded from a country in which her conquests had been the easiest, and her iniquities the most flagrant. And now came the battle of Orthez, the last and crowning struggle,

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in which Soult, the first of Napoleon's generals, was compelled to fight for the safety of France itself, upon French territory—and to fight in vain! That life-and-death conflict ended, like the others, in favour of the British; and their shouts of triumph were mingled with tidings of the fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty.

Napoleon's
mistaken
calculation
on the
Peninsula.

XLVIII. As for Napoleon himself, who, great though he was, had been compelled to share in the fate of those who attempt too much, and whose defeat was to be embittered by the consciousness that the attempt had been unjust as well as unwise, a brief notice of his career during these intermediate events will suffice. Unable to calculate upon the fierce popular resistance of Spain, deprived as it was of natural leaders or head; despising the military capacity of the British, to which recent events had been so unfavourable; and, above all, unable to foresee that the Sepoy general, as he disdainfully termed Wellington, only needed such a field to prove as able and successful a soldier as himself, he had looked upon the peninsula as so completely his own, that any rising of the people, he thought, would be a mere popular *ouste*, and the aid of Britain itself one of those transient interferences which, of late years, had been so unprofitable and unsuccessful. He therefore turned, without doubt or misgiving, to his plans of universal conquest, which were followed with such success, as made him still more reckless of these peninsular disasters. But they were not lost upon his enemies, who saw, in these, that he was not invincible, and their remembrance was carefully treasured up as an incentive to fresh resistance and a promise of deliverance. In the meantime, Austria, having once more recruited her exhausted resources, commenced a fresh war with France, so that, at the commencement of 1809, Bonaparte hastily left Spain, and proceeded to Germany. And still he continued to fight and conquer as he had been wont; and the victories of Landshut and Echmuhl, and the capture of Ratisbon, opened for him the way to Vienna, which he bombarded, and quickly compelled to capitulate. After this, the battle of Wagram once more placed Austria at dictation, and it was obliged to seal its peace by a humiliating treaty of Vienna. But this was not all

Austria
again pros-
trated.

addition to its large concessions, it was subsequently obliged to furnish the conqueror with a royal bride, in Maria Louisa, the daughter of the emperor, after he had divorced Josephine, the affectionate partner of his early fortunes and wonderful rise, to make way for her youthful successor. All Europe seemed now at his mercy, with the exception of Britain, which he could not reach, and the peninsula, whose revolt his marshals could not quell. But here his course, which had so long troubled the nations, was to be arrested. All that Napoleon had yet won was as nothing, for there was a Mordecai in the gate. At the treaty of Tilsit he had given permission to Russia to drive the Turks out of Europe, and occupy their fairest provinces; but the city of Constantinople, and the province of Roumelia, he would not yield, although Russia earnestly desired them, for he was resolved to extend his sway over the metropolis of the east as he had lately done over that of the west, and be emperor in Rome and Constantinople as well as in Paris. It was on this argument that the two greatest empires of the world were now to peril their existence in a life-and-death contest! It was to be a conflict of the Titans; and when it commenced, the world trembled and looked on in silence. But why mention the changes of this eventful strife, which are so universally known, from the crossing of the Vistula to the retreat from Moscow, and the passage across the Niemen? Of the grand army which Napoleon led into Russia, consisting of half a million of soldiers—the flower of seventeen nations, only 35,000 naked, sick, famine-worn men returned to Dantzic at the end of the campaign; and Napoleon, who, before his setting out, had held at Dresden a levee of crowned sovereigns, and of princes that could not be numbered, returned, with only one attendant, in a sledge, after leaving the remains of his army to the mercy of the wolf and the snow-storm. It may be, that even when the rival empires themselves have passed away, men will still shudder over the narrative of this retreat, as they do over that of Cambyzes, without inquiring into the causes of the war, or caring for the respective merits of Egypt and Persia, between whom a great trial was at issue.

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XXXI.**

*Napoleon
invades
Russia.*

XLIX. But it was not thus to moralize that Napoleon re-

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War re-
sumed
against the
Allied
Powers.

turned in such haste ; it was to crush a conspiracy at Paris, by which his reign and life were at once endangered, and to recover that ascendancy which was now about to pass away for ever. Fresh conscriptions to an enormous amount had to be levied ; and such had been the former drafts upon the population, that immature youth, and even boyhood, in many cases, had to fill up the huge gaps of skeleton regiments and battalions whose names were the presage of victory. And it was full time to strain every nerve to the uttermost, for, in addition to the prospect of a Russian invasion, Austria and Prussia were again in arms, in the hope that the morning of their deliverance had dawned. But never did the mighty intellect of Napoleon, and its vast resources, appear to such effect, as when he had to confront the now thoroughly annealed and tempered armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden, backed by the wealth of Britain, while his raw conscripts, however gallant, had neither the physical strength nor training that were necessary for the shock of battle, or the wasting toils and privations of a campaign ; and the victories of Lutzen and Bautzen seemed to be on the eve of replacing him in all his former superiority. The battle of Dresden, in which he was more successful still, appeared to confirm that hope, by creating despondency and dissension among the allied powers that were banded against him ; and had he but lowered his demands, even yet he might have negotiated a peace, by which France would have been free, great, and respected. But with Napoleon, to be less than greatest was to be nothing, so that he would not for an instant abate his dictatorial tone, or recognize as equals those who were kings and emperors merely by the " grace of God," that is, hereditary succession ; and therefore the opportunity passed away, and for ever. Reverses quickly succeeded at Culm, Katzbach, Gross Beeren, and Dennewitz, in which his marshals were defeated ; and in the battles of Dresden and Hanau, the tide of calamity, that had swept his servants before its irresistible reaction, now reached himself, as if to teach him at last that he was still a man, and subject to mortal vicissitudes. So complete were his losses, that the vast fabric of univ^{er}s empire, which he had reared by a hundred victori^{es}

solved and vanished like a gorgeous opium dream; and he was reduced to the humbling necessity of retreating to France, and there fighting for the mere existence of France. But even for that also the opportunity had passed away. While his enemies advanced against him full of confidence and success, his allies of every description, who had worshipped him in his day of triumph, raised their standards against him, and advanced with the invaders. But they came with trembling and cautious steps, for it was to attack the lion, no longer in the wide forest, as heretofore, but in his den, where his death-spring would be most terrible. And well did this last struggle of Napoleon justify their fears, so that, had his efforts been solely those of a patriot hero fighting for his country, his noble resistance would have been a world's theme of admiration and sympathy to all future time. But all was in vain; and notwithstanding his ubiquity of movement, and resistance at every point, the allies pressed onward like an overwhelming ocean-tide, until they settled in full possession of Paris. Here they could dictate their own terms; and they did so. By these the Bourbons were restored in the person of Louis XVIII., and Napoleon deposed; nothing was left him but the title of Emperor, with the little island of Elba, in which to exercise a mock sovereignty, a guard of 400 soldiers, and a revenue of two millions and a half of francs. Was this, then, the step from the sublime to the ridiculous, which Bonaparte himself had once quoted with bitter derisiveness? As for France, she was left, by the treaty of Paris, in the same state in which she stood in 1792. Her acquisitions of conquest, the fruits of all her toils and victories, were, of course, resumed by those allied sovereigns who had the right, as well as the power, to reclaim them; but not a landmark of the old kingdom was removed, nor a town or fortress occupied as a safeguard against future aggression.

1. Britain, Europe, the world, was now at peace; and as the awakened nations looked in astonishment upon an island, a little speck in the Mediterranean, between France and Italy, and saw its lonely inmate gazing across the waters, and beholding on one side the land of his ancestry, and on the other the country where he had reigned the

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Bonaparte
defeated
and de-
posed.

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State of
Scotland
during the
war.

mightiest of sovereigns, they might well have asked, "Is this the man that made the earth to tremble ; that did shake kingdoms ; that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof?" And in no country was the triumph more complete than in Scotland. Freed from the actual presence of war, which rolled like a thunder-storm in the distance ; and feeling the comfort and security of her lowly northern cottage, while " temple and tower went to the ground," her commercial wealth and agricultural prosperity had been steadily going on and increasing amidst the continental depression ; her progress in social, domestic, and literary improvement had been advancing, while the great nations of Europe were converted into battle-fields, and thrown back upon poverty and barbarism. True, she had been obliged to bear her share in the money contributions that went to arm the cabinets of Europe for the conflict ; and her provident children had murmured or moralized against war when some fresh taxation was laid on to procure funds for a new subsidy. And worse than this, her stalwart young men had been enlisted and embarked in thousands, to fight in lands far away, against an enemy whose banners she had never seen ; and would finally, whether victors or vanquished, be lost for ever to the country that had nursed them to such a brave and hopeful manhood. And that such were the chief regrets of the day, the memory of our living compeers can bear witness. But still there was comfort mingled with that regret, a comfort to which no nation has hitherto been insensible, until it no longer deserved to be prosperous and free. It was that feeling of patriotism that makes a country to rejoice in the valour and devotedness of its people. An unwelcome war had been thrust upon them by French turbulence and ambition ; and as they had not courted it, so neither would they shun it when it came. And wherever a British army had fought during the manifold changes of this long and trying warfare—in Hindostan, in the West Indies, in Egypt, and the Peninsula, the deeds of our fearless plaided mountaineers, and firm, unflinching lowlanders, had rung widely over Europe, and gained them a fresh military renown that recalled to memory the ancient glories of Bannockburn, and the deeds of Bruce and Wallace.

were the names of distinguished generals wanting, who had made themselves illustrious in warfare as a science; and not to advert to those of Abercromby and Moore, whose exploits have been already mentioned, we may adduce those of Sir David Baird, the fellow-soldier of Wellington in India, and Sir Thomas Graham, the hero of Barossa. As for the naval service, it is enough to mention Lord Duncan, the victor of Camperdown, Lord Keith, Sir Robert Calder—and the greatest of them all, Lord Cochrane, now earl of Dundonald, whose renown was second to that of Nelson, only perhaps, because Nelson preceded him in point of time, and left him little more than the gleanings of the maritime war.

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LI. As nothing further than the general principles of the new peace had been settled by the treaty of Paris, a congress of the allied sovereigns and their representatives was assembled at Vienna, on the 25th of September, 1814, for the purpose of adjusting national boundaries, and renewing national alliances, which had been equally disturbed by the events of the late war. Other matters, of a still more selfish character, also intervened, the discussion of which was on the eve of producing new quarrels and fresh bloodshed, when an event was announced that made the fiercest pause, and the bravest turn pale with anxiety. Bonaparte has escaped from Elba, and landed in France! The people were welcoming his coming in myriads, and the soldiers joining him in thousands; his march to Paris was the progress of a conqueror riding to the Capitol; and without an effort, he had stepped once more into the throne of France, which the hasty flight of Louis XVIII. had left vacant for his occupation. There was no longer a word of quarrel among the allied sovereigns: their common enemy was once more free, and might again become their master. There was hot spurring of kings and princes to their respective camps, and a hostile gathering of armed nations round the boundaries of France, while a new war was commenced, of which it was impossible to guess the termination. Let but Napoleon gain one victory, and who could tell what members of that congress of Vienna might be allured to his side, or reduced to desponding neutrality? So thought Napoleon; and he prepared with incredible

Bona-
parte's re-
turn to
France.

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rapidity to deal such a blow as should sever the links of the hostile alliance. The British and Prussians, under Wellington and Blücher, were the first in his way, and between these he resolved to throw himself, and strike them down in quick succession. He therefore attacked the Prussians, and drove them from Ligny, while Ney, at the same time, was commissioned to assail the British, and dislodge them from Quatre-Bras; but in this he failed, from the stubborn resistance with which he was encountered. Wellington, however, had to fall back, for the purpose of keeping his communication open with Blücher; and he took his stand at Waterloo, where he resolved to abide the encounter. And that an encounter was at hand, none who knew Napoleon could doubt. If he could but crush these British before aid arrived, he would not only destroy the most powerful limb of the coalition, but baffle by far the foremost of its generals—the only one of all these countless hosts who could resist him on equal terms. At Waterloo, therefore, the issue of battle was to be held, and nations tried upon their political existence, and weighed upon the question whether they were worthy to live or die; and the contest was to be waged between two men who had never yet met their equals, and were now, for the first time, to meet each other, when the last and greatest stake was at issue.

Preparations for
Waterloo.

LII. In this most important of conflicts it is necessary to take into account the situation of the parties between whom it was waged. The French army consisted of 90,000 veterans, the remains of Napoleon's victories, and now headed once more by their great commander, whose presence they had been accustomed to regard as a certain pledge of victory. On the other hand, although the army of Wellington numbered 80,000, yet of these only 33,000 were British, and might be relied on, the rest being composed of regiments of different nations, many of whom were still comparatively untried in war, and therefore unfit to be hazarded in combat against an equal number of the enemy. In guns also, Wellington was greatly inferior, as he had only 120 pieces of cannon, while his adversary had 270—having thus a vast superiority in that arm which he was most skilful in, and by which he had achieved his greatest victories.

these disparities the movements of the two parties were regulated; so that, while the aim of Bonaparte was to crush his opponents by rapid onsets made with the whole weight of his army, or to sweep them off the field, the task of Wellington was to stand firm on the defensive, and maintain his ground to the last. If this could be done successfully for a few hours, old Blucher and his Prussians, who were at Wavre, only twelve miles off, might arrive in time for his relief. He had previously studied the ground of Waterloo, and in drawing up his army he turned his knowledge to the best account. It was drawn up on a range of gentle eminences, called the heights of Mont St. Jean, extending about a mile and a half from east to west, having five roads all leading to Brussels; and while he had an open front, his flanks were so well defended by ravines, that they could scarcely be turned. Behind him was the village of Mont St. Jean, that could form a second position if the first should be forced; and in the rear of the village was the forest of Soignies, that reached almost to the town of Brussels, and could still afford a shelter and rallying point in the event of a second repulse. Thus, every hour to the duke was worth a battalion, and his main anxiety was to make the affair a battle of time, until Blucher could enter the field, and enable him to become the assailant in turn.

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LIII. Early in the morning of June 18, 1815, the battle of Waterloo commenced. Napoleon, who imagined that the British army was in full retreat, and would not abide his onset, exulted when he found it drawn up for battle, and exclaimed in triumph, "Ah! I have them at last—these English." His great effort was to obtain possession of the farm of Hougoumont, that formed the key of the duke's position, after which he would be able to break through the centre of the allied army, or at least, turn one of its flanks, and overwhelm it in detail. In the grounds of this simple Belgian farm therefore—but laid out for what different purposes!—the fiercest of the conflict raged, in which the liberties of Europe were at issue; and the corn-fields, the out-houses, the rooms of the mansion, were quickly transformed into places of terrible national struggle, and high historic interest, and crowded with the dead and the dying.

Battle of
Waterloo.

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of uneasiness, even had he fled to the deserts of Asia for shelter, so long as he was at liberty, every inch of the French coast was keenly watched by the British, so that escape by sea was impossible. His only resource, therefore, was to throw himself upon the clemency of his worst enemies, the British themselves—a bold, but, in such cases, not altogether a hopeless experiment, as long as the extremes shall continue to meet. But Britain, that had suffered so much, was at present in the worst of health; an outburst of romantic generosity, and though Napoleon was brought to our shores in a British ship, he was not admitted to land. It would be strange to guess what might have been the effect of his fascinating conversational powers upon the prince regent and our statesmen, had he been admitted to that personal interview which he so ardently desired; but our rulers avoided the temptation, and treated him as a prisoner who had surrendered at discretion, whose fate was therefore wholly in their hands. His final destination—it will be remembered until the island of St. Helena has dissolved among its waves and crumbled away in its burning sunshine. It was impossible that such a spirit, so coerced, could continue to live; but old age and natural decay had released it; and he died before his day, after a brief imprisonment of less than five years. We say *imprisonment* advisedly; for, notwithstanding the range which he was allowed for exercise, narrow prison was such an island to one who had seen the world itself too little!

LV. The effect of the tidings of the great victory at Waterloo, in every district of Scotland, to its furthest limits, was truly electrical. The war was ended; for our enemy was brought down at last, while it would take ages to produce another such Napoleon. The Scottish pride was also gratified when it found that the national banner had been borne so gallantly through the thick of the fray, and been garlanded with fresh honours. It was furled and laid up in the temple of peace. Truly, there was much cause for this honourable acquiescence; for our regiments had extorted the applause of our enemies by their gallant deeds in that well-fought

Scottish
triumph
for the
victory of
Waterloo.

well as won the rapturous commendations of their allies when they entered into Brussels. The conduct of the regiment of heavy cavalry, called the Scotch Greys, had been especially remarkable, so that when they cheered their countrymen of the 92d with the cry of "Scotland for ever!" and carried all before them in their successive charges, Napoleon, who witnessed their deeds, could not help exclaiming, "Observe those grey horses! what fine soldiers! They are brave troops, but in half an hour I shall cut them in pieces." But in this last particular, even *his* military calculation was at fault: they survived, and fought on through the tempest of fire and steel, so that when he was at last compelled to turn bridle and betake himself to flight, while they were thundering closely on his path, his parting exclamation was, "How terrible those grey horses are!" On the 19th of March, on the following year, the national feeling was further gratified by the return of the 42d, that gallant Highland regiment, whose remarkable deeds in America, Egypt, and the peninsula, had, if possible, been eclipsed by its achievements at Waterloo. Every gate and door of Edinburgh was thrown open to welcome their coming; the whole city went forth to meet them; and such was the dense crowd upon the great highway leading to Musselburgh, that the regiment was nearly two hours in marching from Piershill to the castle of Edinburgh, a distance of only two miles! Every house-top and window, also, of that part of the town through which they marched was clustered with applauding spectators; and many an eye was filled with tears as they gazed on the tattered standards of the shrunken and diminished regiment, and thought of the past dangers they betokened. Altogether, it was a military ovation, or rather triumph, such as Edinburgh had never witnessed since it ceased to be an independent capital; and the hospitable feastings and festivals that followed, were such as might well make the veterans forget the meagre privations of the tented field, and the dangers and sufferings of actual conflict.

LV. The events that occurred in Scotland of a political character were so few, and withal so unimportant, from the commencement of this century till the battle of Waterloo,

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that it is unnecessary to notice them in a historical summary; indeed, they were little noticed even by the people themselves, whose attention was exclusively fixed upon the great actions of the continent, in which they had such a national and personal interest. Other events at the same time were going forward, of still higher importance than military achievements—events in which the intellectual, social, and domestic history of the people was implicated, and by which the welfare of the land was promoted; but they constitute a silent history, that passed unnoticed amidst the universal clangour of warlike operations. And yet they form the pith and substance of a nation's real history, without which its military glory has no lustre, and its conquests no value. These, however, we purposely reserve for a later period of our narrative, when their nature and effects can be best illustrated. We must now turn our view to the state of religion in Scotland during these events, as it is there that the Scottish historian still possesses an exclusively national field.

State of
the Church
at this
period.

LVI. At the commencement of this century. Moderatism had reached its height, but a height predictive of its fall. The stirring events that followed were of too ardent a character to tolerate a cold system of theology; and the pestilent effects of infidelity, illustrated by the French Revolution, in the evils it entailed upon ourselves in common with every other country, brought the Moderatism of the day into grievous discredit and suspicion. For was it not closely allied to Socinianism? And was not Socinianism a half-way progress to Deism itself?—that Deism by which France was thrown loose from every moral and social restriction. Thus strangely, under an overruling Providence that extracts good from evil, goddesses of Reason, and Robespierre festivals in honour of the Supreme, followed by holocausts of human beings, were acting upon the character and religion of Scotland. And when the public mind had arrived at this crisis, those master-minds were ushered into action that had been previously trained for the great work. These were the men under whose conduct the reaction of the church was led onward, and the way prepared for those great changes that have so lately occurred among us. 1

brief notice of these distinguished characters is therefore necessary; more especially as, without it, the movements with which they are so closely connected would be deprived of many of their distinctive features, and much of their vitality.

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LVII. The first of these in point of time was the Rev. Dr. John Erskine, a man of the noble family of Buchan, born in the year 1721, and destined for the profession of the law; in which, from his natural abilities, as well as the high influence of his kindred, he might have attained the most distinguished offices which the Scottish bar can bestow. But notwithstanding these advantages, and the decided opposition of his relatives, he resolved to devote himself to the church, much as the ministerial office was at that time held in light esteem by the aristocracy of Scotland, on account of its poor endowments, and the little scope it afforded for political distinction. After passing through the usual course of study at the university, where he obtained a distinguished name among his young contemporaries on account of his proficiency, he was ordained minister, first of Kirkintilloch, and afterwards of Culross. In 1758, he was translated to the charge of the New Greyfriars of Edinburgh, and finally, in 1767, to the collegiate charge of Old Greyfriars, where he had the celebrated Dr. Robertson for his colleague. The eminence which he acquired at the earliest, and maintained to the latest, of a long life of honour and usefulness, is not so much to be found in the forensic debates of church courts, and the superintendence of ecclesiastical politics, as in his earnest devotedness to the sacred work of preaching, and his labours, both by precept and example, to raise the eloquence of the pulpit to its proper pre-eminence amidst the universal intellectual improvement that had newly commenced in Scotland. And for this, indeed, there was much necessity, as the strong, but homely and colloquial style of preaching, which was so much at home upon the hill-side during the covenanting days of Scotland, was still widely cherished, notwithstanding the more refined manners and higher intellectual standard that now prevailed. In this most important task he was so successful, that he may be justly termed the Father of the modern Pulpit Eloquence

Leading
men in the
Church.—
Dr. Er-
skine.

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XXXI.**

of Scotland. It was impossible that such a minister of the gospel, especially in Scotland, should fail to acquire a powerful ascendancy in the great questions of the day; and this fact was strikingly manifested during a violent popular commotion in 1779, occasioned by an attempt to abolish the penal laws against the Roman Catholics. On this occasion the mob of Edinburgh rose; and after destroying the Popish chapel, and the house and furniture of the bishop, they repaired to the College Court, to demolish the house of Principal Robertson, who was in favour of the repeal. Amidst the dangers of such a tumult, Dr. Erskine fearlessly interposed in behalf of his colleague, and addressed the multitude with such effect that they abandoned their purpose. During the whole of this period, he was decidedly hostile to that lenity in behalf of Roman Catholic claims which was so much in vogue with the liberal men of the day, and to the constitution granted to Canada, which he thought an excess of toleration in favour of Popery. And truly the events of the past year (1851) have well justified his hostility! While he thus resisted the silent, insidious approaches of Popery on the one hand, he was equally on the alert against the designs of French infidelity on the other; and when the latter enemy commenced by decrying all church establishments, he saw that this was but a war of outposts, preparatory to a deadly onset upon religion itself; and upon the establishment principle, accordingly, he took his decided stand. After a long life of honour and usefulness, he entered into his rest on January 19, 1803, at the age of eighty-two, after a few hours' illness; and truly it may be said that "his works do follow him" even now, by the generation whom he trained by his instructions and example, and by their successors who followed them, who are the lights and the ornaments of Scotland in the present day.

**Sir Henry
Moncrieff.**

LVIII. The next in order, but the stedfast friend and admirer of Erskine, and finally his biographer, was Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood. The time unfortunately had gone by in Scotland, when men of the most distinguished families, abandoning the allurements of wealth and ambition, had been proud to assume the office of the ministry in our poor





republican church, which had neither political power, nor lordly titles, nor rich benefices to tempt the scions of aristocracy; nay, even the sons of the middle classes had learned to look upon it as but a poor alternative to the many profitable walks that were now laid open to Scottish enterprise. In such a case, it was of importance to the church, and still more to that despised portion of it to which they attached themselves, that men like Erskine and Moncrieff now appeared. Many might doubt the political wisdom of their choice; but there could be no misgiving as to their disinterestedness and sincerity, and therefore the coldest calculators could listen to such teachers with reverence at least, if not with full conviction. Sir Henry was the eldest son of the Rev. Sir William Moncrieff, Bart., minister of Blackford, near Stirling, and was born in the year 1750. Devoted to the choice of the ministry from his earliest years, he pursued this object with singleness of aim through all his college studies, in which he was distinguished for high talent and proficiency; and, on being licensed to preach, he was forthwith ordained to the charge of his father's parish, which had been kept open for the purpose under an assistant, Sir William having died while the son was still a student in the divinity hall. Sir Henry, however, did not long remain in the obscurity of Blackford; for, after four years, in consequence of his rapidly growing reputation, he was called to the parish of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh. Even in the Scottish metropolis, however, his labours were chiefly devoted to the pulpit, and the pastoral duties of his sacred calling, and also to the encouragement and direction of those young men who were in training for the ministerial office; and when he descended into the arena of church courts, as the antagonist of Dr. Robertson and the Moderates, his opinions, independently of his clear intellect and masculine eloquence, were enforced by the universal estimation of his high worth and pure moral integrity. Thus he laboured to the end of his days, and was not allowed to close his eyes until he had seen the rising ascendancy of those evangelical principles in which he had lived, and been assured of their future triumph in Scotland. His death occurred in 1827, after fifty-six years of laborious and honoured usefulness in the ministry.

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XXXI.Dr. Andrew
Thomson.

LIX. A still more influential person than these two, and one who was destined to mature the work which they had commenced, was the Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson, son of Dr. John Thomson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. After having been minister of the parish of Sprouston, and subsequently of the east church of Perth, in which charges he was distinguished, not only as a most eloquent preacher, but one of the ablest of our church-court members, his high reputation occasioned his call to the New Greyfriars church in Edinburgh, from the magistrates and council of the metropolis, in 1810. His arrival was the commencement of a new era in Edinburgh, not only with the evangelical party—in which he soon became distinguished as the foremost of its champions—but also with the church at large; for seldom, if ever, had talents so complete and so varied been devoted to its service since the days of Henderson and Gillespie. Not only, indeed, was he eminent as a preacher in the pulpit, an orator on the platform, a debater in ecclesiastical courts, and a vigorous and persuasive writer in authorship, in each of which departments he seemed to be without a rival; but in his daily intercourse there was a searching power and practical sagacity, which at once attested the man of action, and made the most worldly-wise to feel that they were in the presence of a superior and a master. Even the Greyfriars was soon reckoned an insufficient sphere for such rare endowments; and accordingly, in 1814, he was removed to the charge of St. George's church, the parish of which comprised the choicest of Edinburgh society. Here he had, for his usual auditors, the most eminent members of the bench, the bar, and the university, who all listened to an eloquence such as they seldom had heard even in their own intellectual professions; and who felt themselves compelled to do homage to doctrines which, hitherto, they had been in the habit of identifying with vulgarity, ignorance, and fanaticism. And yet the two weekly discourses, which he carefully prepared for such a critical congregation, were by no means the chief of his intellectual labours; for, in addition to these, he was editor of the *Christian Instructor*, a religious periodical which his articles formed the principal attraction:

advocate of every great public measure, in behalf of which, his eloquent speeches evinced the most careful study and preparation. Few, also, who have witnessed his wonderful efforts in presbyteries, and especially in general assemblies, can forget the intrepidity with which he threw himself forward in behalf of any important measure that he had at heart, be the odds against him what they might—the wit with which he quelled the scorers, and compelled them to betake themselves to argument—the convincing clearness with which he brought forward his proofs and established his statements—and finally, the overpowering persuasiveness with which he wound up his appeals, and won the suffrages of the most obstinate. Such was the man who, from 1810 to 1831, was the leader of his party in the church.

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XXXI.

LX. While our metropolis was thus pervaded by those whose appearance, followed by general acceptance, gave promise of an approaching change, Glasgow, the great city of the west, which, under the ascendancy of commerce, was rapidly becoming the real capital of Scotland, and the chief seat of its political influence, was not left destitute. Had it been abandoned, even the supremacy of evangelical doctrine in Edinburgh would have failed to produce anything like a national movement; for the great emporium of Scottish manufacture had already acquired such a substantial influence in national proceedings, that its voice was potential over the greater part of the kingdom. Besides this, it had been, even in its earliest days, distinguished as one of the most important strongholds of the reformation, and afterwards of the covenanting or second reformation of Scotland, during the reigns of Charles I. and his successor. But Glasgow had held fast by its allegiance; and Dr. Balfour, a name still hallowed in its many homes, had been the man who was destined to raise the drooping banner of evangelism aloft during the latter part of the preceding, and earlier part of the present, century; and, little distinguished as he was in the stir of ecclesiastical controversy, he possessed a deep and wide influence in the hearts of those who mingled in the affairs of the church, that made itself felt and recognized. A still more influential position was soon occupied by a congenial spirit. This was the Rev. Dr. Stevenson

Dr. Balfour
and Dr.
Macgill.

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McGill, who, in 1797, was translated from the parish of Eastwood to the Tron church parish of Glasgow, and afterwards, in 1814, to the chair of the professorship in divinity, which had been left vacant by the death of the venerable Dr. Findlay. Of this distinguished individual, it is enough to state, that his labours still live in the church in many of its most eminent guides and ornaments, whose minds were matured, and whose ecclesiastical habits were formed under his admirable training.

Moderat-
ism mode-
rated.

LXI. While such were the leading minds who, during half a century, had come forward in close succession, each so admirably fitted for his task; and while the effect of their labours was distinctly manifested in the yearly growth and strength of the cause which they had so much at heart, that effect was distinctly visible, not only upon their own, but also upon the other party in the church. A rapid decline of Moderatism, in its most obnoxious features, commenced: it no longer dared to obtrude itself into the pulpit in the form of Arian or anti-Calvinistic doctrines; instead of this, it went no further than the passive hostility of withholding part of the truth, and confining itself exclusively to the mere ethics of theology. Even its politics also underwent a correspondent change, for the day had gone by when it could decide on despotic measures, and enforce them with a dictatorial tone. But this was not all. In many cases, it was nothing more than a mere party feeling, confined exclusively to the church courts, and even there, not implicitly, in every case, to be relied on; while, in exemplary life, and purity of doctrine, and earnest efficient preaching, many of the Moderates were not a whit behind the foremost of their evangelical brethren. And this change of a party was visible in the effects it produced throughout the church at large. The *dragonnades* of patronage expired with the eloquent historian of Charles V. and America; the preacher of manifest error had little chance of escape from deposition, let him shelter himself under what party he pleased; and discipline was more strictly exercised upon clerical delinquencies, than it had been the fashion to do during the whole course of the eighteenth century. In short, had no violence been offered—had no rude interrup-

tion occurred—it appeared as if the church would have purified itself by the silent, gentle process that was now in full operation. But still it was impossible but that offences should come, and these were to produce their wonted fruits.

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LXII. It was well that, even already, and as a preparation for coming change, an event had occurred by which the reflective world was put in possession of such knowledge as would enable it to judge on the merits of the approaching controversy, by which the Church of Scotland was again to be convulsed, and finally rent asunder. For what was this Church of Scotland, of which the world was soon to hear so much? While in foreign countries it was absolutely unheard of, even in England it was almost wholly unknown; and the most eminent literary men, and high church dignitaries of the south, were contented to believe that it had originated in a gloomy fanatic—in one John Knox—who had demolished the stately cathedrals of our country, and laughed to scorn the tears and melting appeals of Queen Mary. And, indeed, among the literary men of Scotland the case was not much amended; so that, when his name was adduced, it was commonly for very different purposes than those of commendation or apology. But towards the close of 1811, the “*Life of John Knox*” was published by the Rev. Thomas M’Crie, and its appearance occasioned a sensation which few literary works have produced. The public were astonished to find, that he whom they had been taught to regard as a gloomy, narrow-minded, ferocious bigot, was a man of large intellect and benevolent feelings, as well as of ardent, devoted piety; and that, while his patriotic labours and far-reaching plans had developed the national energies of Scotland, and raised it from utter barbarism into civilization, these plans and labours had been but partially carried out; and that, had they been properly implemented to their full amount, our country would have been greater, wiser, and happier still, distinguished though its progress has been in the march of nations since the Reformation. In short, it was now discovered, in the emphatic words of a living writer, that the history of Scotland begins with John Knox. Thus the man was known at last, after two centuries of misrepresentation

M’Crie’s
*Life of
Knox.*

BOOK XXXI. and obloquy; and to know him, was also to know the doctrines he had taught, and the principles of the church he had planted. And with which of the contending parties, who were soon to enter the arena, each claiming to be the faithful representative of that church, were his principles and doctrines to be found? The appeal was boldly made, and the world that looked on had a guide for its decision and verdict.

State of
the Church
at this
period.

LXIII. While the appearance of such men as those we have just described, and their deliberate adoption of a hitherto depressed and afflicted cause, were of themselves sufficiently indicative of reaction and change, the events of the Church of Scotland, from 1800 to 1815, were of such a calm and unostentatious character, as scarcely to come within the range of history. The question chiefly at issue during that period was on the subject of plurality, and it arose from two separate cases, in which persons holding professorships in our universities were also presented to ministerial charges. The first was the case of Dr. Arnot, professor of divinity in St. Andrews, who, in 1800, was presented to the parish of Kingsbarns; the second, that of Dr. Ferrie, professor of civil history in the same university, who, in 1813, was presented to the parish of Kilconquhar. Had these double charges been situated within the same town or district, so as to be easily accessible by the fortunate incumbent, the mere objection of plurality would, at this time, have scarcely been sustained; but, in the present instances, the evil of non-residence was added to the unpresbyterian offence of pluralism, as Kingsbarns was six, and Kilconquhar twelve miles distant from the university in which these presentees held their chairs. In either case, the Moderates carried the question in favour of plurality by a majority of votes. Such, however, was the force of public opinion against the evil, that the successful party was obliged to succumb; and their concession went so far as to pass a declaratory act, by which an end was put, in all future time, to a union of offices in the church that might be found incompatible with residence in the parish. In this way the question of non-residence was settled; that of plurality had to await a separate trial, which occurred eleven years afterwards.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK XXXII.

The general peace.—Death of George III.—George IV. visits Scotland.—The commercial panic of 1826.—Course of public events.—Catholic emancipation.—Succession of William IV.—The Reform Bill.—The cholera.—Reign of Victoria.—Religious history of this period.—Dr. Chalmers.—The Voluntary controversy.—The Veto Act.—The cases of Auchterarder, Lethendy, &c.—The Convocation.—The Assembly of 1843.—The Free Church constituted.—Scanty population of Scotland.—Scottish agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.—Steam-power, navigation, and land travelling.—Scottish metaphysicians.—Classical learning.—Historians.—Political economy.—Poets.—Works of fiction.—Literary Reviews.—Probable fate of all nationality.—Review of the past history of Scotland.—Conclusion.—1816–1851.

1. AFTER the battle of Waterloo, and the general peace which followed, the nations of Europe were in too exhausted a condition for further action; rest was necessary in the first instance, and afterwards, the repair of those immense evils which a war so vast and so universal had inflicted. Such was also the case with Great Britain, unvisited though it had been by an enemy that had desolated successively every country of Europe. Its exhausted exchequer, upon which the chief burden of the whole war had fallen, had to be replenished, and its interrupted commerce restored, and these were gradual and silent operations that seldom come within the scope of a limited history. Besides this, the political events that occurred in Scotland were but part and parcel of those general movements which had their origin in the court and cabinet of London, and therefore belong exclusively to the history of Great Britain at large. All we can do upon this head, therefore, is merely to take a passing glance of such events as bore more particularly and individually upon the interests of Scotland. Her history from this period more essentially consists of the distinguished men

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Evils that
succeeded
the peace.

she produced, and the improvements she effected in those departments of social and intellectual life by which the community of the whole island was benefited.

11. In common with England, our country, after the close of the war, was visited with the evils of reaction in the form of poverty, arising from the depressed state of our commercial intercourse with foreign nations, and the number of unemployed hands which the new peace had added to our population. This state of matters produced abundance of discontent, of which political agitators were not slow to take advantage, and the cry for parliamentary reform, as the only panacea for public evils, began to be loudly heard in the hitherto tranquil districts of Scotland. These interruptions, it is unnecessary to show, are inevitable in mercantile countries, where, in every return of commercial depression, men are too prone to trace the whole evil to the costly maintenance of their government, and to clamour for its abrogation or retrenchment. To give a full idea, however, of the pressure that produced this popular outcry, the price of wheat, which at the beginning of 1816 was 52*s.* 10*d.*, had risen at the end of the year to 103*s.* 7*d.*, and by the month of June in the following year had increased to 112*s.* 8*d.* While the price of imported articles also had been rising, that of our home produce and manufactures had fallen almost fifteen per cent. These were tangible evils that came home to every family and individual, and their effects, which were stated in petitions from several presbyteries to parliament, in 1819, praying for relief, were, that nearly one-half of the weavers were unemployed, and for those who were employed, the remuneration was so small, that the wages of one man were utterly insufficient for the maintenance of a family without additional aid; and that, in consequence of this poverty, the education of the children of the lower classes was at a stand, while their parents were unable to attend religious public ordinances from want of decent clothing. This last statement, as emanating from Scotland, proves that there the evil must have been heavy indeed, while in several places the sufferers broke out into actual riot. Such was especially the case in Glasgow, Paisley, and Greenock; the chief seats

of Scottish disaffection. The example that had been given in London but too clearly indicated that the mad idea of overturning the government by military organization of the popular force, was not exclusively confined to such desperadoes as Thistlewood and his compeers; and the attempt was made, if not in a wiser, at least in a more manly and honest fashion, than that of the Cato Street conspirators. On Wednesday, the 5th of April, 1820, a party of about fifty radicals, as the political reformers were now called, marched from Glasgow, indifferently armed with pikes and muskets; intending, as it was thought, to proceed to Carron. Their movement was soon known, and a party of the 10th hussars, and another of the Stirlingshire yeomanry, went off in pursuit of the insurgents, whom they overtook near Bonny Bridge. On seeing the approach of the military the radicals cheered, and took up their station behind a wall, from which they opened an irregular fire. But the skirmish lasted only a few moments; the cavalry made their way through an opening of the wall, and the rioters were speedily overpowered, and nineteen of their number taken prisoners. Such was the affair commonly called the Bonnymuir insurrection. As the outbreak was so flagrant, an example was necessary; and of the numerous prisoners who were brought to trial, three were sentenced to undergo the extreme penalty of the law; which was carried into execution, one being hanged and decapitated at Glasgow, and two at Stirling. But private benevolence had been also on the alert, as well as military and judicial inflictions, to alleviate a calamity which acts of parliament could not cure; and from the public collections raised in Edinburgh and Glasgow for the purpose, the making of the public promenade round the Calton Hill, the construction of a railway for the conveyance of coals and merchandise, and the erection of several public works, relief was afforded to thousands, and the country at large benefited. It is just, also, to the Scottish character to state, that these disorders which occasionally broke out, were few compared with the amount of suffering that provoked them; and that, when they did occur, the discontented were easily persuaded to return to their duty. Such is the cautious

BOOK and reflective character of our countrymen, that what is
XXXII. barely sufficient to stir them into a riot, would, in other
 nations, produce a revolution.

Death of 111. A mournful event, which for some time had been,
George III. anticipated, and even desired, although when it occurred^t
 the whole island was covered with sadness and filled with
 lamentation, took place on January 29, 1820. This was
 the demise of George III., our venerable sovereign. Not-
 withstanding the splendid events by which the later years
 of his reign had been distinguished, they only fell upon his
 ear like an idle sound; for he sat in darkness in the recesses
 of his palace, being not only blind, but afflicted with that
 worst of maladies, under which the present life is but a
 blank, or at best a dream. Soon after the jubilee, when
 the whole empire triumphed at the completion of such an
 event of unwonted earthly grandeur as a fifty years' reign,
 and had congratulated him upon the circumstance from its
 remotest hamlets, his mental disease returned with such
 violence, that it was found to be incurable, so that, for ten
 years, the government was administered under the regency
 of his eldest son, the Prince of Wales. And seldom had a
 sovereign been so honoured by his subjects, as he who, for
 long, had been characterized under the endearing appellation
 of "our good old King;" and years, nay centuries, had
 passed away since a thoroughly English heart had borne
 rule over them; for Charles II. and James II. were scarcely
 worthy of such a distinction. Little more than three years
 before, the Princess Charlotte, only child of the Prince
 Regent, and presumptive heiress of the throne, had died, and
 this melancholy interruption in the succession to the crown
 had been sought to be repaired by marriages among the
 members of the royal family. Of these unions, that of the
 Duke of Kent gave an heir to the British throne, in Alex-
 andrina Victoria, who now so worthily fills it; but her
 father died only six days previous to the death of George
 III., whose end, it is thought, was accelerated by this mourn-
 ful bereavement.

George IV. iv. After such instances of regal mortality, Scotland was
visits Scot- startled by a most unexpected intimation; it was from
land. George IV. himself, who announced his gracious purpose

of visiting his Scottish dominions. Such an event had not occurred in the country since the year 1617, when Charles I. arrived in Edinburgh, with Laud in his train, for the ostensible purpose of enjoying a Scottish coronation, but in reality to impose Episcopacy and arbitrary government upon the people. No such misgiving, however, could occur to mar the happy anticipations of the present royal visit, the promise of which was so gratifying to the nation, that, for the time, not only its past depressions, but even political dissensions, were forgotten. It was wonderful, indeed, to see what "divinity doth hedge a king" in the eyes of a people to whom his person is invisible. The faults and the follies of George IV., which he had committed while Prince of Wales and Prince Regent—and they were neither few nor trivial—were no longer spoken of, either by the discontented lover of political change, or even the severe moralist; all ranks, all parties hurried to the capital, each endeavouring to be foremost in the universal welcome. But how was the sovereign to be received when he came? This was the perplexing question; and every old book or scrap of mouldering parchment that could throw light upon ancient royal Scottish pageantries, was studied for the occasion by high-titled nobles and civic dignitaries who, for the first time, found themselves involved in the mazes of antiquarian research. Feudal duties were to be performed that had been a dead letter for centuries, and processions were to be arranged which our living Scottish aristocracy had never witnessed, even in their dreams. And then, too, there were questions of precedence and court-privilege to be settled, which, especially among the Highland chieftains, whose traditionary claims went back as far as the days of Malcolm Canmore, or even of Ossian, threatened to be interminable, or only adjusted by the claymore. It was the last outburst of the old Scottish feudal pride before it passed away for ever. Happily, there was help at hand in their perplexity; and never did Sir Walter Scott so justly deserve the title of the "great magician," as when he reduced this chaos into a harmonious and beautiful uniformity. At length, on August 14, 1822, the royal yacht and its splendid cortege of war vessels cast anchor in Leith Roads, and on the following day the King landed, and went up-

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Arrival of
George IV
in Edin-
burgh.

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ward to the ancient capital and palace of his ancestors; and never on any occasion, since its first stone was laid, had Edinburgh exhibited such a display of the picturesque and magnificent! Arthur's Seat, Salisbury Crags, and the Calton Hill were surmounted by a far-reaching crest of tents, banners, and artillery, and crowded with the feudal military arrays of the lowlands, and the numerous clans of the highlands, all in their brilliant war attire; the streets were thronged with myriads who had repaired from every part of Scotland; while the welcoming thunders of the castle artillery were almost drowned in the acclamations of the countless multitude. Dim and faint indeed, compared with this, must have been the mustering in the same locality for the last expedition of James IV., in 1513; and here, above all, no Flodden was to follow, in which these "flowers of the forest" were to be "wede away." During his stay in Scotland, his Majesty took up his abode in Dalkeith Palace, within six miles of Edinburgh, and repaired several times to Holyrood, where he held levees; on which occasions, it was difficult to tell whether the national pleasure at the revival of these time-hallowed remembrances, or the personal delight experienced by all parties at the graceful manners and kind condescension of him who presided over the newly-opened halls of the Stuarts, was most predominant. At length the Sabbath came, when the King repaired to the High Kirk, and here he must have felt that, on this day, a greater KING than himself was in the capital of Scotland. For the applauding shouts of the multitudes were hushed, the eager enthusiastic hurrying to and fro was at an end; and when his Majesty entered the church, the congregation quietly stood up during the reading of the first psalm, while at his departure the people in the streets respectfully, but in silence, uncovered their heads, and bowed as he passed by. He marked this change, and he marked it with pleasure. It also struck an English clergyman who was present. This was no other than the Rev. George Crabbe, the distinguished poet; and, in noting the circumstance in his diary, he adds, "The silence of Edinburgh on a Sunday is devout." After a fortnight's stay, the royal visit his departure, having thus cheaply purchased an

popularity which generally costs sovereigns whole years of labour to acquire. BOOK
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v. The gratification which George IV. experienced from his reception by his loyal subjects in Scotland, was soon afterwards manifested in a manner highly gratifying to the national feeling. This was the restoration of the peerages that had been attainted by the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. The list comprised some of the most ancient and noble historic titles of the country, whose representatives had been reduced to the rank of commoners, by the generous but mistaken loyalty of their ancestors—those gallant Scottish chiefs who had clung, through good and evil, to the fortunes of a falling dynasty. The bill was passed in 1823, and was received in the north with universal acclamation. Another popular act of this year was the provision that was made for the religious improvement of the Highlands. This was highly necessary, from the size of these parishes, some of them being from thirty to fifty miles in extent; and so intersected by rivers, lochs, and mountains, as to make attendance on religious ordinances, in many cases, impossible. The remedy adopted by parliament was the passing of a resolution for the erection of forty or more churches in the most destitute of these localities, with a manse for the minister, and a stipend of one hundred and twenty pounds a-year. It was not always, however, that legislative enactments were of such benefit to the country; and at this period, the repeal of the statutes against the combination of workmen for the increase of wages, occasioned serious mischief in Scotland. At Edinburgh the masons struck work, and compelled others of their fellow-labourers to do the same; and in East Lothian the reapers stood out for higher wages during the season of harvest. The colliers also combined, by which the iron foundries of the Clyde were stopped for several weeks. But it was in Glasgow that the evil was chiefly felt, as there it had the fullest scope for operation; and the cotton-spinners, not content with abandoning their occupation, and obliging others to follow their example, broke out, on several occasions, into deeds of violence and breach of law. Parliament immediately took the alarm, and, in the next session, another act was

Fruits of
the royal
visit to
Scotland.

Combina-
tions of
workmen

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passed, prohibiting all such associations and combinations of workmen as were prejudicial to the interests of their employers or themselves. But the mischief had been evoked, and a spirit of insubordination fostered, that could bid defiance to pains and penalties; and in too many cases, therefore, both in England and Scotland, these lawless unions were repeated, and attended with the most disastrous consequences.

The commercial
panic of
1825.

VI. A commercial depression followed quickly after, that showed all such combinations to be useless, in so far, at least, as the creation of money was concerned. This was the mercantile panic of 1825; an event still remembered, with sorrow and dread by many of the present day, who were its victims. The evil commenced in England, where the multiplication of paper money, and the boundless credit allowed by the country banks, was followed by an inevitable crash. Scotland, of course, had her full share in the calamity; and, at the commencement of the following year, the manufacturing towns and districts exhibited its disastrous fruits in bankruptcies, and the stoppage of public works. A few statistical notes of these will give an idea of the prevalent suffering that spread over the whole community. At the beginning of 1826, a thousand power-looms in Glasgow, Paisley, and the neighbouring districts, were stopped in a single day. In Kilmarnock, eight hundred weavers were thrown out of work, and their families reduced to starvation. Even in the little town of Girvan, where eighteen hundred looms were employed, seven hundred were, at one time, reduced to inaction. While such was but a specimen of the want of employment that everywhere prevailed, those factories that still continued operations were obliged to put their workmen on half time in the manufacture of goods, for which no market could be found, or money obtained. Those individuals, again, who worked upon their own account, and could still find employment, were obliged to labour night and day, and far beyond their strength, to secure a bare pittance for themselves and families. Sickness, contagious diseases, and a fearful increased mortality, quickly followed, and went through the unoccupied, ill-fed poorer classes,

Distress of
1826 in
Scotland.

destructive violence of a plague. In this state of things, no remedy remained except to find them employment in other departments; and, accordingly, the spade and hammer were put into hands that, hitherto, had wielded nothing heavier than the shuttle; and hundreds might everywhere be seen in quarries and upon the highways, engaged in a species of toil which, to such men, was absolute torture. This visitation at length passed by, but not so the evils it entailed, which continued to be felt for years by impoverished and bereaved families. It would have been strange if, during this season of heavy trial, the voice of political discontent had been silent; and, on this occasion, Scottish grievances, arising from other sources, were loudly heard in the debates of the British parliament. One of these arose from the parliamentary representation of Scotland, which still continued to be limited to forty-five members, and from the unequal distribution of the right of suffrage; many towns which had more than quadrupled their population, as well as many professions which had risen in wealth and rank, being still excluded from the election polls, or having only the fragment of a choice, which they shared with the meanest corporations. The petition which was sent from Edinburgh to the House of Commons on this subject, in April 1826, showed that, in that city alone, of a hundred and fifty thousand souls, only thirty-three persons, composing the town council, and consisting chiefly of small merchants and shop-keepers who were self-elected, possessed the right of appointing a member for Edinburgh. The petition, at the time, was unsuccessful; but it called public attention to a serious political grievance, and was the forerunner of a happy termination. Another occasion of public complaint originated in the proposal made in parliament, after the panic of 1825 had subsided, to introduce a bill for the abolition of small notes. This new banking system, which was intended for the whole empire, raised a ferment in the north, where it was declared to be uncalled for, and fraught with the most ruinous consequences to Scotland; and the debates, remonstrances, and petitions on the subject, absorbed almost every other feeling. These representations were too weighty, and uttered in too deep a tone to be dis-

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Political
discontent
super-
added.

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regarded; and, accordingly, a committee of inquiry was appointed by the House of Commons, to ascertain the effects that would be likely to ensue from the abrogation of the small note circulation of the banks, and the introduction of a metallic currency into Scotland. Their report was favourable to the Scottish banking system, which was accordingly left untouched; not, however, without leaving a serious amount of indignation and jealousy in the minds of the Scottish people, at this attempt upon their commercial usages and rights.

**Course of
public
events.**

VII. After the restoration of commercial activity, and the return of abundant harvests, the events of a public nature, instead of being so exclusively confined to Scotland, affected it merely in its relation to the empire at large. The first of these was the death of the Duke of York, in 1827, by which the prospect of the royal succession devolved upon his younger brother, the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. The Duke of York had long held the responsible office of commander-in-chief of the British forces, and although not an able general, as we have already seen, yet to no individual was the gratitude of the nation so justly due, on account of the efficient state to which his administration brought our armies. It was, indeed, mainly owing to this, of which the Duke of Wellington so ably availed himself, that the late war had been so glorious to our arms, and so successfully terminated. On the same year, Lord Liverpool retired from public life, and was succeeded by the celebrated Mr. Canning, whose difficulties in forming an administration obliged him to include in it persons of the most opposite political principles, and who soon after died heart-broken from the trials of such an undesirable leadership. The vacant premiership was then filled by Lord Goderich, whose administration was suddenly terminated at the commencement of the following year (1828). But, before its close, the naval battle of Navarino was fought, in which the three great allied powers of England, France, and Russia interposed in behalf of regenerated Greece and humanity against their Turkish oppressors; and, in the contest, all but annihilated the Turkish and Egyptian fleets, their end was accomplished; but such was now a

of a fresh war, that, while even so signal a triumph was generally depreciated in Britain, it was characterised, by the royal speech at the opening of parliament, as an "un-toward event," and one that had been "wholly unexpected."

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VIII. On the extinction of the very short-lived Goderich administration, the Duke of Wellington, notwithstanding his deprecation of political office, was prevailed upon to accept the premiership; and, on entering upon his duties, the settlement of a most important question seemed to be the chief subject of his solicitude. This was nothing less than the repeal of the penal disabilities against the Roman Catholics, which had remained on the statute-book since the Reformation; and, although the most severe of these enactments had gradually become a dead letter, they were justly regarded as the bulwark of British Protestantism, by the jealousy with which they excluded the Papists from offices of political influence and trust. But a mistaken idea of the utter helplessness to which Popery was now reduced, and of the completeness with which its persecuting tenets had passed away amidst the civilization and Christian enlightenment of the nineteenth century, had raised and yearly increased a party in behalf of its adherents; so that the latter part of the reign of George III., and that of his successor, had been embittered by this cry of Repeal, by which the Papists were to be freed from their disabilities, and made the participants of equal rights and privileges with their Protestant fellow-subjects. It was not statesmen alone, also, who favoured this demand, and made it the great subject of contention in the cabinet and senate: even in the church it found its advocates; and some of the most eminent of our clergy, both in England and Scotland, backed the appeals of statesmen derived from political expediency, by arguments founded on the charity and liberality of the gospel. The bulk of the nation, indeed, continued to oppose the measure; but this hostility was stigmatized by the friends of emancipation as the result of narrow views and an illiberal spirit. Still, however, the prevalent feeling against any further concession was so strong, that, had the duke brought forward his proposal of Catholic emancipation in the usual form, it would undoubtedly have failed, as it had

Catholic
emancipa-
tion.

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always done before. But Wellington, who brought into the cabinet the tactics of the camp, took the question by storm, as he had done the ramparts of Ciudad-Rodrigo, and Bala-jos. He gained over the Conservative party, and won his colleagues to assent to the necessity of emancipation for the peace and welfare of the country, after which he brought forward his bill, and carried it through both Houses with an urgency and rapidity that seemed to bereave all parties of their wonted deliberation. It was passed on April 18, 1829, after which our statesmen began to rally from their astonishment, and consider whether they had decided wisely or the reverse; and many of them seemed to settle upon the latter unwelcome conclusion, by their abandonment of all further support to his Grace's administration. But the deed was done, and Catholic emancipation had now become the law of the land. And was the peace of Britain secured, and its prosperity promoted, by a sacrifice so complete, and a change so hazardous and daring? The events of the last year (1851), and the consequences that seem likely to follow, give an ominous answer to the question.

ix. This was the last important movement of the reign of George IV. For some time his constitution had become so debilitated, that he was unable to walk; and gout, dropsy, and ophthalmia had deprived him of all enjoyment of life, and made death itself desirable. This release from suffering occurred on June 26, 1830, and he was succeeded by the Duke of Clarence, under the title of William IV.

Succession
of William
IV.

x. The new sovereign, who ascended the British throne at the age of sixty-six, had a prestige in his favour which no other king, since the days of Canute, had possessed. He had been brought up in the navy, over which he afterward presided; he had been the friend of Nelson; and his tastes, habits, and experience were so decidedly nautical, that it was no wonder if the British public rejoiced that at last a sailor-king was to rule over them.

Preludes to
the Reform
Bill.

xi. The public events of this reign, which continued only seven years, may be comprised in the passing of the Reform Bill, and the immediate effects of that important measure. It is well known that, previous to the great outbreak of the French Revolution, a strong popular desire for p

formation was prevalent among the nations of Europe. The progress of improvement had outstripped the old feudal systems; and the demand for their abrogation, as the impediments of further progress, was not only urgent, but also natural and just. It was therefore listened to with heedful attention; and Britain, now the example of liberal rule, would probably have commenced, before the close of the eighteenth century, such a course of reform as other governments would have been glad to follow. But all at once the sudden up-heaving of France, like the premature explosion of a mine, startled the nations with such a dread of change, as made them suspend their wishes, while every government was compelled to feel that concessions to the popular desire, however harmless or just at any other time, would now be dangerous in the highest degree. Hence, therefore, the zeal with which, in our own country, those who, in the present day, would be honoured as reformers and patriots, were punished as demagogues, or even as traitors. And what, indeed, but treason were such proceedings, which, however excellent in the abstract, were unsuited to time and place, and would have produced universal anarchy and bloodshed? Now, however, the period had arrived when the safety and propriety of such attempts would make them treasonable no longer. Fifteen years of peace had elapsed, during which, the revolutionary enthusiasm had subsided; and it was now full time for the British cabinet to resume that task of reform which the French Revolution and its wars had interrupted, but not destroyed.

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xii. While such was the state of public feeling, a signal was only needed for the commencement of action, and that signal was soon given. It also came from France, the same country by which the progress of reform had, in the first instance, been so violently checked. Charles X., on succeeding his brother, Louis XVIII., seemed bent on reviving the old absolutism of the French government which the people despised; and not only so, but of reviving it through the ministry of the Jesuits, whom the people cordially hated and distrusted. The throne, accordingly, was soon surrounded by the followers of Loyola, whom the infatuated sovereign selected for his counselors, and the country overrun with their missionaries, who

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preached the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance whether to royal or papal enactments. But the time had long gone by, and France had suffered too eventful a career, to tolerate such antiquated fooleries, which were met with universal scorn; and the press, entering with ardor into the conflict, gave form, and consistency, and strength to the public feeling. The press, therefore, became the head of the offence, and the mark for kingly and priestly vengeance; and all the journals that advocated liberal principles were suppressed by royal decree, and their utensils seized or destroyed. A popular reaction followed, and the war of the barricades commenced, which lasted three days, drove the king and his adherents out of France, and placed his cousin, Louis-Philippe, in his room. But in this case, the revolution was a righteous movement, and conducted with such moderation, and withal so speedily terminated, that its contrast to the terrible revolution of 1789 was matter of glad surprise and approbation over the whole of Europe. Imitation succeeded approval on the part of those states that most needed deliverance; and accordingly, Belgium, Brunswick, and Saxony followed in the struggle for national and political independence. It was full time, therefore, for Britain to be up and doing, more especially as the Tory party had lost the public confidence, and were obliged to resign office, while Earl Grey, the champion of reform, and his supporters had entered into their room.

Passing of
the Reform
Bill.

XIII. We have no wish to pursue the course of this measure through the trials and struggles it underwent, until it passed into law, and became a part of our constitution. The ferment it occasioned, and the meetings it produced from one extremity of our island to the other, are still the subjects of vivid recollection. Although baffled in his first attempt, Earl Grey repeated his proposal for reform, and succeeded in carrying it by a majority of nine; but a stand was made at the disfranchising clause, in which so much personal interest was implicated, and here the reforming premier was defeated by Lord Lyndhurst. A resignation of the reform ministry was the consequence: but they were speedily recalled to office by the advice of the Duke of Wellington in consequence of the difficulty which the King en-

in forming a new cabinet. The Reform Bill, which possessed the rare quality of being acceptable to the sovereign, while it was popular with the nation at large, could scarcely be much longer retarded; the Tory party in the House of Lords yielded, and on the 7th of June, 1832, this memorable bill was passed. **BOOK
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xiv. In reverting to this important era in our history, in which an event occurred that might well be termed a national revolution, nothing is so striking as the peaceful and constitutional manner in which the whole proceeding was accomplished. Where were its battle-fields, its breached ramparts, its ruined villages? Two centuries earlier, such a victory could only have been won by the labours of a campaign, or the overthrow of a dynasty. Only fifty years ago, it would have been the signal of a rebellion in our provinces, or a war of barricades in our metropolis. But here a volley of hard speeches, or, at the worst, of stones, were the only weapons employed even when the strife was at the hottest. And yet, by this reform, many an ancient privilege was abrogated, and time-honoured distinction removed both in communities and districts, while those that had hitherto been of small account were inducted into their room.

xv. The reform bill for Scotland, which passed with greater facility than that for England, was liable to fewer objections, and therefore occasioned less discontent and commotion. In it there was no disfranchisement of places, nor even of persons, except the corporations in royal boroughs. While those who held the right of franchise, therefore, were still allowed to retain it, it was further extended to all proprietors of lands, houses, or feu-duties, that yielded ten pounds annually; to tenants holding under a lease for their life-time, or for fifty-seven years, and having an interest of not less than ten pounds; and to tenants holding under a lease of not less than nineteen years' duration, and having an interest of not less than fifty pounds. The large towns, also, were admitted to their proper share of representation. By the bill, Edinburgh was allowed to return two members to parliament, and Glasgow the same number. Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth, were separated from the royal boroughs

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Bill for
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of which they lately formed a part, and were permitted to send each a representative; and a new district was formed, consisting of Leith, Portobello, and Musselburgh. Thus, there was an addition made of eight members for Scotland, all of whom belonged exclusively to the borough representation. Although this was much, yet to some it appeared insufficient; and it was objected, that if the amount of population was the standard, the country should have eighty-five members; if taxation, fifty-nine; and if both together, seventy-two. This, however, was but a repetition of the argument used at the Union, when it was proposed that forty-five members only should represent the whole kingdom of Scotland. The exclusion of the Scottish universities, also, from a separate representation in parliament, was complained of as unjust, because those of England were admitted; and an attempt was made to show, from the number of graduates in the former, that they were entitled to equal privileges with the latter. But to this it was answered, that Scottish diplomas by no means implied the length of residence and amount of preparation which were required by those of England; and that, after all, it would have been better for the interests of learning if the universities of Oxford and Cambridge had never enjoyed these envied privileges. While the bill was passing, an attempt was made to exclude the Scottish clergy from the franchise, as if their rights as citizens would desecrate their duties as ministers; but this proposal was rejected, as it deserved. The result of the first Scottish election, after the passing of the bill, was considered a triumph by the reform ministry, as few Tories, and still fewer Radicals, were returned to parliament, the former numbering ten or eleven, and the latter only three. Even in Glasgow, where the franchise comprised seven thousand citizens, radicalism strove earnestly, but in vain, to have a predominance in the appointment of the city representatives.

The coming of the cholera.

xvi. Another important subject, besides that of political reformation, occupied the public mind during the eventful years of 1831 and 1832. This was the coming of the cholera, which, in its terrible but erratic course through Europe, had passed from France to England. It first v

Newcastle and Shields; and, after keeping the north of England in a ferment of alarm, as well as inflicting much suffering and many deaths, it suddenly departed, and re-appeared in Haddington, passing the whole intervening country untouched. Musselburgh was next visited, and afterwards Edinburgh; but, in our capital, the sanitary precautions were so effectual, especially in the supply of proper food and clothing for the poor, that in no part of the kingdom was this destroying pestilence less hurtful. From the capital, it proceeded onward to Kirkintilloch, then visited Glasgow, where it wrought considerable havoc, and afterwards broke out in the north and west of Scotland. During all this time, parliament left the Scots to shift for themselves as they best could, which they did wisely and bravely; but when the disease once more returned to England, and advanced to the metropolis, the government then bestirred itself to supply every means both of prevention and cure. But although Ireland was included in these dismaying visitations, it was found, after the cholera had subsided, that fewer deaths had been inflicted by it over the whole united kingdom than in the city of Paris alone.

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XVII. The passing of the Reform Bill was the principal event of the reign of William IV., after which, nothing of greater importance occurred than the usual temporary excitement occasioned by the fluctuations of parties, and the changes of ministry which they produced. The chief of these changes was the resignation of Earl Grey, and the succession of the Melbourne administration, with the return of the Whigs to their former ascendancy. In the midst of these, the king was attacked by his last illness, and died at the palace of Windsor, on the 20th of June, 1837, in the seventy-third year of his age, and seventh of his reign; after which his niece, Victoria, the nearest heir to the crown, was proclaimed sovereign of the empire with the usual formalities.

XVIII. As the past, rather than the present, is the especial province of history, we consider it unnecessary to advert to the events of the present reign. The omission, in this case, is the more expedient, not only from the recentness of these events, of which the living generation have been spectators, and the consequent difficulty of ascertaining

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Victoria.

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their character and final results, but also from the fact that they have occurred in a period of profound peace, when anything of stir and movement is of an internal character, upon which each individual is desirous to form his own opinion. It is to the journalist, therefore, rather than to the historian, that these, in the first instance, belong, especially when they are of an exclusively political nature and tendency. Were we, for instance, to describe the general exultation with which Her Majesty's accession was hailed, it would be merely to tell our readers what themselves expressed in the memorable year 1837, when her sacred Majesty Victoria was proclaimed Queen of Great Britain. Or were we to expatiate upon the blessings with which that reign has been hitherto attended, we should do nothing more than re-echo the sentiment that has been so gladly and so frequently uttered from every quarter of our island. Or, passing from these general statements to particular events, were we to select the great political movement which has, as yet, distinguished her Majesty's administration—the Corn-Law reform for instance—we might be told that our views were merely our own, and not those of history; and that years must yet elapse before the character of that change could be estimated, and its results ascertained.

XIX. To Scotchmen, however, the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne of Great Britain has been an endearing and most important event in our national history. For has she not already become one of us? During the course of two long centuries, we enjoyed but a glimpse of royalty, when George IV. came among us and passed away. But repeatedly, since the commencement of her reign, Victoria has been not merely a formal visitor, but a resident in our land; and, to show her affection for the country and its people, to whom she has truly become a nursing mother, she has erected a summer home in our picturesque Highlands, and added the character of a Highland chieftainess to her high distinction as a British queen. The towers of her castle at Balmoral, and the huts and hamlets with which the surrounding district, now a royal demesne, are studded, all attest how well she loves our Scotland; and those rural haunts, over which she loved to wander free from the cares.



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of royalty, and the lowly cottages which she was wont to gladden with her frank, condescending kindness, will compose a favourite pilgrimage for our countrymen, after generations have passed away, and the name of Victoria has become a historical remembrance.

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XX. We now pass from the political to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. We have already adverted to those distinguished leaders in the church by whom the evangelical spirit of the land was revived, and the way prepared for its former ascendancy. One more eminent still than his illustrious predecessors was now to enter upon the field, and give effect to their labours. This was Thomas Chalmers, the minister of an obscure parish in Fifeshire, whose mind had hitherto been brooding among the abstractions of metaphysics, alternated with investigations into the sciences of botany and chemistry; and whose marvellous powers of eloquence had hitherto excited the wonder of rustic congregations, who could appreciate little more than the fervour and sincerity by which it was animated. It was the spirit of Paul preaching at Athens, but without Athenians for his auditory. Even then, however, his excellence and wonderful talents were proclaimed by a discerning few, who had been arrested by the eloquence of a Demosthenes preaching in the humble pulpit of the barn-like church of Kilmeny; and, in consequence of their representations, Chalmers was translated, in 1815, to the Tron Church of Glasgow. And seldom, indeed, has so large a mass of society been so suddenly taken captive by the coming of an individual, whose only weapons were intellectual power and persuasion. In such a city, that had already been prepared for his favourable advent by the labours of such men as Balfour and McGill, a ready hearing was secured for the new preacher, and his eloquence did the rest. It was soon found by the higher and more intellectual portions of society, that evangelical religion was something very different from the un-ideal fanaticism or technical vulgarity with which it had been too often confounded; and the Tron Church of Glasgow was quickly crowded, not only by the *élite* of the city, but the most distinguished of England and Scotland, who carried abroad, wherever they went, the fame of the

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history of
this period.

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trans-
lated to
Glasgow.

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preacher; and, what was better still, of the doctrines he had preached. But it was not with his pulpit labours alone, or the renown they brought him, that Chalmers was contented. He must work as well as speak, and work with all his might; for with him theology was no abstract principle, but the life and soul of man labouring through time for those interests that shall extend through eternity, and which is best expressed by deeds of active toil and patient self-denial. Independently, therefore, of those spirit-shaking sermons with which he weekly electrified his hearers, and established for himself a European reputation upon which most minds would have contentedly reposed, his places of every-day labour were the squalid homes of the poor, the bedsides of the sick and dying, the parochial school, and the kirk-session, while his large intellect was busied with plans for the relief of indigence, and the encouragement of industrious poverty, and the extension of intellectual and religious education by the improvement of schools, and the building of churches. Such was Dr. Chalmers, the most eminent of orators, and withal the most active of Christian workmen; the most imaginative, and at the same time the most practical of intellects. Need we add, that even indolence itself was shamed and spurred into activity by such an example, and that with every year these circles were expanding, until the whole land was enveloped within their range!

The sub-
ject of
plurality
resumed

XXI. We have already adverted to those debates in the church, which were occasioned by the evil of plurality, coupled with that of non-residence; the question of plurality was now to be tried upon its own merits. This was occasioned by the appointment of Dr. M'Farlane to be Principal of the university of Glasgow, and, consequently, to the ministerial charge of the church of St. Mungo's in the same city, as both offices had been hitherto conjoined. The subject, which was earnestly discussed in the General Assembly of 1825, received additional interest from the powerful eloquence of Chalmers and Andrew Thomson, who advocated the necessity of disjoining such unions, on account of the supreme importance of the ministerial office, and the demand it made upon the whole time and energies of him who held it. Such, moreover, was now the ascendancy of the evangelical clergy,

that although this case of plurality was confirmed by a majority of twenty-six, the majority was obtained only by the eldership of the assembly, and not the ministers, among whom there was a preponderance of four votes for the abolition of all such conjunct offices in the church. So distinctly, also, was the public mind expressed upon this subject, that the Royal Commission, which was afterwards sent to visit the Scottish universities, reported upon these pluralities in the same spirit, and almost in the same terms. Even so early as 1826, however, when the question of plurality was agitated in the General Assembly, those doctrines concerning the authority of the state over the church were mooted, which finally led to the Disruption. At present, indeed, they seemed nothing better than a harmless hypothesis, which persons, conversant with the history and spirit of the Scottish church, might well afford to smile at; but they were found to be far otherwise than harmless sixteen years afterwards, when the hour of trial had arrived.

xxii. The next great event in the progress of our church was of a more pleasing character; for, instead of a controversy upon a religious question, which, terminate as it may, is always painful to the good of all parties, it was the recognition of a duty upon which all could agree. This was the great duty of introducing Christianity among heathen countries, that had so often been suggested and discussed, but so long delayed by the life-and-death contention which evangelical zeal had been obliged to wage against the lukewarmness of Moderatism. But the tide of conflict had now reached that successful point at which the foreign as well as home duties of Christian exertion could be taken into account, and the cause of missions, although so late, was at length successful. It is gratifying also to state, that this great work had for its most effective advocate no other than the leader of the Moderate section of the church—that very party by which every such proposal had hitherto been opposed and negatived. We allude to Dr. Inglis, whose religious faith and feelings were with evangelical truth, although his political leanings were on the side of Moderatism; and whose clear intellect could recognize a veritable Christian obligation, whether propounded by friend or enemy.

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Missionary
movement
of the
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Perceiving, so early as 1818, the imperative duty of sending the gospel to the heathen, he entered, with his characteristic energy and true-heartedness, into the work; became its champion in the General Assembly, and at length succeeded in making our India Mission not a mere sectarian, but a catholic undertaking, in which our church in its national and collective character was embarked. In 1829, the scheme was organized, a sufficient fund collected, and Dr. Duff sent to India as the accredited missionary of the Church of Scotland.

The Voluntary controversy.

XXIII. After this happy recognition of a duty so long delayed, a subject of controversy succeeded, in which both parties of our church suddenly found themselves at one, and compelled to contend side by side, instead of front to front. This was the Voluntary controversy, raised by that numerous party composed of Burghers and Anti-burghers, who had now coalesced under the name of the United Secession. In withdrawing from the church, they protested not against its doctrines or discipline, but against the corruptions of the former, and the laxity of the latter; and in becoming a separate party, it was with the avowed purpose of restoring both to their primitive integrity and efficiency. But the revolutionary principles of France, which, in politics, made so many parties impatient of restraint, and hostile to established authorities, found their way also into the church courts of the Secession, and imbued its members with such republican sentiments, as made them first call in question, and finally repudiate, that Establishment principle which their predecessors had never thought of abandoning. Their cry was now, not for the exemption of the church from state control, but for its entire separation from the state itself, and the necessity of its being self-supported as well as self-governed. In this case, kings, rulers, magistrates, had nothing to do with religion, except in their individual capacities: the people might not only adopt what faith they pleased, but let all faith shift for itself as it best could; while the state was only to stand still and look on, even though religion itself should expire, like a deserted pauper, for lack of nourishment. This was certainly a strange comment upon that text of promise given to the church

“Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers!” These doctrines were too favourable to the spirit of the day not to find a ready ear from the public; and the same ardour that was agitating for the reform bill, intruded itself into the sacred cause of religion, and laboured for the overthrow of church establishments, as well as merely political abuses. It was full time, therefore, that the church should step forward, and answer a challenge so loudly trumpeted: her rights, her very existence was at stake as an establishment; and upon the propriety and necessity of church establishments she accordingly took her ground, and answered her appellants. Into this debate, which was waged on either side with all the ardour of a personal interest, as well as a war of opinions, we have no purpose to enter. We only mention two circumstances that characterized the resistance of the church against this fierce onset of dissent-erism. One was the nature of the war, and the antagonist with which she had to do. Formerly, her enemies had been kings and governments, while the people were upon her side; but now she had to step forth in behalf of the rights of her ancient enemies against the people by whom they were assailed. It was that happy middle position between the extremes of Popish usurpation and Erastian subserviency, in which she would give to Cæsar what was Cæsar’s—nothing more, but nothing less. The second particular to which we call notice is, the ardour with which those very men threw themselves into the defence of the state’s rights, who afterwards forsook the advantages which these rights secured for them when the state, in return, demanded too much. They were the evangelical portion of the church, and they advanced into the fore-front of the battle, in spite of the new obloquy that assailed them as the enemies of the people, and obstacles of a great popular movement. It seemed necessary that they should thus show their hearty devotedness to the principle of church establishments, before they renounced its benefits when holier interests were at stake.

XXIV. It was not merely by argument, however, that the objections of the Voluntaries were to be repelled, for some of them, alas, were too well founded! What, for instance,

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Attempts
to modify
the evils of
patronage.

could the warmest friends of the Establishment answer to the fact, that unfit and unwelcome ministers might, and often had been thrust upon a parish, at the arbitrary will of ungodly patrons? And was it right, that while men had their choice in the veriest matters of every-day life, they should have none where their spiritual and eternal interests were at stake? Here the advocates of church establishments were posed. They dared not deny, and could not well palliate the evils which patronage had entailed; and this patronage was a consequence of state endowment, not only in the Church of Scotland, but in every church whatever. As the grievance had been of too long standing, was too strongly supported, and too closely interwoven with the whole constitution of the Establishment, to attempt its removal, either by demonstrations of its unfitness, or even an act of assembly, the friends of the church thought that the next best course was to attempt its modification, by giving full weight to the call of the people as well as the choice of the patron. This was perfectly constitutional; for the call, which, during the reign of Moderatism, had sunk into a mere empty formality, had originally a very different meaning: it was, that no minister should be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation. To restore it to its efficiency was now the great *desideratum*, not only for the vindication of the principle of church establishments in general, but the removal of what might still form a source of religious complaint, secession, and dissent. Overtures upon the subject, to that effect, were therefore laid before the General Assembly of 1832, but they were speedily dismissed by the Moderates, who clung to the doctrine of patronage as if it had been the very palladium of their political existence in the church. But it was not thus to be laid to rest; for, at the Assembly of the following year, not less than forty-five overtures—four times the number that had been sent on the previous occasion—were laid upon the table. The debate that followed was long, earnest, and eloquent, involving much close research into the early history of the Scottish reformation, in regard to the rights of the people in opposition to the claims of patronage; and two *motions*

were placed at issue upon its termination. That of the evangelical party, which was brought forward by Dr. Chalmers, proposed that the dissent of a majority of the heads of families in a parish should be efficacious in setting aside the presentee, unless the said dissent was found to be malicious or frivolous. The motion of the opposite party, which was laid before the Assembly by Dr. Cook, was, that the heads of families were competent to object, but that the presbytery should have power to try these objections, and decide whether they were well founded, or the contrary. The latter motion was carried by a majority of the eldership, as a preponderance of twenty clerical votes were in favour of the measure proposed by Dr. Chalmers. This, however, was but the last of a series of struggles that every year had been becoming weaker. In the Assembly of 1834, the question of patronage was again brought forward, and with an impressiveness which declared that this was to be its final trial. And such it proved to be. The motion, on this occasion, which was founded upon that of Dr. Chalmers on the preceding year, and tendered by Lord Moncrieff, proposed, that the disapproval of a majority of male heads of a family, being communicants, should be conclusive for the rejection of a presentee; the said rejecters being ready, if required, to declare, in presence of the presbytery, that they were influenced by no factious or malicious motive, but solely by a regard to the spiritual interests of the congregation and themselves. This motion was at last triumphantly carried by a majority of 184 to 138. This, too, was not the only success obtained by that party in the church so long depressed, and lately all but extinguished, but that now had become the predominating power. On the previous year, the churches that had been erected, and partly endowed by parliament, in the necessitous districts of the country, and especially in the Highlands, were recognised as parochial charges, and admitted to a full share of representation and authority in church courts. It was proposed, also, that the chapels of ease should be admitted to the same privilege; but here the Moderates demurred. They had cordially agreed to the emancipation of the new Highland charges; but the ministers of these chapels of ease had been

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electd by their congregations, and were imbued with the evangelical element; and it was thought that their admission into the General Assembly would ensure the ascendancy of the rising party. This was the more likely, as the proposal of Church Extension, so eloquently advocated by Dr. Chalmers, was now so acceptable with the public, that an immense increase of new chapels, to correspond with the increase of our population, might be speedily anticipated. The opposition of the Moderate party, however, was overruled by the obvious fact of church destitution; for, while only sixty-three chapels of ease had been erected during the course of a whole century, whose people had no representatives, and their ministers no voice in the government of the church, nearly 600 dissenting congregations had been formed in Scotland, while their number was rapidly increasing. It was full time to supplement this vast defect of church accommodation, as well as to extinguish this strange anomaly in the doctrine of Presbyterian parity; and accordingly, in the memorable Assembly of 1834, these chapels were also invested with all the rights and immunities of parochial churches. And soon were the forebodings of the Moderates verified. In one brief year after the passing of this Act, sixty-four new chapels of ease were built, or in progress of building. They were mere chapels of ease no longer; and the people were encouraged to go on in this good work of church extension, when they found that their ministers were no longer to be the mutes, nor themselves the *pariahs* of the national church.

**Character
of the Veto
Act.**

xxv. The right of a people to refuse an unacceptable presentee as their minister, notwithstanding the presentation of the patron, was now established. Theirs, indeed, was but a negative right, such as, in civilized society, is conceded to the weaker vessel in the most important step of her life: they could refuse, but they could not elect; and it was not impossible but that, in some cases, a collision must soon follow, between the reluctance or dislike of a congregation, and the paternal choice of the patron. And how was such a difficulty to be adjusted? Even at the best, the refusal of a parish was likely to be followed by a season of harassing contention or useless celibacy. We place the diffi-

in this homely form, that it may be intelligible to our simplest readers, and explanatory of the important consequences that followed. This Veto Act, as it was called, was all that could be accomplished at the period; it checked that oppression of patronage which it had vainly struggled to overthrow, and armed the people with the passive power of refusal, but not of active selection. It was a present and positive good, coupled with much future risk; but it was hoped that the advantages of the former would more than counterbalance the contingencies of the latter. But the experiment, even already, was to be severely tested; and the admirers of the Veto were soon to feel that half measures and compromises, often so perilous in mere earthly governments, are always so in the government of the church, where the distinction between good and evil is so express, and the duty to choose the one and eschew the other so sacred and authoritative.

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xxvi. The great place of trial was to be an obscure parish, somewhere in the south of Perthshire, called Auchterarder. In 1834 its minister died, and a presentation to the charge was given by the Earl of Kinnoull, the patron, to Mr. Robert Young, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. But when the time for moderating in the call arrived, this call was only signed by the earl's factor, and by two individuals, in a parish that contained upwards of three thousand souls; and to make the matter, if possible, still worse, the factor himself, who was the head and front of this call, was not a resident in the parish. In opposition to this faint whisper of a call, 287 members of the church, out of 330 persons entitled to vote, signed a record of dissent. The Presbytery, therefore, refused to sustain the presentation, upon which the presentee carried his appeal to the Synod; but, on their confirming the sentence of the Presbytery, it was carried to the supreme and last court, the General Assembly, in 1835; where the rejection of the call was finally confirmed by a large majority. Armed with this conclusive authority, the Presbytery of Auchterarder rejected the claim of Mr. Young to be minister of the parish, upon which rejection the patron and his presentee raised an action in the Court of Session against the Presbytery. The question was thus removed

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terarder.

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from a spiritual to a civil tribunal; and the reception of a presentee to the ministerial office, both on the part of church courts and people, declared to be a civil obligation. At the dictate of civil judges and lawyers, the ministers were bound to ordain, and the people to receive as their minister whatsoever person the patron might be pleased to present to them, let their repugnance or its causes be what they might. The Court of Session at the utmost, indeed, might decree the secularities of the benefice for the sole behoof of the rejected presentee; but to ordain a minister, and induct him to the cure of souls, was a strange office for jurisconsults and barristers! Even at the mildest, it was a gross violation of the whole spirit of the Union, in the front of which the inviolability of the Church of Scotland had been guarded, and the exemption of its church courts, in ecclesiastical matters, from the control of civil tribunals confirmed. But in spite of such considerations the case went onward. Let Mr. Young have the manse and stipend if he will; but no! that was not enough, for he must be ordained, and inducted into the pastoral charge of Auchterarder. After a protracted course of litigation, a final decision was given by the court on the 8th of March, 1838. It was not that the Presbytery, according to the tenor of the appellant's petition, should take him on trials, and, if found qualified, should be bound to admit him to office; for that conclusion would have been too startling to every Christian community, be their form of creed what it might. But they found that the Presbytery, by their refusal to induct Mr. Young, had acted to the hurt and prejudice of the pursuers illegally, and contrary to their duty, and to certain statutes, especially the Act of Queen Anne, by which the rights of patronage were confirmed. Armed with this authority, which was so cautiously guarded that it enforced nothing, the presentee's agent again demanded that he should be taken on trials; and, on their refusal, the members of Presbytery were threatened with liability to pecuniary damages. When matters had reached this crisis, the utmost excitement prevailed over the whole country, and appeals were made from every quarter to the General Assembly, calling upon them to vindicate the independence of the church from the interference of the civil

power. These appeals were heartily answered by a declaration of the Assembly, in which, while they acknowledged the exclusive right of civil courts over the civil emoluments of the church, they maintained the right of her spiritual courts to decide in all matters of doctrine, government, and discipline, under him who is the Head of the church; which right they would maintain and defend to the uttermost; and that they would enforce obedience to it upon all their office-bearers and members. In the meantime, permission was given to the parish of Auchterarder, now threatened with civil pains and penalties, to carry their appeal against the decision of the Court of Session to the House of Lords. This was done; and there, after long discussion, the sentence of the Court of Session was confirmed, and the petition of the Presbytery dismissed. The conduct of the Assembly of 1839, on receiving this sentence, was expressed by the motion of Dr. Chalmers on the subject, which was carried by a majority of 204, against 155. By this, it was decided that no further resistance should be offered to the claims of Mr. Young or the patron upon the emoluments of the benefice; but also, that the principle of Non-intrusion, as an integral and fundamental principle of the Church of Scotland, should not be abandoned or compromised. It was further moved and carried, that, for the avoiding of all collision between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, consistently with the duties they owed to the church, a committee should be formed to consider how this end might be best accomplished; and to confer, if need should be, with Government upon the subject.

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xxvii. The case of Auchterarder was thus disposed of, but it was only to give place to others, more trying and disastrous still. The first of these was the case of Lethendy. The minister of that parish having become old and infirm, the Crown was petitioned for the appointment of Mr. Clark as assistant and successor; to which assent was given; but, in taking steps for his ordination, a majority of the male heads of the congregation refused to receive him as their minister, and his appointment was accordingly set aside in terms of the Veto act. The parish having become vacant by the death of the minister, the Crown issued a new pre-

Case of
Lethendy.

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sentation in favour of Mr. Kessen, who was acceptable to the people ; and all being harmonious, nothing remained but to proceed to ordination and induction. Here, however, there was a sudden obstacle ; for, encouraged by the decision of the Auchterarder case, Mr. Clark obtained an interdict from the Court of Session, prohibiting the Presbytery of Dunkeld, in which the parish lay, from ordaining Mr. Kessen as minister. This interdict the Presbytery disregarded as illegal ; and, authorized by the commission of the General Assembly, they ordained Mr. Kessen on the 13th of September (1838). In consequence of this, Mr. Clark again applied to the Court of Session, by whose award the Presbytery was pronounced guilty of breaking the interdict, and summoned to appear before the bar of the court as culprits. They went, and were there subjected to a public and severe rebuke ; and warned, that a repetition of any such offence would be visited by a still heavier punishment. Thus, even in the most important of their spiritual functions, they must submit, through all their Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, to the paramount authority of the Court of Session !

**Case of
Marnoch.**

XXVIII. The affair of Marnoch succeeded. The minister of that parish, requiring an assistant, had employed Mr. John Edwards in that capacity ; but the latter, after full trial of three years, was so unacceptable to the congregation, that the minister was obliged to remove him. The parish became vacant in 1837, and no other than Mr. Edwards was appointed by the patron to succeed ! The presentation to that effect was laid before the Presbytery of Strathbogie, and a day was of course appointed to moderate in the call ; but when this call was presented, it was found to contain the signature of only one parishioner qualified to vote ; the other signatures of the patron, and three heritors, who were non-residents, being inscribed by proxy. But against this sheet of all but blank paper, a dissent was entered of one heritor, six elders, and two hundred and sixty-one heads of families, out of a roll of three hundred male communicants. What objection could be more express and emphatic ! And yet, not only did the presentee urge forward his claim, but he had also the Presbytery to second him ; and, after en-

deavouring to make out a charge of intriguing and cabal-
ling against the parishioners of Marnoch, they brought the
case before the synod of Moray, by whom the conduct of
the Presbytery was condemned as illegal, and they were
ordered to find the presentee disqualified, according to the
late rules of the church. In 1838, the case was brought,
by appeal of the Presbytery, before the General Assembly,
on the plea, that they wished to have the highest church
authority for the rejection of Mr. Edwards, to shelter
themselves from the civil consequences that might follow.
But the finding of the Assembly was unanimously against
the Presbytery, whose proceedings were reversed; and, in
obedience to the orders of that supreme court, they rejected
Mr. Edwards, whose presentation was now superseded by a
new one issued by the patrons, in favour of Mr. David
Henry. But, even yet, Mr. Edwards would not succumb.
Finding that the whole church was against him, by the
voice and sentence of all its ecclesiastical tribunals suc-
cessively, and that even patronage itself had forsaken him, he
at last had recourse to the Court of Session, from which he
obtained a decision interdicting Mr. Henry from presenting
himself to the Presbytery for ordination, and the Presby-
tery from taking steps for his induction. This was grati-
fying to the Presbytery of Strathbogie, as it enabled them
to return to their first movement; and they accordingly
voted for a delay of proceedings, until the matter in dispute
should be legally determined. Against this decision the
evangelical minority dissented, by an appeal to the Synod,
by whom the case was referred to the next General Assem-
bly. But, notwithstanding their prohibition of the Pres-
bytery of Strathbogie from taking further steps in the
admission of Mr. Edwards before the meeting of the follow-
ing Assembly, the Presbytery resolved to obey the Court
of Session, and to obey it in the most daring and defying
fashion. Such contumacy could not be allowed to pass
unnoticed, and the seven Strathbogie ministers were sus-
pended from their sacred office by sentence of the Assem-
bly's commission. Again these ministers had recourse to
the Court of Session, requesting them to remove this sen-
tence of suspension and prevent the verdict of the Assembly

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Revolt of
the Strath-
bogie pres-
bytery.

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Induction
at Mar-
noch.

from being published in their parishes, as well as other ministers from preaching in their churches, church-yards, or school-houses. Part of this, only, the Court of Session could do, and they did what they could: they closed the churches, churchyards, and school-houses against the entrance of the Assembly's ministers; but they could not prevent them from preaching in the open air, or in other places, and there announcing the sentence of the Assembly. The seven still continued their rebellion; and, not content with preaching, and dispensing the public rites of religion, notwithstanding the sentence of suspension, they took Mr. Edwards on trials, found him qualified, and at length ventured on his induction. This crowning deed of ecclesiastical disobedience was consummated on the 21st of January, 1841. The highways to the village of Marnoch were covered with snow, so as to be almost impassable; but, notwithstanding this obstacle, almost two thousand persons, from various quarters, repaired to the parish church to witness, with their own eyes, a deed, the reality of which they could not believe until they saw it fully accomplished. The suspended ministers came, attended by him to whom the care of the souls of these people was to be surrendered; they declared that they came in their ministerial authority as the Presbytery of Strathbogie—a part of the national church assembled in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ; and they refused to receive the protest of the parish against the admission of Mr. Edwards, and the right of the Presbytery to introduce him. This being done, the parishioners took their departure, and left the strangers from the neighbouring districts to witness the spectacle that followed. These shuddered to hear the rehearsal of that solemn formula of ordination, every article of which had been violated; and those vows of ecclesiastical obedience, every one of which had been already broken; and the profession of “desire of saving souls” uttered by one who no longer had a people to labour among or to care for. The four walls of that building, and its dreary echoes, were all that would be left to receive his labours, and attest the fulfilment of his promises.

xxix. Thus was the case of Marnoch settled, as far as oppressive power and violence could avail; and the

such cases been settled during the previous century. But, since that period, the religious spirit of Scotland had undergone a material change, and late controversies had excited a watchful attention to the subject of patronage in general ; so that the Marnoch intrusion, comparatively peaceful though it had been, excited a deeper odium in the public mind than even the most violent of the dragonnades during the Robertson ascendancy. While such was the popular voice, it could not be expected that the church would be silent. At the meeting, therefore, of the General Assembly's quarterly commission in March, a vote of sympathy with the parishioners of Marnoch was passed with only one dissenting voice. This was but a foretaste of what might be expected at the next meeting of the Assembly itself in May. There, accordingly, the seven suspended Strathbogie ministers were deposed, the settlement of Mr. Edwards declared to be null and void, and the Presbytery ordered to proceed to the induction of Mr. Henry. The opposite party were astounded at these proceedings, which they vainly attempted to prevent ; and, in their efforts to rally, they invoked the support of the state, as if their opponents had been rebels against the laws and constituted authorities. But, not content with this, they expressed their sympathy with the deposed ministers ; recognized them as ministers still, notwithstanding the sentence of the Assembly ; and gave them their countenance and aid in administering the rites of religion, and the holy communion. By this act of defiance, the church, as now constituted, was rent in twain, and the only question that remained for adjustment was—Which of the two shall be recognized as the Church of Scotland ? If this question merely implied a church established by law, it was easy to divine the conclusion, for state support and protection were more likely to await the subservient than the independent party. Still, it was necessary that the state should know the relative importance of either party, before the decision was made, and one of them thrown off. This was fully given by an extraordinary meeting of commission, which was held in the West Kirk of Edinburgh on the 25th of August. About twelve hundred ministers and elders assembled on this occasion ; and that

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Effects of
the Marnoch
decision.

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no further mistake should be made about their principles and purposes, a series of resolutions was proposed and unanimously passed, as the standards by which they were to be tested, whatever might be the issue. These resolutions, as might be expected, chiefly touched on the "freedom of the church from secular control in the exercise of the spiritual government and discipline committed to her by her divine Head," and that "no pastor shall be intruded on a congregation contrary to the will of the people."

Further
aggress-
ions.

xxx. In spite of these determined manifestations, the Moderate party, backed by the secular powers, continued their warfare of legal prosecutions, and interdicts became the order of the day; while petitions and complaints against the ministers of the Assembly's appointment, and those engaged in ordaining them, were granted by the Court of Session with great liberality. But more effectual still than all these, in drawing the controversy to its final issue, was the decision of the second appeal to the House of Lords in the case of Auchterarder. The Court of Session had decided that an action lay against the Presbytery in favour of Mr. Young for their refusal to ordain him, even although the temporalities of the benefice were left untouched by their refusal; and, on the appeal of the church to the House of Lords, the decision of the Court was confirmed. In the discussion which took place in that august House upon the occasion, no reference was made to the established laws of the Church of Scotland, or precedent quoted to justify its award: the sentence which they pronounced asserted the principle, that church courts, even in their spiritual functions, were subject to the coercion of the civil law. This decision of the highest court of the realm, from which there could be no appeal, decided the future course of the remonstrants. They could no longer abide in a church where continued resistance to such a principle would be rebellion, or compliance a deadly sin. The sentence that had gone forth was a warning to them, that it was now full time to arise and depart. Even yet, however, a last effort was to be made to prevent so direful a necessity. With this a circular, signed by thirty-two of the oldest and

respected ministers of the church, was issued, calling a meeting of their brethren throughout Scotland for a solemn conference upon the subject. "Without entering," they said, in reference to the late decision of the Lords, "into the legal merits or demerits of the judgment, its undoubted effect is to place us in a position where we may represent, with all deference to the legislature, that the specific statute rested on by the civil court, has now, for the first time, and in opposition to all former opinions, been so construed, as to place it in direct conflict with the constitution unalterably secured to the national church of this country. We can, therefore, present this alternative to the legislature, and crave their own decision upon it—whether they will destroy the constitution of the church, or remodel this particular statute—and so long as we have the faith of treaties and of coronation oaths for our securities, we may hope that the legislature will yet respect the privileges assigned sacredly and inviolably to our church, and which, both at the Revolution, and at the union of the kingdoms, were declared to belong to her, without any alteration, for ever." The meeting thus summoned, which will long be remembered in Scotland under its title of the Convocation, assembled in Edinburgh on the 17th of November, 1842. Four hundred and sixty-five ministers attended on the occasion, and the proceedings were of that solemn character which befitted so great a crisis. The diets continued from the 17th to the 24th, and the resolutions which passed, after much prayer, deliberation, and discussion, were to the following effect:— That the law established by the decision of the House of Lords in the Auchterarder case was incompatible with spiritual jurisdiction, and a subversion of the rights of the Scottish church; and that it was the duty of the church to terminate its connection with the State, unless the grievance was redressed. Failing this redress, they felt it to be their duty, and announced it as their determination, to abandon those civil advantages which the state had conferred on them, as ministers of the national church, and cast themselves on such provision as God in his providence may afford. After these express declarations, which were subscribed by the assembled ministers, the members retired to

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The Con-
vocation.

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the Convo-
cation.

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their own homes, and set their houses in order, as those who prepare for the worst.

Statesmen
hoodwink-
ed on the
subject.

xxxI. It might have been thought that a Government, and especially such a Government as that of Britain, which depends so much upon public opinion, would have taken this warning to heart, even though at the last hour. But our rulers were blinded by the misrepresentations of those upon whose testimony they relied in the management of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs. It was industriously represented to them at the commencement of the movement, that its leaders were mere factious demagogues, whose voices, when the Scottish mind had recovered its wonted coolness, would be unheard or unheeded. But, when subsequent affairs made it apparent that these men comprised among their ranks the soundest, wisest, and best of the country, the charge assumed a different form; and it was alleged that they were confident in this superiority, and thought to overawe the Government, or set it at defiance. Then came the startling event of the Convocation, in which that assembled array of clergy had declared, with every assurance of which language is capable, and every sanction which religion can bestow, that the laws now in force against the church they could not conscientiously obey; and that, if persevered in, they must abandon a church, in which they could no longer preside and worship with the testimony of a good conscience. But even these declarations were set at nought by their maligners, who represented this Convocation as a last desperate effort, after which, all would be still; and that, when it came to the final argument of pounds, shillings, and pence, of manse, glebe, and stipend, they would suddenly obtain new light upon the subject, and become as acquiescent as the most arbitrary statesmen could desire. Such were the representations that were industriously sent from Edinburgh to head-quarters, and upon these our statesmen acted; so that the last lingering hope of the church was extinguished. Nothing now remained but that the subscribers at the Convocation should implement those solemn promises which they had made to their country and to God.

xxxII. The day at length arrived, in which it was to be

tried whether these pledges would be redeemed or not. It was the opening of the General Assembly on the 18th of May; and Edinburgh was crowded, not merely with the aristocracy of the land, who had repaired thither, as they were wont, to do honour to the representative of royalty in the person of the Lord High Commissioner, but with persons of every grade, and from every part of Scotland, whose hopes or fears were wound up to the uttermost upon the events which that day might bring forth. Would, then, a disruption of the church take place in very deed? "No," said many boldly; "their hearts will fail them at the last moment, and the threatened division will be but a paltry secession: not forty will go out, not twenty, perhaps, not even ten or twelve!" On the other side, however, there was still no token of wavering; and three days previously, they had held a meeting in Edinburgh, to decide, not upon the propriety of their withdrawal from the church, for that was already settled, but upon the precise time and occasion on which it should take place. And these, indeed, were not far to seek or difficult to find; for, in consequence of the rent which had already taken place in several of the country parishes, there were double returns of commissioners to the Assembly from twelve different Presbyteries; another Presbytery was disfranchised by an interdict; and many members were also interdicted from taking their places in the Assembly, through the overbearing influence of the Moderate party, backed by "the law of the land." It was evident, therefore, that they could neither recognize the validity of a court so constituted, nor partake in its proceedings; but, on the contrary, must protest, and withdraw at the commencement; and this they accordingly resolved to do.

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Assembly
of 1843.

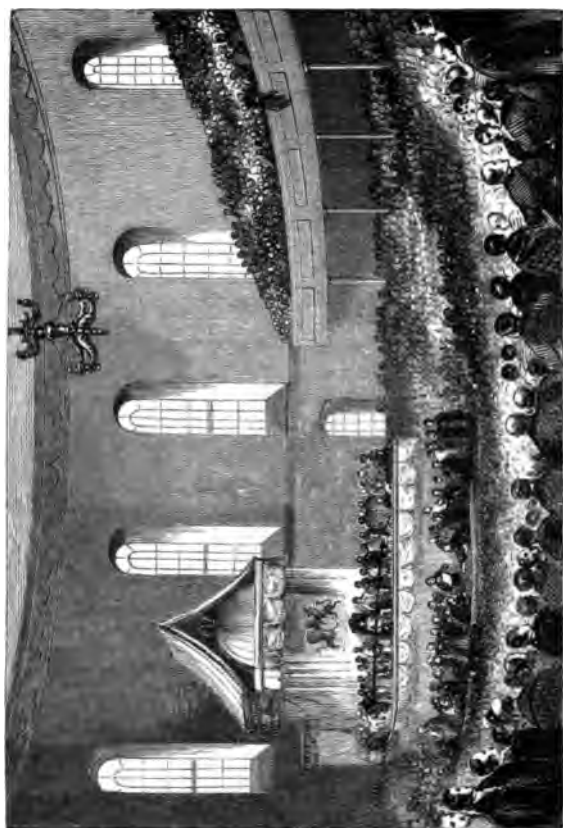
xxxiii. At length the levee of the Commissioner was over; the usual religious rites in the venerable cathedral of St. Giles', which usually prefaced the opening of the Assembly, were ended; and through a vast and impatient, but silent crowd, the procession repaired to the church of St. Andrews, where this important church court was to be constituted. The meeting was opened by Dr. Welsh, the Moderator of the last Assembly, with prayer; but when the business of the house should have been announced, the moment of

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Departure
from the
Assembly.

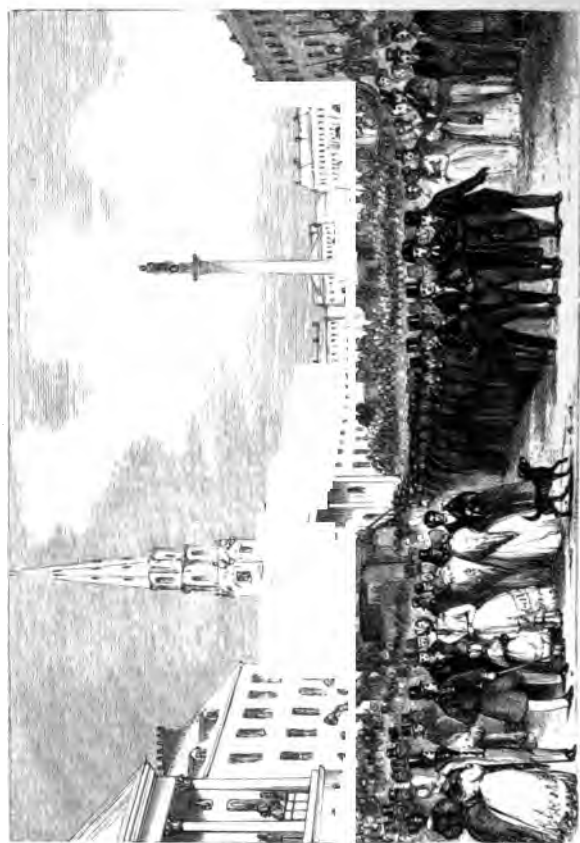
action had arrived. Again Dr. Welsh stood up, and, amidst a dead stillness of expectation, thus addressed the house: "According to the usual form of procedure, this is the time for making up the roll; but, in consequence of certain proceedings affecting our rights and privileges—proceedings which have been sanctioned by her Majesty's Government, and by the legislature of the country; and more especially in respect that there has been an infringement on the liberties of our constitution; so that we could not now constitute this Court without a violation of the terms of the union between Church and State in this land, as now authoritatively declared; I must protest against our proceeding further. The reasons that have led me to this conclusion are fully set forth in the document which I hold in my hand, and which, with permission of the House, I shall now proceed to read." He read the protest, and then slowly withdrew,—but not alone. He formed but the head of a procession that gathered at every step, while benches were emptied, and huge vacancies formed in the silent astonished crowd, in consequence of that solemn exodus. And foremost went the great champions of the movement, men whose reputations were so committed to this self-denying step, that they could not act otherwise. But when the ministers of the rural parishes followed; men still comparatively unknown to the world; men who might still have abode within their peaceful manses, where the voice of reproach would not have reached them, but who now went forth, each in the spirit of the patriarch, when he rose up at the call of God, although he knew not whither; it was then that the most selfish of their traducers were compelled to feel that there is a reality and a power in conscience which hitherto they had been unable fully to estimate, and upon which they had persisted to miscalculate to the last.

xxxiv. In the meantime, the living mass that waited on in the street, and filled every house-window from base to summit, was a vast fever of impatience. Every eye was fixed upon the gate of St. Andrew's Church, and every tongue was prompt with the question, "Will they come?" "When will they come?" The procession at last emerged from the edifice; and as soon as the front ranks appeared,



Reading the Protest at Edinburgh, 1843.

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composed of the honoured and beloved of Scotland, a thunder-peal of irrepressible admiration from thousands of voices, welcomed their coming. They had, then, in truth redeemed their promises, and in such numbers! They must constitute a General Assembly elsewhere; and the place had already been prepared. This was a building, or rather pile of buildings, that had been designed by the architect after the fashion of a Moorish palace; and in the chief hall of this singular Alhambra, capable of containing 3000 persons, which had been filled with an expectant multitude from an early hour, the dissentient ministers and elders solemnly proceeded to the great national work of constituting a Free Church of Scotland. Dr. Chalmers was elected Moderator. "We now," he said in his opening address, after stating the claims which they had made upon the legislature, and the manner in which these claims had been rejected, "We now make a higher appeal from our constitution, which has been disregarded, to our conscience, which tells us that the ecclesiastical ought not to be subject to the civil power, in things spiritual. We are, therefore, compelled, though with great reluctance, and deep sorrow of heart, to quit the advantages of the British establishment, because she has fallen from her original principles; in the hope that we shall be suffered to prosecute our labours in peace, on the ground of British toleration. These are the principles that have occasioned the movements of this day, and brought us together on the present occasion." Office-bearers were elected, and the regular business of a General Assembly was commenced and carried onward, as if no interruption had occurred. In no other nation, perhaps, could such a change have been so conducted. It was a change in which the whole land was interested, and upon which the whole land looked on in breathless anticipation either of hope or fear. And yet, not a blow dealt, not a hand raised, not a menace uttered; what a strange contrast to the great popular revolutions of France, or even of England! These harmonious sittings continued from the 18th to the 30th of May, after which, the ministers returned to homes that were no longer theirs, for they no longer held the profitable position of ministers of the Established Church.

The Free
Church
consti-
tuted.

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Proceed-
ings of the
Establish-
ment As-
sembly.

Before they departed it was necessary to subscribe a deed of Demission, to be transmitted to the other Assembly, certifying "that the benefices held by such of the said ministers, or others adhering to this Assembly, as were incumbents of benefices, are now vacant, and the said parties consent that the said benefices shall be dealt with as such." This deed bore the signatures of 474 ministers, who thus voluntarily sacrificed what they had been taught to love and value, because the highest of all duties demanded the sacrifice.

xxxv. It is now time to return to the other Assembly, thus stripped, in a few moments, of nearly half their members, and scarcely believing the event to be real, although it had been so often promised. They were like mariners over whose deck a mighty surge has swept, and carried away their best and bravest; and with diminished numbers they must now confront the tempest, and work the reeling vessel into port as they best can. Their first step was to erase every trace and token of the departed; and the work of rescinding went on with such alacrity, as, in a few days, annihilated the changes of years. And first, the deposed ministers of Strathbogie were replaced in their former standing, and the sentence of deposition declared to be null and void from the beginning. The veto law was dismissed still more summarily, and without the formality of a vote. Then came the parliamentary churches, the chapels of ease, and the churches of the Associate Synod that had returned to the communion of the Establishment; and the ministers of these three different kinds of churches, who had been admitted to a full share of ministerial privileges, were thrown back into that anomalous suffragan position from which they had been but lately released. As if to make amends, however, for such a stern sentence upon one portion of their brethren, an act of mercy was extended to another; for the ministers that had been presented to reclaiming congregations, and refused upon that plea, had their compulsory settlements confirmed; while others, who had been sentenced to deposition for immoral practices, had their sentences rescinded. Another duty still remained. It was to answer the protest of the Free Assembly, in the disruption itself was embodied. Most unfitti

that such reasons as it contained should go forth to the world without refutation; and a committee was appointed to search and sift this document to the uttermost, and draw up such a reply as would silence all further gainsaying. The duty was boldly undertaken; but although nearly nine years have elapsed, still the answer is not forthcoming. Three answers, indeed, were prepared, but none of them was deemed satisfactory; and there the matter has rested even until now.

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xxxvi. As may easily be surmised, the difficulties that surrounded the Free Church at its commencement, were of no ordinary character. Hitherto, when a secession from the national church had occurred, its commencement had been upon a small and simple scale. Two or three clergymen, awakened to a sense of the corruptions of the church, whether real or imaginary, had withdrawn from the Establishment, and erected chapels of their own, which were soon filled by a congenial auditory: the cause gradually expanded, the congregations multiplied, and the growth of difficulties was attended by a correspondent growth of experience and resources. It was the regular progress of nature going onward from infancy to youth, and from youth to manhood, gathering strength and capability as it went onward. Such was the progress of Independency and Methodism in England, and of the Secession and Relief bodies in Scotland, which commenced with little communities, who had few difficulties to encounter, in the first instance, beyond the erection of a meeting-house, and collecting a provision for the minister. But, in the case of the Free Church, the whole of this process, hitherto recognized as part of the established law of progress, was reversed. For it was the departure of ministers in hundreds, and their adherents in myriads: it was the birth of untried and unexperienced infancy, with the full growth, and duties, and difficulties of matured manhood. Churches were to be erected, and at once, not only in every district, but, if possible, in every parish of Scotland, and full provision made for their support. The duties of home evangelization and education were to be conducted upon a more ample and effective scale than ever. And, in addition to these, the

Early difficulties of the Free Church.

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XXXII.**

The difficulties surmounted.

schemes of the church, that had for their object the conversion of the heathen in the four quarters of the world, were to be carried on as if no interruption had occurred, or failure of resources been dreaded. But even these difficulties, that might have appalled the stoutest, had already been contemplated; and, before the opening of the Assembly, six hundred and eighty-seven associations had been formed throughout the country for raising funds antipatory of the Disruption; so that, when the first Free Church Assembly met at Tanfield, Dr. Chalmers was enabled to announce to them an encouraging fact—it was that the munificent sum of £232,347 had been raised by the two months' labours of these associations in Scotland. But it was not upon Scotland alone that the means of setting the vast machinery into motion were to be dependent. It would, indeed, have been an ominous fore-clouding of the cause, as well as a foul shame to Protestant Christendom at large, had the self-devotedness exhibited in Scotland been allowed to pass without sympathy. From the Presbyterians of Ireland, therefore, and from London, and from America, large sums were transmitted, so that the first year's income of the church amounted to £366,719. This was an extraordinary effort at the commencement, and as such it was reckoned in the worst acceptance of the term. It was deemed by some to be the struggle, not merely of commencing, but departing existence; a spasmodic throe, that would be followed by a total collapse. But, in spite of these predictions, where the wish was father to the thought, the cause went steadily onward from year to year, although the extraordinary supplies from abroad were discontinued. Churches and schools were built, and missionaries not only employed at home, but sent to various quarters of the world; and still the supply of resources was found equal to the emergency. In Scotland, there are now 764 churches, and 80 preaching stations, for the regular support of whose ministers the Sustentation Fund shows an amount of £87,590, independently of the aid afforded by the wealthier congregations to their own ministers, in addition to their dividend from common fund. The number of schools established throughout Scotland by the Free Church, amounts to 6

by 687 schoolmasters, whose joint income amounts to £13,006, independent of the fees of the pupils, and Government aid afforded to 101 of these schools in the form of annual grants; and it is calculated that 73,000 of our Scottish youth receive their education at the hands of the Free Church. Although so many churches, schools, and manse, have been already built, the necessity of additional or continual exertion, in this department, is still felt; and, therefore, the building fund for the year 1850-51, amounts to £54,670. For foreign missions, £5900 was collected; for the Jewish mission, £4139; and for the home mission, £3941. Altogether, the contributions of 1850-51, to the treasury of the Free Church, amount to £247,732; while their steadiness from the commencement has given them the character of a permanent national revenue.

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XXXII.

Present
state of
the Free
Church.

xxxvii. The further history of the Free Church still remains to be written. As yet, it is in infancy; and from year to year it has been compelled to feel its way upon a new path, and among difficulties where the experience of the past could give little direction. Has its erection been commenced upon too broad a basis? Will the zeal of its people be likely to continue, not only for the present, but for the coming generations? And will it persevere in holding that principle in favour of church establishments, with which it abandoned the Establishment itself, when further continuance in its communion was no longer possible? Such are the questions of the present day, but to futurity alone belongs their solution; so that all surmises, for the present, would be presumptuous. A more grateful subject of contemplation is, to turn to the good which it has accomplished and is still accomplishing. And not the least of this is, the reaction which it has produced upon the Establishment itself. The latter has seen its error and repented; and the tokens of this are to be found in greater purity of doctrine, and zeal in preaching; a more faithful discharge of clerical duty; and greater strictness of discipline in her church courts. Let this but go on, and the time may come, when both parties will find that they are at one, and may combine without abandonment of principle. And were such a union to take place of two churches so taught and purified,

**BOOK
XXXII.****Scanty
population
of Scot-
land.**

they would constitute such a national church as Scotland has never yet witnessed, while the pain of separation would be forgot, and its disasters overpaid.

xxxviii. In reading the history of Scotland, from the earliest to the present period, it is impossible not to be struck with the amount and greatness of its achievements, compared with the scanty number of its population. Can all this, we are apt to ask, have been accomplished by the smallest of all the kingdoms of Europe? And yet, such is the case. At the union, the population of Scotland was estimated at 1,050,000 inhabitants; a population that was ready to fight over again the battle of national independence, that had lasted for centuries, if need should be. In 1755, or nearly fifty years after the union, it had increased to not more than 1,265,380. Even when more prosperous times succeeded, the increase went slowly onward; for we find that the census of Scotland amounted—

In the beginning of 1801, to	1,599,068
„ „ 1811, „	1,805,688
„ „ 1821, „	2,093,456.

Here was a very slow progress, showing no greater increase than from 12 to 15 per cent., while that of England, during the same period, was from 14 to 18. The ratio of population was not greatly amended during the period of unexampled peace and prosperity that followed; for we find that it was—

In the beginning of 1831,	2,365,114
„ „ 1841,	2,620,184.

Here the increase, in the first instance, was not more than 13, and, in the last, only 10·78 per cent., while the census of England shows an increase, in the former case, of 16·24, and, in the latter, of 14·58 per cent. Even the late census of 1850-51, when fully made up, will, in all likelihood, give about three millions, and no more, as the full number of the inhabitants of Scotland. For this slow increase of our population, as compared with the other countries of Europe, various causes have been assigned: such as, the natural sterility of the soil, and the check upon the subdivision of land, owing to the superior strictness of Scottish

entails. But a still stronger cause than all is to be found in that tendency to emigration, which, from the earliest period, constituted a most distinguished feature of the Scottish character. The intelligence and energy of the people were too great for their limited resources, and, therefore, while they battled to the death for the independence of the country that gave them birth, they were equally ready to forsake it, for a time at least, and go forth upon adventure wherever fortune might call them. It was for this that, during the middle ages, they were to be found in most of the armies of Europe, achieving the prize of valour wherever war was at the hottest, and planting in foreign countries those many illustrious families that still look proudly towards Scotland as the land of their fathers. It was for this also, that, when promiscuous warfare was of less account, they became equally adventurous merchants, and prospered wherever they went. At the period when James VI. went to England, and when his countrymen were impatient to regain the prophetic stone of Scoone, which was still happily awaiting its destiny within the stately cathedral at Westminster, even then, we are informed, that the chief traffic of the remote kingdom of Poland was in their hands, and was managed by at least 9000 Scottish travelling merchants or pedlars. And that this spirit is in nowise abated in the present day, England, the Continent, and our numerous colonies can well attest; while the long-established success of Scottish emigrants in every land has given their successors a *prestige* which seldom fails of self-fulfilment. It is not, therefore, within half-peopled Scotland that we are to look for her population, but over the world at large; and there they can exclaim, in a more triumphant tone than that of the unfortunate Trojan exile—

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Causes of
this scanti-
ness.

—“Quis jam locus, ...
Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?”

xxxix. While so much has been thus done by Scotsmen abroad, it is equally gratifying to turn our attention to those at home, by whose industrial efforts the authors of our Statistic History are enabled to make the proud boast, that “they now present not merely a new statistical account,

BOOK
XXXII.Scottish
agricul-
ture.

but, in a great measure, the statistical account of a new country." During the wars with England, and the unsettled state of the kingdom, for half a century after the Union, Scotland was, perhaps, the least and the worst cultivated country in Europe, even making full allowance for the natural disadvantages of its soil, so that, to make its people agriculturists, was to impose upon them a wholly new character. But even here, their national pertinacity of purpose, and fertility of intellectual and moral resources, have so greatly prevailed, that Scottish agriculture is now reckoned the best in Europe. The very war which they were compelled to wage with rock and heath before they could change such a surface into soil, and wring from it the means of subsistence, only braced them for greater effort, and the result has been, that her three millions of the present day are incomparably better fed than was the half of that number, which comprised her population, only fifty years ago. Our limits do not permit us to enter into those statistical details by which a fact so generally known can be fully illustrated; we can merely point to the effect, and allude to the difficulties that were to be surmounted before it was accomplished.

Past and
present
agricul-
ture.

XI. As this transition of the national character was so great, a considerable time had to elapse, and much reluctance to be overcome, before it could be fully effected. Many, therefore, can well remember the squalor and poverty of farming operations, and their imperfect results in the earlier part of this century, as compared with the high state of excellence which they have now attained. The farm-house was generally a hovel one story high, built of loose stones, and covered with thatch; the dung-hill stood against the front wall, or before the door; and the few acres by which it was surrounded were partitioned with walls of sod, or of stones gathered at random, and piled up without care or method; while the fields they enclosed were imperfectly ploughed and manured, and covered with scanty crops. The same places are now distinguished by fair mansions and commodious offices, whose owners can afford to pay double the rent of their predecessors, and yet live in a style of comfort of which their pre-

decessors were ignorant. In this course of progress, Scottish farming had certain advantages to counteract the sterility of the soil which our richer neighbours of the south did not enjoy. Among these may be mentioned the absence of tithes, and, in most cases, of poor's rates, by which the agricultural industry of England has been so painfully encumbered. Another material advantage of the Scottish farmers has arisen from the nature of their leases, which, being of reasonable length, afford every stimulus to industrious exertion and improvement. In commencing this course of improvement, also, the Scots had no previous prejudices or theories to overcome, and therefore started to the career without those hereditary impediments which have so often retarded the agriculture of their neighbours. Hence their ready substitution of one mode of operation for another, when it promises better results, and their application of the resources of chemical science to further the operations of nature. Even the smallness of capital has had its advantages, from the superior thrift which it has introduced into Scottish farming; so that the constant aim of our agriculturists is the utmost application of human industry and skill, combined with the greatest economy of expenditure. This is at once apparent in the arrangements of an English and a Scottish farm. In the former, while an unwieldy apparatus is still in use, requiring a proportionable superfluity of human and animal labour, in the latter, the same results are obtained by two-horse ploughs, one-horse carts, and machinery. The introduction of the last-mentioned agency, also, was creditable to the good sense of our Scottish husbandmen; for instead of occasioning a machine riot, as was too often the case in England, the machine, whether moved by horse-power or steam, that could accomplish the work of twenty or a hundred hands, was received with welcome, and adopted into general use. The same economizing spirit has likewise discarded from our Scottish farming those luxuriant hedges which, however pleasing to the eye, are found to require sustenance from the soil as much as fruit or grain; and their places are supplied by stone fences of strong and durable masonry. The produce of the soil thus skilfully obtained, has also its

BOOK XXXII. progress facilitated to the market by superior means of conveyance; for, since the formation of the Board of Works in Scotland, 1186 miles of road have been constructed, and more than 1000 bridges.

Commerce
and manu-
factures.

XLI. While such has been the improvement of our national agriculture, that of commerce has been still more remarkable—a superiority that has been occasioned not merely by the necessities of our less productive soil, and the advantages of our insular position, but the superior inventiveness and enterprize which the pursuits of commerce are calculated to call forth, and the greater rewards which they have in store for the successful candidate. While agriculture may double the rental of the landholder, and afford a competence for life to him who has nothing more than a pair of strong arms, and willingness to use them, merchandize may not only multiply a capital twenty-fold, but absolutely create one for the penniless but persevering adventurer. This was an argument which the Scottish mind was not slow to appreciate; and the result has been the extension of our national commerce, and the multiplication of our manufactories, in a ratio greatly beyond that of England itself. In proof of this, it is enough to state, that, in 1841, the number of persons employed in textile manufactures alone, amounted to 181,738, nearly equal to a third of those so employed in England, Wales, and the British islands. The following brief table of the number of families employed in, and dependent upon, agricultural and commercial pursuits in Scotland, will show the rate of increase in both, and the growing preponderance of the latter over the former:—

	1811.	1821.	1831.
Agriculture,	125,799	130,699	126,591
Trade and Manufactures,	169,417	190,264	207,259

XLII. The history of a nation should consist of something more than the mere heroes it has produced, and the battles it has won: it should also narrate the progress of improvement, and bring into full view, and with befitting distinction, the men by whose silent labours that improvement has been mainly effected. Such is, especially, the duty of the Scottish historian in regard to the present century;



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and, with brief notices of this nature, we now bring the narrative to a close. BOOK
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XLIII. It is gratifying to find how much the giant power of steam, by which land and sea have been equally subdued, has been indebted to the penetrating and persevering intellect of Scotland. And here, the first name that occurs is that of James Watt, "the man whose genius discovered the means of multiplying our natural resources in a degree, perhaps, even beyond his own stupendous powers of calculation and combination, bringing the treasures of the abyss to the summit of the earth; giving to the feeble arm of man the momentum of an Afrite; commanding manufactures to arise as the rod of the prophet produced water in the desert; affording the means of dispensing with that time and tide which wait for no man, and of sailing without that wind which defied the commands and threats of Xerxes himself."* He was born at Greenock in the beginning of 1736; and his labours and researches, which extended over an active life of eighty-four years, developed those latent powers of steam that have been applied to such a diversity of purposes. We already had occasion to mention one attempt; namely, the application of steam to the purposes of navigation, which, after a series of experiments, was thrown aside. The idea, however, was eagerly caught by Mr. Henry Bell, the author of a thousand projects, of which the success of only one might well console him for the failure of nine hundred and ninety-nine. Originally a carpenter in Glasgow, and, having become acquainted with the experiments at Dalswinton, and on the Forth and Clyde Canal, he appears to have taken no steps for the promotion of navigation by steam, until he became proprietor, in 1808, of a hotel in the village of Helensburgh, opposite Greenock. Already, Fulton, the American engineer, had started a steamboat upon the Hudson; and Bell, who had corresponded with him, and sent him plans of the Dalswinton steam-vessel, conceived that he might be better employed in applying the discovery to the benefit of his own country. At the beginning of 1812, after having made various models, and at length hit upon

Steam.—
James
Watt.

Steam na-
vigation.—
Henry Bell.

* Sir Walter Scott, Introduction to the *Monastery*.

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one that satisfied him, he gave orders for the construction of a vessel of forty feet keel, and ten feet six inches beam, which he fitted with engine and paddles, and called the Comet. It was launched on the Clyde, and began to ply regularly between Helensburgh and Glasgow; and although the superior advantages of this mode of conveyance at first experienced a selfish opposition from the proprietors of the boats and coaches, they were soon so justly appreciated, that other men, scientific and practical engineers, with better opportunities than Bell, followed the example; so that, by the year 1816, the Clyde had become a great thoroughfare of steamboats, and the number of travellers had increased almost thirty-fold. Thus, the poor innkeeper of Helensburgh, who lived till 1830, had not only the honour of introducing the practice of steam navigation into Europe, but the satisfaction of witnessing its universal adoption.

Deep sea
steam na-
vigation.—
David
Napier.

XLIV. After river and frith navigation had been found so swift, comfortable, and safe, an impatient desire was felt to enjoy the same advantages upon the ocean itself, and in despite of its storms and tempests. But could the strange form and shallow draught of a steamer, and the mechanical character of its working, be adapted to such trials? Another sagacious and enterprising Scot was already trying the experiment. The voyage from Glasgow to Belfast was at that time performed by sailing packets, and frequently occupied a whole week. In one of these packets, shortly after the introduction of steam vessels upon the Clyde, the eccentricities of a young passenger to Belfast in the middle of winter, puzzled all on board. He was continually stationed upon the bows of the vessel, apparently impatient for the coming of a storm: and ever and anon, as the spray became more plentiful, and the waves rose higher, he asked impatiently, "Is this sea a rough one?" At length he was gratified to his heart's desire, for such a storm came on, that the captain assured him he had never faced a worse night; upon which the well-drenched youth retired to his cabin, exclaiming, with an air of triumph, "I think I can manage, if that be all!" This singular person, who puzzled the captain more than did the storm itself, was Mr. Napier, the engineer, whose attention had been

with the subject of deep-sea navigation by steam, and who was now trying, by personal observation, the nature and amount of the obstacles with which it would have to contend. The consequence was, that in 1818 he established a steam vessel to run between Greenock and Belfast, and on the following year, another between Holyhead and Dublin; and a voyage, which often occupied seven days, was now accomplished in nine hours. England, Ireland, and Scotland, after this, became the *united* empire in the strictest sense of the term; access to the continent, thus made of easy swift transit, rapidly followed; and at length our most remote colonies were linked to the mother country by steam vessels and post-office packets. And while Scotland had thus the high distinction of commencing ocean navigation by steam, and not only so, but of carrying it to perfection through the enterprise and perseverance of Napier, the share of our country in the application of the same powerful agency to land travel was of no trivial amount. So early as the year 1758 or 1759, the idea of propelling carriages by means of a steam-engine, the piston of which should communicate motion to the wheels by the intervention of a crank, was suggested to Watt by his friend Robison, at that time a student in the university of Glasgow. Although Watt, in one of his patents in 1784, described a scheme which he had formed in consequence for a steam-carriage, he did not carry it into execution: this, however, was attempted by William Symington, who had so large a share in the first experiments of steam navigation; and in 1786 he exhibited in Edinburgh the model of a steam carriage adapted for travel upon common roads. These were hints productive of important consequences; for, after various attempts upon common highways, these carriages were tried upon tram-ways, and finally, but after a long interval, upon the improved railway.

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Land travelling by steam.

XLV. The profession of an engineer, which requires such inventive power, combined with profound, exact calculation, and untiring perseverance, seems particularly congenial to the national character of Scotland; so that, in addition to those men who have been already mentioned, many other Scotsmen came forward during the close of the eighteenth,

Scottish
civil en-
gineers.

**BOOK
XXXII.****David
Hume.**

tyrs. Or, if we would inquire into its fruits, we shall find them, in the sharp intellects of its peasantry, exercised so thoroughly upon the doctrines of their national creed and form of worship, that they were able to nonplus or refute the learned bishops who were sent to convert them to Episcopacy, and to give a reason for every point of the faith that was in them. At length, one intellect stepped forth that had cultivated metaphysics as a separate science, and for its own sake, whose speculations arrested the attention, and called forth the wonder and admiration of the reflective throughout Europe. Need we add to this the name of David Hume, the original hierophant of modern scepticism, with whose profound speculations, and all but irrefragable sophistries, every form of European infidelity has ever since continued to be imbued? But his challenge quickly summoned rival intellects into the field, and the same country which produced the bane, has also furnished the antidote; so that, while Beattie and Campbell arrested the irreligious tendency of his arguments, the writings of Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Brown, have rescued our Scottish metaphysics from the false bias which it had received, and turned it into its proper direction. To-day, therefore, the metaphysical intellect of Scotland is devoted, as at first, to metaphysics in its relation and subserviency to theology; and its chief warfare is against the neology and pantheism with which Germany has attempted to corrupt, that it may finally destroy our common Christianity.

**Scottish
Utilitarianism.**

XLVII. In the foregoing statement, it will at once be perceived, that the intellect of Scotland, in its general character and present condition, is not contented with speculation for its own sake. Instead of this, the *cui bono?* forms the beginning or the end of every theory; and unless it can sustain this test, it is thrown aside as a useless toy, let it be as showy and alluring as it may. Thus it fares with geometrical science, with physics, and with metaphysics; and a conclusion is nothing, unless it has a practical bearing either for time or eternity. In this way, Scotland is strictly the head-quarters of Utilitarianism. The same stern principle of valuation is applied to the pursuits of literature in general, and especially to the study of Latin and Greek. At the time when

these languages formed not only the great depositaries of knowledge, but the vehicles of thought in the communication of individuals and nations, Scotland stood pre-eminent; and while Boece, Andrew Melvil, and Patrick Adamson, were renowned in the front rank of the classical scholars of the period, George Buchanan stood alone; so that, to find his equal, we are still obliged to go back not only to Rome itself, but to the Augustan period of its literature. This high distinction the scholarship of Scotland continued to maintain, until it had learned more than Greece and Rome could teach, and was able to give it full expression in its own language, after which the acquirement of Latin and Greek was permitted to sink to its proper level. The utility of these languages had, in a great measure, passed away; and, therefore, while they still retained an undue pre-eminence in the universities of England and the Continent, our Scottish colleges and schools only imparted as much of them as sufficed for general intellectual training, and for the purposes of scientific nomenclature. Hence it is, that the classical attainments of our living scholars, so far from being able to match with those of Oxford, would take but an inferior place upon a form in Eton or Westminster school, while, in philological erudition, they are but the humble pupils of the profound linguists of Germany.

BOOK
XXXII.Classical
learning.

XLVIII. In the important literary department of historical writing, Scotland, for a considerable period, lay dormant. And the causes of this it is not difficult to discover. Edward I., in his merciless attempts to eradicate every trace of Scottish independence, carried away, or destroyed, its records and national monuments; so that, when John de Fordun, in the fourteenth century, endeavoured to revive the history of his country, all that existed for the purpose was a few fragments and traditionary remembrances, scattered not only over Scotland, but England and Ireland, which he was obliged to gather and join together as he best could. Such was the *Scotichronicon*, the only history of Scotland, at a time when the monastic literature of England was rich in historic tales and chronicles. Bower, Wyntoun, Mair, Boece, and Buchanan, successively fol-

Historical
writing.Scottish
historians.

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lowed, but all of them were more or less impeded in the task by the want of accredited documents. It was not, therefore, until a recent period that the Scots distinguished themselves in this department; and their attempts, instead of being confined to their own, were devoted to other countries. But this commencement was a splendid one; and, while Robertson shed a flood of light over the great awakening of Europe, by his histories of America and Charles V., Hume became the historian of England—a proud eminence, which he may be said still to retain, notwithstanding his occasionally perverted views and defective information. Nor has Scotland been lost sight of in this revival; for one of the distinguished labours of Robertson was a *History of Scotland during the reigns of Mary and James VI.*, which was published in London so early as the beginning of 1759. The high reputation of this work directed the general attention to our country during the most critical period of its existence; and, when this important object had been fully secured, another eminent writer stepped forward, by whom the characters of its reformers were freed from the aspersions under which they had been buried for centuries. Few will have the hardihood to allege that John Knox was a narrow-minded bigot, or that the founders of our church were illiterate fanatics, while M'Crie's *Lives of Knox and Melville* continue to be read and appreciated. The departments of history and biography, thus successfully commenced during the last, continue to be prosecuted in the present century, with diligence and success; and one of the advantages of this impulse has been so successful an elucidation of Scottish history, that, notwithstanding the destruction of its early annals, it may well bear a comparison in amplitude, distinctness, and veracity, with that of other countries. Who can here fail to remember the latest history of our country, by Patrick Frazer Tytler? And yet, much as he has done, the ample store of information, derived from historic and antiquarian research and discovery, is daily increasing; so that the series of Scottish histories commencing with the earliest periods, instead of being ended, may be said only to have begun. What might not be accomplished by such an

eloquent spirit as that of Buchanan, availing itself of the accumulated resources of the present day? BOOK
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XLIX. Closely connected with history is the science of political economy; for, while the former details the deeds by which a country becomes great and prosperous, the latter explains the ways and means by which that greatness is first to be attained, and afterwards secured and made permanent. And, of all countries, the political economy of Great Britain is the most difficult and complex, in consequence of the extent of her dominion, and greatness of her liabilities, as compared with the amount of her natural resources. Hence the frequent bewilderment of our ablest financiers and the keen conflicts that are waged around the parliamentary budget; and hence, also, the fluctuations of popular feeling, while the country is at one time raised to the height of prosperity, and, at another, brought down to the brink of ruin, by a mere turn of the page in the political ledger. Even in common life, the simple principles of house-keeping are found difficult enough; but when these have to be extended over a whole empire—and such an empire as Great Britain—the balance-sheet of means and expenditure becomes the most difficult and overwhelming of all earthly calculations. It was fortunate, therefore, that, while the capital and expenditure of the nation were becoming more ample, as well as more unmanageable, a skilful steward appeared, to explain the right way of developing our public resources, and directing them to their proper end. And it was honourable, also, to Scotland, that, after having furnished so many specimens of successful mercantile prudence in common life, she should have produced her masterpiece in Adam Smith, the great teacher of political economy. Adam
Smith. He was born in the town of Kirkcaldy, in the county of Fife, in the year 1723; and, when only three years old, he was carried off by a gang of gypsies, but happily recovered after an active pursuit. Had not this chase been successful, the future instructor of empires in the mysteries of commercial wealth, might have had all his wondrous faculties narrowed to the supply of a gypsy camp-kettle by the plunder of a hen-roost! After a youth of careful study, and a matured manhood of

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intellectual occupation, as lecturer, professor, and travelling tutor, Adam Smith, at the age of forty-three, returned to his native town, and, after ten years, gave to the world his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*—a work for which his whole life had been in training, first as a student at Oxford; afterwards as a professor of logic, and subsequently of moral philosophy, in the university of Glasgow; and finally, as tutor to the Duke of Buccleugh, with whom he travelled on the continent, and associated at Paris with the most distinguished financiers and statesmen, as well as ethical writers. Of his *Inquiry*, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, that it is now the textbook of political economists, and the guide of national cabinets. And this, too, after having had the prejudices of the world at large accumulated through whole ages to overcome! Men of reflective minds are now convinced, by his arguments, that the increase of a country's wealth does not depend upon the multiplication of gold and silver, or that it must necessarily thrive when its exports greatly exceed its imports. They are equally convinced of the fallacy of Quesnay's theory, which was so prevalent during the last century, of agriculture being the only source of national wealth and strength. And the most thrifty and money-saving individual can now appreciate his advice, "never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy." The merits of his work were so justly appreciated, that it was soon translated into all the languages of Europe, while the opinions of its author were frequently referred to, in the British Parliament, as high political authorities. He died, in 1790, at the age of sixty-seven, and had the satisfaction, before he died, of seeing the advantages of commerce generally appreciated, and its restrictions in progress of removal, both throughout his own country, and among the mercantile states of Europe.

**Scottish
poets.**

L. In descending to the lighter departments of intellect, we come to the subject of poetry, in which Scotland, from first to last, has been eminently productive. It was a Scottish bard (Thomas Rymer) who, so early as the thirteenth century, wrote the first poem in the English language. Even while the glorious muse of England was at

another Scottish poet (John Barbour) produced an epic poem, called *Bruce*, a work of such merit, that it is still prized, notwithstanding its antiquated language. Contemporaneous, also, with the illustrious Chaucer, was James I. of Scotland, whose poetry is little, if at all, inferior to that of the "well of English undefiled." Going onward in the list of Scottish poets, we come to Henry the Minstrel, still the Homer of Scotland; to Robert Henryson, our Phædrus and Theocritus in one, by whom the first pastoral, written in the English language, was produced; to William Dunbar, known by his graceful allegory of the *Thistle and the Rose*, and the *Friars of Berwick*, a powerful satire, in which the clerical iniquities of the age were lashed with severe but merited censure; and to Gavin Douglas, the son of the famous Bell-the-cat, who exchanged his ancestral mail for a bishop's stole, and, by translating Virgil's *Æneid* into English verse, was the first who rendered an ancient classical author into our own tongue. It will thus be seen that, in every department of poetry, Scotland had taken the lead of her more powerful and accomplished rival. This illustrious list of our early poets was closed by Sir David Lindsay, the friend of John Knox, and bard of the Scottish Reformation, which his writings tended powerfully to advance; after whom there occurs a long pause, mainly occasioned by the turning of the public mind to those new and higher sources of intellect which now solicited its attention. The revival of learning, and the birth of the Reformation, were matters of too high import to tolerate the allurements of poetry, and the subsequent struggles of our church were such as to continue the interdiction. It was not, therefore, until after the Union that the spirit of poetry reappeared in Scotland, in the person of James Thomson, the first portion of whose poem the *Seasons* was given to the world in 1726. It is enough to say, that this work, after all the mutations of public taste, is still as popular as it was at its first appearance, and promises to be admired as long as the English language endures. Something, however, still more exclusively national and characteristic was needed than the *Seasons*, which might have belonged to any age or country; and, therefore, only one year previous to its

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James
Thomson.

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XXXII.****Allan
Ramsay.****Robert
Ferguson.****Robert
Burns.**

publication, the *Gentle Shepherd* appeared, a pastoral that attracted not merely the admiration of Scotland, but of England also, although the Doric dialect in which it was written was all but an unknown tongue in the latter country. Allan Ramsay, its author, also produced a variety of other poems in the same style, which were widely circulated through the country in tracts and broadsheets, as those of Sir David Lindsay had been, and with the same popular result. A still more original poet than Allan Ramsay was Robert Ferguson, whose admirable productions make us lament that his career should have been so brief and irregular, for he died when he had only completed his twenty-fourth year. Even yet, however, the great national poet—the type of a country's predominating feelings, and selected organ of their utterance—had not yet appeared. But that important era in a nation's history arrived in the year 1786, when, upon the bleak month of November, a young ploughman, so sorely persecuted by fortune that he was no longer able to obtain his daily bread even of the coarsest, visited Edinburgh with a volume of rhymes in his pocket, hoping, from their sale, to procure as much money as would enable him to purchase the poor boon of exile to the plantations in the West Indies. And that volume—when will a single line of it cease to be remembered? It contained the record of Scotland's devotional enthusiasm, her patriotic ardour, her manly independent spirit—her alternations of deep sorrow and flashing merriment, like the lightning and its thunder-cloud—all that is fervid, and noble, and characteristic, in the past and present spirit of the Scottish people. Could the author of such a work become a sugar-boiler or a slave-driver? Robert Burns returned to his rural home, and there continued those wondrous lyrics whose music is borne upon every breeze, and has awakened every echo from the banks of the Doon to those of the Ganges; and which will continue to be endearingly repeated until the mountains and rivers, of which he sung so eloquently and so tenderly, have passed away.

LI. It was fortunate for the Scottish dialect, and the national feelings of which it is the vehicle, that the three illustrious poets whom we have just mentioned, had the

courage, as well as good taste, to use it. For, after the Union, it was so rapidly falling into disuse, that, without such a check, it would have been, at this day, nothing more than a vulgar *patois*, spoken only by the lowest and most illiterate of our people. Or, perhaps, its use would have been entirely superseded by a still more vulgar English, compared with which, the jargon of a Northumberland ploughman, or Yorkshire horse-jockey, would have been a classical tongue. Ramsay, Ferguson, and Burns, therefore, appeared at the right time for the fulfilment of their important national mission. It was a transition period, in which the rich dialect of their fathers was about to pass away, while the English, which was adopted in its stead, was still, in some measure, a foreign language. This they were compelled to feel, when, in compliance with the prevailing fashion, or in the hope of rivalling the great poets of England, they attempted to write in the language of Pope, Dryden, and Addison, and produced such verses as a fourth-rate English rhymers would not have cared to acknowledge. What would the *Gentle Shepherd*, or *Halloween*, or *Bruce's Address at Bannockburn*, have been, if it had been written in smooth, trim, artificial English? After these distinguished poets had thus so stereotyped their vernacular that it could not be erayed, and so aggrandized it that it took its place as a classical dialect, their successors of the nineteenth century wisely betook themselves to the language of the south, which had now become their natural tongue. Of those numerous poets who now appeared, at what may be called an Augustan era, two eminent Scotsmen occupied the foremost rank. And here the names of Campbell and Scott will at once suggest themselves, while, of their high poetical merits, it would be superfluous to speak: these are universally known and appreciated from the palace to the cottage, from old age to earliest boyhood. Of Campbell, it may be said, that his muse was essentially British: it belonged to the island at large, instead of a part of it; and his naval lyrics will kindle alike the hearts of England and Scotland, as long as their "meteor flag" continues to "brave the battle and the breeze." Sir Walter Scott, however, belongs more exclu-

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XXXII.Preserva-
tion of our
dialect by
poetry.Thomas
Campbell.Sir Walter
Scott.

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sively to Scottish history. He was proud of his name, his ancestry, and his country; his studies were devoted to the chivalrous deeds of his countrymen, and his recreations to the scenery among which they were transacted; and when he broke out at last upon the startled world that was enthralled by his witchery, the first peal announced the quarter whence it came, and turned every eye northward—

“The feast was over in Branksome tower.”

Such was the opening of the first of a series of epics, in which he recalled the dead to life, and threw sunshine over scenes and localities which the forgetfulness of centuries had enveloped in darkness. And seldom has national poetry produced such effects, not only upon the country that gave it birth, but upon the world at large. It was not enough that Scotsmen were surprised to learn, for the first time, that the ground on which they thoughtlessly trode had been distinguished by some great achievement; and that, through the dark passes of the Highlands, into which they had never ventured, there were rich exhibitions of the beautiful, the sublime, and the picturesque, such as Tempe or the Apennines could scarcely surpass. England also eagerly caught the intelligence, other nations followed, and Scotland became the land of European pilgrimage, and its history the record of general perusal. Honoured be the names of Burns and of Scott, to whom we owe it, that our native tongue is no longer an obsolete barbarism, or our land the “*ultima Thule*” of the world! After Scottish enterprise had found for us a home in every country, Scottish genius provided for every country a home in return. What European will henceforth roam upon the banks of Loch Katrine, or among the hills and straths of Ayrshire, and feel that he is a stranger there?

Works of
Fiction.

LII. Akin to poetry are those works of imagination that come under the title of romances and novels. And here it might have been expected, that the Scottish fancy, so lively and creative as it is, would have been found especially prolific. But such was not the result; for an antagonistic power was at work in Scotland, by which the drama was not only all but excluded from the land, but





every kind of fictitious writing watched with a very jealous eye. This was the stern religious and Calvinistic spirit of the people, that regarded the stage as a profanation, and fiction as mere falsehood and frivolity. And too well was this exclusiveness justified both by the drama and the novel which, so late as the middle of the reign of George III., retained much of the licentiousness that had been fostered during the era of Charles II. A Scottish novelist had therefore little chance either of honour or emolument in his own country; and when he went to the English capital, it was generally for more substantial purposes than to write a legend, and await the chances of its success. Hence it is, that for this kind of literature we have no writer of an earlier date than the middle of the last century, when Roderick Random, Peregrine Pickle, and the other fictitious writings of Smollett, took their place by the side of the Tom Jones and Joseph Andrews of Fielding. And in this instance the Scottish spirit seemed to have done its best and its worst; for Smollett stood alone among his countrymen, and, after his departure, there was no promise of a successor. But this was only the lull that precedes the coming of a great revolution. After Sir Walter Scott had ended his *Lord of the Isles*, he seemed, like Prospero, to have broken his wand, and renounced that character of the "mighty magician" which his works had already procured for him. But the present generation can well remember how its youth was awoke into a new life by the startling appearance of *Waverley*, followed as it was by *Guy Mannering*, the *Antiquary*, and the rest of the long series that came in rapid succession, and that was hailed with a yearly welcome not only in every part of our island, but over the whole world, save, perhaps, the wigwam of the Cherokee, or the tent of the Bedouin. It is not our purpose here to speak of writings which all our readers know so well. We need not even advert to the vast additional popularity which Scotland acquired from these marvellous productions, and how eagerly all people, and nations, and tongues, identified themselves with the language, manners, and scenery of our land. But with national pride we may advert to the fact, that these were not merely the best of novels, but

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an utter change in novel-writing; so that not only the platitudes, but also the impurities of that department of literature were utterly swept away, and a healthy, as well as high moral tone, introduced as the standard of excellence. The novel and the romance were no longer to be "stolen waters," enjoyed in secrecy and shame, but an open fountain, to which every moral and intellectual variety might repair without scruple. The spirit which Scott thus awoke, and the example he furnished, were not lost upon his countrymen, and he was soon surrounded by a whole galaxy, who caught and reflected his brightness. Of these Scottish novelists, it is enough merely to announce the names of Allan Cunningham, Galt, and Hogg, of Miss Ferrier and Mrs. Brunton, of Wilson and Lockhart.

LIII. While every kind of literature was thus so successfully cultivated in turn, and such a host of distinguished proficients called forth in every department, this very profusion was sure to exercise the spirit of criticism, in the establishment of fitting standards of excellence, and the due appreciation of comparative worth. A mighty kingdom of intellect had arisen; but where were its legislators, its laws, its rewards and punishments? England was already a country of literary excellence, and therefore a country of criticism, and every successive work had its quarterly, monthly, and weekly ordeal to undergo, before it secured the meed of popular acceptance. But the want of a great critical journal was no sooner felt in Scotland, than it was supplemented by the *Edinburgh Review*, that commenced in 1802, and soon attained not merely a high standing, but the foremost place among the literary journals of Europe. The talent with which it was managed, the host of illustrious men by whom its articles were supplied, and the predominating influence it exercised over the British press, are matters too well known to require particular mention. And, as if even this superiority had not been enough, another journal followed in a few years after, that divided the general suffrage, so that it became the foremost of the monthly, as the *Edinburgh* was of quarterly reviews. Our northern capital was now the Athens of the modern world, and our northern literature the subject of universal study

and esteem ; while the *imprimatur* of the Edinburgh press, hitherto so provincial and obscure, rivalled, and bade fair to exceed the time-honoured and merited renown which that of London had acquired. It was much that our fair city of the north should have won, even although but for a brief period, a renown so widely bruited, and an authority so generally obeyed.

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LIV. Such has been the literary and scientific history of Scotland during the nineteenth century. And during the short period of fifty years, how much has the country achieved for the world at large, and for the ages to come ! And yet, how mournful to think, that we who have seen the rise and progress of such a wondrous era, have also witnessed its close ! For have not the mighty men by whom all this was achieved, accomplished their great work, and passed away ? They were Titans, whose places are yet unfilled ; and where is the promise that they will be followed by equal successors ? One by one they have rapidly disappeared ; and such a period of rest has followed, as looks more like utter exhaustion than healthful repose. Has Scotland then fulfilled her destination at last ? And is this the token, that her nationality is about to be dissolved into the elements of that great empire of which she has formed so distinguished a part ?

Will Scotch literature and Scottish nationality continue ?

LV. These are startling, but not unreasonable misgivings, and too many circumstances connected with the present state of our country, suggest the possibility of such a consummation. For not only has our national literature passed away, but even our national church—that hallowed standard, around which Scottish feeling could always rally, when every other flag and pennon had disappeared. Ominously enough, too, it happened that, when our church was rent asunder, so that there remained in its place three sects, each claiming to be its lawful representative, the death-knells of those who had made our country so illustrious among the nations were sounding in our ears. These two events synchronised ; and thus our two greatest national distinctions, by which we were bound together, and demarcated from the world, were dissolved in a very few years. And while these barriers were thus in the process of

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removal, another mighty element was at work, to draw Scotland more closely to England, for the purposes of a final absorption. This was the power of steam, by which space is all but annihilated, the journey of hours accomplished in minutes, and the capitals of warring nations brought so near each other as scarcely to afford room for a battle-field between them. And the effect of this upon Scotland is going on, and that, too, so rapidly, that we feel its progress every day and every hour that fleets along. It seems, indeed, as if but a few years would suffice to make Scotland a county of England, and Edinburgh a suburb of London. And yet, what power or effort of patriotism could avert such a destiny? Men may assemble in thousands or in myriads, and declaim or vote against it as they please; but *there* stands that wonder-working agent—that mass of iron with its imprisoned thunder and lightning—that sweeps before it the barriers of a nation's mountains as if they were cobwebs, and erases their boundaries, around which the war of centuries has gathered, as easily as the coming wave effaces the little furrow upon the sea-sand. Thus Scotland is rapidly melting into England, so that, in a few years hence, nothing may be left of her, as a separate individual nation, except what she has already so nobly won, and which no change can annihilate—an illustrious name, and a great historical remembrance.

Probable
fate of
all nation-
ality.

LVI. Scotland is rapidly melting into England; but is not England also melting into the world around her? Has not the final process of the mighty interfusion of nations already commenced? The mere feeling of nationality has fulfilled its appointed work, and is needed no longer: it is incompatible with that better era of universal peace which is yet to descend upon the world, and therefore we may forego it without regret. While contentious boundaries and land-marks have been removed, contending races have been intermingled, so that it will at length be asked who is Teutonic, or Celtic, or Slavonic? The earth, so long a vast surface of hostile divisions, is to be levelled into the great home of a happy family, the children of a common parent, and the worshippers of the same God, and where he who dares to raise a hostile hand will be driven forth as

a fratricide, with the brand and curse of Cain. Of the coming of this happy millennium we are assured, and the earthly agency by which it is to be accomplished we already perceive. And with such a bright result, can we grieve that Scotland, as a nation, shall soon be no more? Would it not rather be the proudest of her distinctions, that, after having done so much to call forth that resistless agency by which nations are thus to be harmonized into a happy world, she should herself be the first to undergo the process through which all mankind are to become brethren?

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LVII. But the future we must leave to the coming generations, and the present we have already fully considered. We cannot, therefore, close our task more properly than by glancing once more at the past, and adverting to those steps by which Scotland has become so great, in spite of her long-continued barbarism and limited resources.

Review of
the past
History of
Scotland.

LVIII. In considering attentively the history of our country, we perceive that it naturally divides itself into three great epochs. The first may be called that of Centralization, of which Malcolm Canmore was the living type and representative. As far as can be guessed or discovered, nothing could be more unpromising than the original elements out of which the Scottish people were to be evolved; and it would appear as if none had cared to settle upon our bleak and barren soil, who could find a better home elsewhere. It was, in fact, little else than the last refuge and resting-place of baffled and beaten fugitives, not of triumphant conquerors. In this way the Cymrian, the Pict, the Celt, the Dane, the Saxon, the Norwegian, and the Norman, all came successively to the northern part of our island, and were fain to take up their residence there, because they could effect no lodgment in its more desirable southern division. And what could be hoped from such an assemblage of desperadoes, all differing in race, language, and government, and each only eager to snatch from his neighbour the scanty provision that was insufficient for all? They were thus more terrible to themselves than to a common enemy, and would at last have disappeared by a mutual extermination. The only remedy for this was to compress such a multitude of discordant peoples, tribes, and clans, into

Its three
Epochs.

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a single nation, having one ruler, and a common aim ; but to accomplish such a task required not only an intellect of the highest vigour. but the best opportunities and means for its exercise. And for all this, the man and the hour were provided, when Malcolm Canmore stepped into action. He possessed right which none could controvert, and might which none could resist, and both he used most vigorously and unsparingly. And thus a den of robbers was changed into a nation—the refuse and fragments of European population into a civilized community. Scotland was now a kingdom, and, as such, could be recognized and admitted into the great family of the kingdoms of Europe. And even when the “large-headed man” had departed, he left not only his throne, but also his improvements, as a lawful inheritance to those who succeeded him ; so that, in less than two hundred years, comprising the interval from his death to that of Alexander III., Scotland had attained a high place in civilization, wealth, and political importance. It seems, indeed, a historical miracle that so much should have been accomplished in so brief a time, and with such strange and unpromising materials !

LIX. The second epoch in Scottish history may be called the epoch of Independence. The country had now attained a state that was sufficient to excite the cupidity of conquest ; and its conquest was accordingly attempted by the Danes, that nation of brave and wholesale pillagers. But Scotland showed, by the stubbornness of her resistance, the high value she set upon her national privileges, and the roving invaders were beaten from her shores. Another enemy, however, succeeded, more dangerous by far than the Dane. This was England, already so rich and powerful that she could not brook a divided sovereignty in Britain, while she found it necessary, for her safety, to extend her sway over the whole island, and reduce Scotland into a subject province, as she had already done to Wales. And it seemed, too, as if she might achieve this by a single campaign, her resources being so immeasurably superior to those of her turbulent neighbour. The result at first justified her calculation, for Scotland succumbed, and the conqueror commenced a process by which the nation would soon have

been an undistinguished appendix to Yorkshire and Northumberland. But again a man was called forth, and fitted for the crisis. Sir William Wallace appeared; and by him that war of independence was commenced, and those principles for its successful maintenance established, to which the Scots adhered for nearly three centuries. And yet, though the conflict was so unequal, though it continued so long, and was crowded with so many events most disastrous to Scotland, she bravely bore up during the long trial until her mighty enemy surceased for very weariness, without losing one foot of her ancient territory, or relinquishing a single iota of her national independence. It was in this terrible furnace that the Scottish character was refined and hardened: it was in this way that it acquired the fearless courage to dare, and fortitude to endure; the forecast to anticipate, and the prompt energy to provide, by which it was fitted for the high national destinies that were yet to be accomplished. Cold, indeed, would be that Scottish heart that could see nothing more in Bannockburn than a mere victory for history to chronicle, and poetry to eulogize. And selfish, indeed, would be that English vanity that could grudge a victory by which a brave friend and brother was reared for the future aggrandizement of his country, instead of a crouching serf or suspicious ally. Mysterious was the providence, and merciful as well as mysterious, that evolved equal blessings upon the conquerors and the conquered from the field of Bannockburn.

LX. After this war of independence had been fought so successfully, the fruit of all this struggle had still to be secured. The national capacities had been called forth and matured by a conflict under which other nations would have sunk; but what would all have availed, unless these capacities had been turned in their right direction, with a proper field of action before them? Strength, and sagacity, and manly independence, and indomitable courage, had all been fitted for still nobler action by this stern apprenticeship of centuries: but was Scotland to become nothing better than the blind worshipper of Rome, and the implicit champion of the Pope? Had all this been achieved and endured that she might speedily sink into a mere Portugal or Sardinia?

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But now, that she was fitted for a nobler career, and only waited the signal, that signal came with the third epoch the epoch of Religious Reformation. It was now that Scotland was indeed to be a nation; and well and justly has it been observed, that its history properly commences with John Knox. In him the whole Scottish character was concentrated, but purified, enlightened, and elevated by a higher teaching than his country had yet learned; and he came to instruct his countrymen in what he had himself been taught, and persuade them to become what he now was. And he succeeded. The Scots were no longer to be a people as merciless as they were brave, as prompt to inflict injuries as to endure them; or be contented with a breviary which they could not read, and religious instructors whom they could not understand. They were summoned, by the restless voice of the reformer, into that new career for which the work of past centuries had been merely a preparative; and they obeyed and prospered. And hence the civilization, the learning, the moral worth, and religious intelligence, under which the course of our country, since that period, has been a continual ascension, instead of a decline and fall; while, without John Knox, Canmore would have legislated and Wallace fought in vain.

Conclusion. LXI. Such are the chief considerations which the history of Scotland is fitted to inspire. These epochs are the distinct footsteps of the great Ruler of nations, impressed upon it as he descended in merciful visitation—the important moral of the narrative, which we are summoned to ponder and lay to heart. And well will it be if our countrymen thus peruse, and thus cherish the momentous lesson which is now laid before them. It is in this way that they will be enabled to review the past with devout gratitude, the present with complacency, and the future with hope. Thus committing it to their keeping, we affectionately bid them Farewell!

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Letter from the Countess of Nithsdale to her Sister the Countess of Traquair.

MY LORD's escape is now such an old story, that I have almost forgotten it ; but since you desire me to give you a circumstantial account of it, I will endeavour to recall it to my memory, and be as exact in the narration as I possibly can ; for I owe you too many obligations to refuse you any thing that lies in my power to do.

I think I owe myself the justice to set out with the motives which influenced me to undertake so hazardous an attempt, which I despaired of thoroughly accomplishing, foreseeing a thousand obstacles which never could be surmounted, but by the most particular interposition of divine providence. I confided in the Almighty God, and trusted that he would not abandon me, even when all human succours failed me.

I first came to London upon hearing that my lord was committed to the Tower. I was at the same time informed that he had expressed the greatest anxiety to see me, having, as he afterwards told me, nobody to console him till I arrived. I rode to Newcastle, and from thence took the stage to York. When I arrived there the snow was so deep that the stage could not set out for London. The season was so severe, and the roads so extremely bad, that the post itself was stopt. However, I took horses and rode to London through the snow, which was generally above the horse's girth, and arrived safe and sound without any accident.

On my arrival I went immediately to make what interest I could among those who were in place. No one gave me any hopes, but all,

APPENDIX to the contrary, assured me, that although some of the prisoners were to be pardoned, yet my lord would certainly not be of the number. When I enquired into the reason of this distinction, I could obtain no other answer than that they would not flatter me; but I soon perceived the reasons which they declined alleging to me. A Roman catholic upon the frontiers of Scotland, who headed a very considerable party, a man whose family had always signalized itself by its loyalty to the royal house of Stuart, and who was the only support of the catholics against the inveteracy of the whigs, who were very numerous in that part of Scotland, would become an agreeable sacrifice to the opposite party. They still retained a lively remembrance of his grandfather, who defended his own castle at Carlaverock to the very last extremity, and surrendered it up only by the express command of his royal master. Now, having his grandson in their power, they were determined not to let him escape from their hands.

Upon this, I formed the resolution to attempt his escape, but opened my intentions to nobody but to my dear Evans. In order to concert measures I strongly solicited to be permitted to see my lord, which they refused to grant me, unless I would remain confined with him in the Tower. This I would not submit to, and alleged for excuse that my health would not permit me to undergo the confinement. The real reason of my refusal was, not to put it out of my power to accomplish my designs; however, by bribing the guards, I often contrived to see my lord, till the day upon which the prisoners were condemned; after that, we were allowed for the last week to see and take our leave of them.

By the help of Evans I had prepared every thing necessary to disguise my lord, but had the utmost difficulty to prevail upon him to make use of them; however, I at length succeeded by the help of Almighty God.

On the 22d of February, which fell on a Thursday, our petition was to be presented to the house of lords, the purport of which was, to entreat the lords to intercede with his majesty to pardon the prisoners. We were, however, disappointed the day before the petition was to be presented; for the duke of St. Alban's, who had promised my lady Derwentwater to present it, when it came to the point failed in his word; however, as she was the only English countess concerned, it was incumbent upon her to have it presented. We had but one day left before the execution, and the duke still promised to present the petition; but for fear he should fail, I engaged the duke of Montrose to secure its being done by the one or the other. I then went in company of most of the ladies of quality who were then in town, to solicit the interest of the lords as they were going to the house. They all behaved to me with great civility, but particularly my lord Pembroke, who, though he desired me not to speak to him, yet promised to employ his interest in our favour, and honourably kept his word; for he spoke in the house very strongly in our behalf. The subject of the debate was, Whether the king had the power to pardon those who had been condemned by parliament? And it was chiefly owing to lord Pembroke's speech, that it

passed in the affirmative. However, one of the lords stood up and said, that the house would only intercede for those of the prisoners who should approve themselves worthy of their intercession, but not for all of them indiscriminately. This salvo quite blasted all my hopes, for I was assured it aimed at the exclusion of those who should refuse to subscribe to the petition, which was a thing I knew my lord would never submit to, nor in fact could I wish to preserve his life on such terms.

As the motion had passed generally, I thought I could draw some advantage in favour of my design. Accordingly, I immediately left the house of lords, and hastened to the Tower, where, affecting an air of joy and satisfaction, I told all the guards I passed by, that I came to bring joyful tidings to the prisoners. I desired them to lay aside their fears, for the petition had passed the house in their favour. I then gave them some money to drink to the lords and his majesty, though it was but trifling; for I thought that if I were too liberal on the occasion, they might suspect my designs, and that giving them something would gain their good humour and services for the next day, which was the eve of the execution.

The next morning I could not go to the Tower, having so many things in my hands to put in readiness; but in the evening, when all was ready, I sent for Mrs. Mills, with whom I lodged, and acquainted her with my design of attempting my lord's escape, as there was no prospect of his being pardoned; and this was the last night before the execution. I told her that I had every thing in readiness, and that I trusted she would not refuse to accompany me, that my lord might pass for her. I pressed her to come immediately, as we had no time to lose; at the same time I sent for a Mrs. Morgan, then usually known by the name of Hilton, to whose acquaintance my dear Evans has introduced me, which I look upon as a very singular happiness. I immediately communicated my resolution to her. She was of a very tall and slender make; so I begged her to put under her own riding hood one that I had prepared for Mrs. Mills, as she was to lend hers to my lord, that in coming out he might be taken for her. Mrs. Mills was then with child, so that she was not only of the same height, but nearly of the same size as my lord. When we were in the coach I never ceased talking, that they might have no leisure to reflect. Their surprise and astonishment when I first opened my design to them, had made them consent, without ever thinking of the consequences. On our arrival at the Tower, the first I introduced was Mrs. Morgan, for I was only allowed to take in one at a time. She brought in the clothes that were to serve Mrs. Mills, when she left her own behind her. When Mrs. Morgan had taken off what she had brought for my purpose, I conducted her back to the staircase; and in going, I begged her to send me in my maid to dress me; that I was afraid of being too late to present my last petition that night, if she did not come immediately. I dispatched her safe and went partly down stairs to meet Mrs. Mills, who had the precaution to hold her handkerchief to her face, as was very na-

APPENDIX. tural for a woman to do when she was going to bid her last farewell to a friend on the eve of his execution. I had, indeed, desired her to do it, that my lord might go out in the same manner. Her eyebrows were rather inclined to be sandy, and my lord's were dark and very thick; however, I had prepared some paint of the colour of her's to disguise his with. I also bought an artificial head-dress of the same coloured hair as her's; and I painted his face with white, and his cheeks with rouge, to hide his long beard, which he had not time to shave. All this provision I had before left in the Tower. The poor guards, whom my slight liberality the day before had endeared me to, let me go quietly with my company, and were not so strictly on the watch as they usually had been; and the more so, as they were persuaded, from what I had told them the day before, that the prisoners would obtain their pardon. I made Mrs. Mills take off her own hood, and put on that which I had brought for her. I then took her by the hand, and led her out of my lord's chamber; and, in passing through the next room, in which there were several people, with all the concern imaginable, I said, my dear Mrs. Catherine go in all haste, and send me my waiting-maid; she certainly cannot reflect how late it is; she forgets that I am to present a petition to-night; and, if I let slip this opportunity, I am undone, for to-morrow will be too late. Hasten her as much as possible, for I shall be on thorns till she comes. Every body in the room, who were chiefly the guards' wives and daughters, seemed to compassionate me exceedingly; and the sentinel officiously opened the door. When I had seen her out, I returned back to my lord, and finished dressing him. I had taken care that Mrs. Mills did not go out crying as she came in, that my lord might the better pass for the lady who came in crying and afflicted; and the more so, because he had the same dress which she wore. When I had almost finished dressing my lord in all my petticoats, excepting one, I perceived that it was growing dark, and was afraid that the light of the candles might betray us; so I resolved to set off. I went out, leading him by the hand, and he held his handkerchief to his eyes. I spoke to him in the most piteous and afflicted tone of voice, bewailing bitterly the negligence of Evans, who had ruined me by her delay. Then said I, my dear Mrs. Betty, for the love of God, run quickly and bring her with you. You know my lodging, and if ever you made dispatch in your life, do it at present. I am almost distracted with this disappointment. The guards opened the door; and I went down stairs with him, still conjuring him to make all possible dispatch. As soon as he cleared the door, I made him walk before me, for fear the sentinel should take notice of his walk; but I still continued to press him to make all the dispatch he possibly could. At the bottom of the stairs, I met my dear Evans, into whose hands I confided him. I had before engaged Mr. Mills to be in readiness before the Tower, to conduct him to some place of safety in case we succeeded. He looked upon the affair so very improbable to succeed, that his astonishment when he saw us, threw him into such consternation, that he was almost out of himself; which Evans perceiving, with the greatest presence of mind, without telling him any thing, lest he should mistrust them, conducted him to some of

her own friends on whom she could rely, and so secured him, without which we should have been undone. When she had conducted him, and left him with them, she returned to find Mr. Mills, who by this time had recovered himself from his astonishment. They went home together, and having found a place of security, they conducted him to it.

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In the meanwhile, as I had pretended to have sent the young lady on a message, I was obliged to return up stairs, and go back to my lord's room, in the same feigned anxiety of being too late, so that every body seemed sincerely to sympathize with my distress. When I was in the room, I talked to him as if he had been really present, and answered my own questions in my lord's voice as nearly as I could imitate it. I walked up and down, as if we were conversing together, till I thought they had time enough thoroughly to clear themselves of the guards. I then thought proper to make off also. I opened the door, and stood half in it, that those in the outward chamber might hear what I said; but held it so close, that they could not look in. I bid my lord a formal farewell for that night; and added, that something more than usual must have happened, to make Evans negligent on this important occasion, who had always been so punctual on the smallest trifles; that I saw no other remedy than to go in person; that if the Tower were still open when I finished my business, I would return that night: but that he might be assured I would be with him as early in the morning, as I could gain admittance into the Tower; and I flattered myself I should bring favourable news. Then before I shut the door, I pulled through the string of the latch, so that it could only be opened on the inside. I then shut it with some degree of force, that I might be sure of its being well shut. I said to the servant as I passed by, who was ignorant of the whole transaction, that he need not carry in candles to his master till my lord sent for him, as he desired to finish some prayers first. I went down stairs and called a coach. As there were several on the stand, I drove home to my lodgings, where poor Mr. McKenzie had been waiting to carry the petition, in case my attempt had failed. I told him there was no need of any petition, as my lord was safe out of the Tower, and out of the hands of his enemies, as I hoped; but that I did not know where he was. I discharged the coach, and sent for a sedan chair, and went to the dutchess of Buccleugh, who expected me about that time, as I had begged of her to present the petition for me; having taken my precautions against all events, and asked if she were at home; and they answered that she expected me, and had another dutchess with her, I refused to go up stairs, as she had company with her, and I was not in a condition to see any other company. I begged to be shown into a chamber below stairs, and that they would have the goodness to send her grace's maid to me, having something to say to her. I had discharged the chair, lest I might be pursued and watched. When the maid came in, I desired her to present my most humble respects to her grace, who, they told me, had company with her, and to acquaint her, that this was my only reason for not coming up stairs. I also charged her with

APPENDIX. my sincerest thanks for her kind offer to accompany me when I went to present my petition. I added, that she might spare herself any further trouble, as it was now judged more advisable to present one general petition in the name of all. However, that I should never be unmindful of my particular obligations to her grace, which I would return very soon to acknowledge in person.

I then desired one of the servants to call a chair, and I went to the dutchess of Montrose, who had always borne a part in my distress. When I arrived, she left her company, to deny herself, not being able to see me under the affliction which she judged me to be in. By mistake, however, I was admitted, so there was no remedy. She came to me, and, as my heart was in an ecstasy of joy, I expressed it in my countenance as she entered the room. I ran up to her in the transport of my joy. She appeared to be extremely shocked and frightened; and has since confessed to me, that she apprehended my trouble had thrown me out of myself, till I communicated my happiness to her. She then advised me to retire to some place of security; for that the king was highly displeased, and even enraged at the petition that I had presented to him, and had complained of it severely. I sent for another chair, for I always discharged them immediately, lest I might be pursued. Her grace said she would go to court, to see how the news of my lord's escape were received. When the news was brought to the king, he flew into an access of passion, and said he was betrayed; for it could not have been done without some confederacy. He instantly dispatched two persons to the Tower, to see that the other prisoners were well secured, lest they should follow the example. Some threw the blame upon one, some upon another; the dutchess was the only one at court who knew it.

When I left the dutchess, I went to a house which Evans had found out for me, and where she promised to acquaint me where my lord was. She got thither some few minutes after me, and told me, that when she had seen him secure, she went in search of Mr. Mills, who, by the time, had recovered himself from his astonishment; that he had returned to her house, where she had found him; and that he had removed my lord from the first place, where she had desired him to wait, to the house of a poor woman, directly opposite the guard-house. She had but one small room, up one pair of stairs, and a very small bed in it. We threw ourselves upon the bed, that we might not be heard walking up and down. She left us a bottle of wine and some bread, and Mrs. Mills brought us some more in her pocket the next day. We subsisted on this provision from Thursday till Saturday night, when Mrs. Mills came and conducted my lord to the Venetian ambassador's. We did not communicate the affair to his excellency: but one of his servants concealed him in his own room till Wednesday, on which day the ambassador's coach and six was to go down to Dover to meet his brother. My lord put on a livery, and went down in the retinue, without the least suspicion, to Dover, where Mr. Mth was the name of the ambassador's servant) hired a man immediately set sail for Calcutta. The captain threw a

tion, that the wind could not have served better if his passengers had been flying for their lives, little thinking it to be really the case. Mr. Mitchell might have easily returned without being suspected of having been concerned in my lord's escape; but my lord seemed inclined to have him continue with him, which he did, and has at present a good place under our young master.

This is as exact and as full an account of this affair, and of the persons concerned in it, as I could possibly give you, to the best of my memory, and you may rely on the truth of it.

For my part, I absconded to the house of a very honest man in Drury Lane, where I remained till I was assured of my lord's safe arrival on the continent. I then wrote to the dutchess of Buccleugh, (every body thought till then that I was gone off with my lord) to tell her that I understood I was suspected of having contrived my lord's escape, as was very natural to suppose; that if I could have been happy enough to have done it, I should be flattered to have the merit of it attributed to me; but that a bare suspicion without proof, could never be a sufficient ground for my being punished for a supposed offence, though it might be motive enough to me to provide a place of security; so I entreated her to procure leave for me to go with safety about my business. So far from granting my request, they were resolved to secure me if possible. After several debates, Mr. Solicitor-General, who was an utter stranger to me, had the humanity to say, that since I showed so much respect for government as not to appear in public, it would be cruel to make any search after me: upon which it was decided, that if I remained concealed, no further search should be made, but that if I appeared either in England or Scotland, I should be secured. But that was not sufficient for me, unless I could submit to expose my son to beggary. My lord sent for me up to town in such haste, that I had no time to settle any thing before I left Scotland. I had in my hands all the family papers; I dared trust them to nobody. My house might have been searched without warning, consequently they were far from being secure there. In this distress, I had the precaution to bury them under ground; and nobody but the gardener and myself knew where they were. I did the same with other things of value. The event proved that I had acted prudently; for after my departure they searched the house, and God knows what might have transpired from these papers.

All these circumstances rendered my presence absolutely necessary, otherwise they might have been lost; for, though they retained the highest preservation after one very severe winter, for when I took them up, they were as dry as if they came from the fireside, yet they could not possibly have remained so much longer without prejudice. In short, as I had once exposed my life for the safety of the father, I could not do less than hazard it once more for the fortune of the son. I had never travelled on horseback but from York to London, as I told you; but the difficulties did not now arise from the severity of the season, but from the fear of being known and arrested. To avoid this, I bought three horses, and set off with my dear Evans and a very trusty servant I brought with me out of Scotland. We put up at all the small

APPENDIX. est inns on the road that could take in a few horses, and where I thought I was not known, for I was thoroughly known in all the considerable inns on the north road. Thus I arrived safe at Traquair, where I thought myself secure; for the lieutenant of the county, being a friend of my lord's, would not permit any search to be made for me, without sending me previous notice to abscond. Here I had the assurance to rest myself for two whole days, pretending that I was going to my own house with the leave of the government, and sent no notice to my own house, lest the magistrates of Dumfries might make too narrow inquiries about me; so they were ignorant of my arrival in the country till I were at home, where I still feigned to have permission to remain. To carry on the deceit the better, I sent for all my neighbours, and invited them to come to my house. I took up my papers at night, and sent them off to Traquair. It was a peculiar stroke of providence that I made the dispatch I did; for they soon suspected me; and, by a favourable accident, one of them was overheard to say to the magistrates of Dumfries, that the next day they would insist upon seeing my leave from government. This was bruited about; and when I was told of it, I expressed my surprise that they had been so backward in coming to pay their respects; but, said I, better late than never; be sure to tell them that they shall be welcome whenever they choose to come. This was after dinner; but I lost no time to put every thing in readiness, but with all possible secrecy, and the next morning before day-break I set off again for London, with the same attendants; and, as before, I put up at the smallest inns, and arrived safe once more.

On my arrival, the report was still fresh of my journey into Scotland, in defiance of their prohibition. A lady informed me that the king was extremely incensed at the news; that he had issued orders to have me arrested; adding, that I did whatever I pleased in spite of all his designs; and that I had given him more anxiety and trouble than any woman in all Europe. For which reasons I kept myself as closely concealed as possible, till the heat of these rumours had abated. In the meanwhile, I took the opinion of a very famous lawyer, who was a man of the strictest probity; he advised me to go off as soon as they had ceased searching for me. I followed his advice, and, about a fortnight after, I escaped without any accident whatever.

The reason he alleged for his opinion was this, that although in other circumstances a wife cannot be prosecuted for saving her husband; yet in cases of high treason, according to the rigour of the law, the head of a wife is responsible for that of a husband; and as the king was so highly incensed, there could be no answering for the consequences; and he, therefore, entreated me to leave the kingdom.

The king's resentment was greatly augmented by the petition which I presented, contrary to his express orders; but my lord was very anxious that a petition might be presented, hoping that it would be at least serviceable to me. I was, in my own mind, convinced that it would answer no purpose; but, as I wished to please my lord, I desired him to have it drawn up; and I undertook to make it come to the king's hand, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken to avoid it. So the first

day I heard that the king was to go to the drawing room, I dressed myself in black, as if I had been in mourning, and sent for Mrs. Morgan, [the same who accompanied me to the Tower] because as I did not know his majesty personally, I might have mistaken some other person for him. She staid by me, and told me when he was coming:—I had also another lady with me; and we three remained in a room between the king's apartments and the drawing room, so that he was obliged to go through it; and as there were three windows in it, we sat in the middle one, that I might have time enough to meet him before he could pass. I threw myself at his feet, and told him in French, that I was the unfortunate countess of Nithsdale, that he might not pretend to be ignorant of my person. But, perceiving that he wanted to go off without receiving my petition, I caught hold of the skirt of his coat, that he might stop and hear me. He endeavoured to escape out of my hands; but I kept such strong hold, that he dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the very door of the drawing room. At last, one of the *blue ribbons* who attended his majesty, took me round the waist, whilst another wrested the coat out of my hands. The petition which I had endeavoured to thrust into his pocket, fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment.

One of the gentlemen in waiting picked up the petition; and as I knew that it ought to have been given to the lord of the bed-chamber, who was then in waiting, I wrote to him, and entreated him to do me the favour to read the petition which I had had the honour to present to his majesty. Fortunately for me, it happened to be my lord Dorset, with whom Mrs. Morgan was very intimate. Accordingly, she went into the drawing room, and delivered him the letter, which he received very graciously. He could not read it then, as he was at cards with the prince; but as soon as ever the game was over he read it, and behaved, as I afterwards learned, with the warmest zeal for my interest, and was seconded by the duke of Montrose, who had seen me in the anti-chamber, and wanted to speak to me. But I made him a sign not to come near me, lest his acquaintance might thwart my designs. They read over the petition several times, but without any success; but it became the topic of their conversation the rest of the evening; and the harshness with which I had been treated soon spread abroad, not much to the honour of the king. Many people reflected that they had themselves presented petitions to the late king, and that he had never rejected any, even from the most indigent objects; but that this behaviour to a person of my quality was a strong instance of brutality.

These reflections, which circulated about, raised the king to the highest pitch of hatred and indignation against my person, as he has since allowed; for when all the ladies, whose husbands had been concerned in the affair, presented their petition for dower, mine was presented among the rest; but the king said I was not entitled to the same privilege; and, in fact, I was excluded; and it was remarkable that he would never suffer my name to be mentioned. For these reasons, every body

...

As this is for yourself alone, your indulgence will be
which must occur in this long recital. The truth you
Attend to that, and overlook all deficiencies.

My lord desires you to be assured of his sincere friend-
the strongest attachment, my dear sister, yours most a-
(Signed) WINEFRED

Transactions of the Society of the Scottish Antiquaries, v

No. II.

Abstract of some of the Forfeited Estates in Scotland, taken by the Surveyor and his Deputy, 1716 and 1717.

				APPENDIX			
1.—Estate of George, late Earl of Wintoun.							
Money, rent payable in money	L.266	7	9	Oatmeal, 167 bolls, 1 peck, at do. per boll,	L.57	16	7
Wheat, 1683 bolls, 3 fir-lots, 2 pecks, 3 4-15th lippies, at 10s. 5d. per boll	876	18	4	Hens, 436, at 5d. each—	15	4	8
Barley, 1957 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks, 1 9-15th lippies, at do.	1019	12	2	Chickens, 738, at 2d.	15	4	8
Oats, 318 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks, 1½ lippies, at do.	166	12	2		L.1238	0	0
Straw, 504 thraves, at 5d. per thrave	10	10	0	4.—Estate of James Stirling, late of Keir.			
Capons, 795½, at 10d. each	31	4	4	Money, rent payable in money	L.625	19	10
Hens, 802½, at 6½d. each	22	5	8	Barley 308 bolls, 1 peck, 2 lippies, at 6s. 11½d. per boll	106	18	0
Salt pans, 12—and 2 coal pits, reckoned about	1000	0	0	Oatmeal, 426 bolls, 2 fir-lots, 1 peck, at do.	148	1	9
	L.3393	10	5	Malt, 5 bolls, at do. per boll	1	14	8
2.—Estate of James, late Earl of Southesque.				Wethers, 16, at 5s. 6d. per wether	4	8	0
Money, rent payable in money	L.1178	6	4	Geese, 19, at 1s. each	0	19	0
Wheat, 146 bolls, 2 firlots, at 6s. 11d. per boll	50	17	4	Capons, 184, at 8d. each	6	2	8
Barley, 2675 bolls, 1 firlot, 3 pecks, at do.	928	19	6	Hens, 530, at 6d. each	13	6	0
Oats, 237 bolls, at do.	82	5	10	Cheese, 2 stone, at 3s. 4d. per stone	0	6	8
Oatmeal, 2773 bolls, 1 peck, at do.—Rye, 16 bolls, at do.	968	8	6	Butter, 4 lb. at 3d. per lb.	0	1	0
Geese, 86, at 1s. each—					L.900	17	5
Capons, 775, at 6d. each	25	16	6	5.—Estate of James, late Earl of Panmure.			
Poultry, 2124, at 4d. each	35	8	2	Money, rent payable in money	L.1843	17	11
Chickens 47, at 2d. each	1	7	10	Wheat, 243 bolls, 1 firlot, 2 pecks, at 6s. 11d. per boll	74	2	11
Swine, 2, at 10s. each				Barley, 2013 bolls, 1 firlot, 2 pecks, at do. per boll	696	5	9
	L.3271	10	0	Oatmeal, 2203 bolls, 2 fir-lots, 3 pecks, at do. per boll	762	2	0
3.—Estate of James, late Earl of Linkithgow.				Oats, 110 bolls, 1 firlot, 3 pecks, at do. per boll	38	3	9
Money, rent payable in money	L.1109	12	1	Geese, 8, at 1s. each—Ca-			
Barley, 159 bolls, 2 lippies, at 6s. 11½d. per boll	55	7	6	pons, 456, at 6d. each	11	16	0
				Chickens 456, at 1½d. each	6	15	0
				—Hens, 312, at 3d. each			

APPENDIX. Ells Linen, 60½, at 6d. ell	L.1	10	3	Oats, 27 bolls, 3 firlots, at			
Wethers, 14, at 3s. 4d. per				do. per boll	L.14	11	
wether	2	6	8	Oatmeal, 91 bolls, 2 firlots,			
Butter, 7 lb. at 3d. per lb.	0	1	9	at do. per boll	48	0	
	L.34	37	3	0	Straw, 109 thraves, at 6d.		
				per thrave	2	3	
				Hens, 298, at 5d. each—			
				Capons, 239, at 6d. each	14	3	
					L.412	12	
6.—Estate of George Home, late of				10.—Estate of Robert Cress, late			
Wedderburn.				East Reston.			
Money, rent payable in				Money, rent payable in mo-			
money	L.206	3	10	ney	L.91	14	
Capons, 31, at 6d. each—				Barley, 25 bolls, at 10s.			
Hens, 57, at 6d. each	1	19	3	8d. per boll	13	0	
Carriage of coals, 52 loads,				Oats, 48 bolls, at do. per			
at 6d. per load	1	6	0	boll	25	0	
Carriages, 42 at 1s. 8d.				Capons, 60, at 8d. each	2	0	
per carriage	3	10	0	Hens, 24, at 5d. each	0	19	
	L.213	0	1	Carriages, 63, at 1s. 8d. each	5	5	
					L.137	9	
7.—Estate of James Home, late of				11.—Estate of John, late Earl			
Ayton.				Mar, in the counties of Stirling &			
Money, rent payable in				Clackmannan.			
money	L.114	16	0	Money, rent payable in mo-			
Barley, 272 bolls, 3 firlots,				ney	L.630	0	
at 10s. 5d. per boll	142	1	1	Wheat, barley, beans, oats,			
Oats, 96 bolls, at do. per				643 bolls, at 10s. 5d.	334	17	
boll	50	0	0	Oatmeal, 440 bolls, 3 fir-			
Capons, 26, at 8d. each—				lots, 1 peck, at do. per			
Hens, 195, at 6d. each	5	14	10	boll	234	5	
Carriages, 3, at 1s. 8d.				Mustard seed, 4 pecks, 3			
per carriage	9	8	4	lippies at 1s. 4d. per			
Coals, carriage of 38 loads,				peck	0	6	
at 6d. per carriage	0	19	0	Straw, 168 turses, at 1s.			
Swine, 1, at	0	11	1	8d. per turse	14	0	
	L.323	10	4	Capons, 480, at 10d. a-piece	20	0	
				Poultry, 988, at 6d. each—			
8.—Estate of William, late Viscount				Geese, 79, at 2s. each	31	17	
of Kilsyth.				Ducks, 42, at 6d. each—			
Money, rent payable in				Butter, 1 stone, at 6s. 8d.	1	7	
money	L.702	12	2	Swine, 1, at	0	11	
Barley, 144 bolls, at 10s.				Earl of Mar's Estate in the			
5d. per boll	75	0	0	county of Aberdeen.			
Oatmeal, 167 bolls, 3 fir-				Money, rent payable in mo-			
lots, at do. per boll	87	7	4	ney	L.317	6	
	L.864	19	6	Barley, 56 bolls, at 6s. 11d.			
				per boll	19	7	
9.—Estate of Sir Hugh Paterson,				Oatmeal, 116 bolls, 3 pecks,			
late of Bannockburn.				at do. per boll	40	4	
Money, rent payable in				Wethers, 16, at 3s. 4d. per			
money	L.381	17	7	wether	2	13	
Barley, 78 bolls, 2 firlots,				Capons, 90, at 6d. each—			
at 10s. 6d. per boll	41	4	2	Hens, 137, at 3d. each	2	12	
Malt, 20 bolls, at do. per							
boll	10	10	0				

Chickens, 272, at 2d. each	
—Geese, 42, at 1s. 1d. L.	4 10 10
Linen, 4 yards, at 7d. per yard	0 2 4
Peats, 1039 loads, at 2d. per load	8 13 2
	<hr/> L.1184 9 5

12.—*Estate of John Stewart, late of Invernitie.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.351 19 11
Barley, 6 bolls, at 6s. 11d. per boll	2 1 6
Oatmeal, 4 bolls, 3 firlots, 3 pecks, at do.	1 14 1½
Geese, 4, at 1s. each—Wethers, 1, at 5s.	0 9 0
Capons, 145, at 5d. each—Hens, 24, at 3d. each	3 6 5
Chickens, 282, at 1½d. each	1 15 3
Hesps yarn, 8, at 6d. per hesp	0 4 0
Heers yarn, 24, at 1d. per heer	0 2 0
	<hr/> L.361 12 2½

The principal part of the tenants of the estate pay the tenth lamb, and tenth fleece of wool.

13.—*Estate of Major-General Gordon, late of Achintowl.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.147 18 6
Barley, 25 bolls, at 6s. 11d. per boll	8 12 11
Oatmeal, 501 bolls, 1 firlot, 3 pecks, at do.	173 8 2½
Wethers, 24, at 3s. 4d. per wether	4 0 0
Lambs, 15, at 1s. 1d. per lamb	0 16 3
Capons, 132, at 4d. each—Hens 282, at 3d. each	5 14 6
Chickens, 120, at 1d. each	0 10 0
Butter, 10 stone, at 4s. 5d. per stone—Sow, 1, at 11s. 4d.	2 15 6
Peats 9 leats, at 4s. per leat	1 16 0
Do. 39 foot, at 1d. per foot	0 3 0
Do. 12 loads at 2d. per foot	0 2 0
	<hr/> L.345 17 3½

14.—*Estate of Robert Rollo, late of Powhouse.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.70 8 6
Barley, 184 bolls at 10s. 5d. per boll	95 16 8
Oatmeal, 331 bolls, at do.	172 7 11
Pease and Beans, 39 bolls, at do. per boll	20 6 3
Geese, 6, at 2s. each—Ducks, 15, at 7d. each	1 0 9
Poultry 54, at 6d. each—Hens, 300, at 6d. each	8 17 0
Capons, 93, at 10d. each—Swine, 1, at 11s.	4 8 6
Peats, 16,000, at 4s. per thousand	3 4 0
	<hr/> L.1216 9 7

15.—*Estate of Geo. M^r Kenzie, late of Nutthill.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.45 3 10
Barley, 56 bolls, at 7s. per boll	19 12 0
Oats, 4 bolls, at do.—Hens, 48, at 5d. each	2 8 0
Cheese, 2 stone, at 2s. 8d.—Ewe wool, 4 stone, at 4s.	1 1 4
Wether wool, 24 stone, at 4s. per stone	4 16 0
	<hr/> L.73 1 2

16.—*Estate of James Scrimgeour, late of Bowhill.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.16 2 4
Barley, 16 bolls at 7s. per boll	5 12 0
Oats, 16 bolls, at do.—Hens, 24, at 5d. each	6 2 0
	<hr/> L.27 16 4

17.—*Estate of Patrick Seaton, late of Lathrisk.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.16 16 0
Barley, 185 bolls, 2 firlots, at 7s. per boll	64 18 6
Oats, 207 bolls, 1 firlot, at do.	72 10 9
Cocks, 5, at 5d. each—Capons, 60, at 7d. each	1 17 1

APPENDIX.			Hens, 237, at 5d. each—			Wheat, 20 bolls, at 6s. 11d.		
			Chickens, 54, at 2d.			per boll		
			L.5 7 9			L.6 18 4		
			Geese, 20, at 1s. each—			Barley, 144 bolls, at do.		
			L. 1 8 2			49 16 0		
			Linen, 14 ells. at 7d.			Oats, 141 bolls, at do.—		
			Butter, 1 stone, at 6s. 8d.			Oatmeal, 20 bolls, at do.		
			—Yarn, 96 heers, at 1d.			L. 55 13 7		
			0 14 8			Poultry, 180, at 5d. each		
			L.163 12 11			3 15 0		
			18.— <i>Estate of William Douglas,</i>			L.122 19 5		
			<i>late of Glenbervy.</i>			22.— <i>Estate of the late Master of</i>		
			Money, rent payable in mo-			<i>Nairn.</i>		
			ney			Money, rent payable in mo-		
			L.20 0 0			ney		
			Wheat, 8 bolls, at 7s. per			L.41 2 9		
			boll			Barley, 19 bolls, 3 firloths,		
			2 16 0			at 6s. 11d. per boll		
			Barley, 64 bolls, at do—			6 16 7		
			Oats, 68 bolls, at do.			Oatmeal, 29 bolls, 1 firloft,		
			46 4 0			at do.		
			Oatmeal, 16 bolls, at do.			10 2 3		
			per boll—Capons, 12 at			Poultry, 111, at 5d. each		
			7d.			2 6 3		
			5 19 0			L.60 7 10		
			Hens, 24, at 5d. each—			23.— <i>Estate of Major Henry Bal-</i>		
			Poultry, 36, at 5d. each			<i>four, late of Dumboog.</i>		
			1 5 0			Barley, 195 bolls, 3 firloths,		
			L.76 4 0			at 7s. per boll		
			19.— <i>Estate of Sir John Preston,</i>			L.68 10 3		
			<i>late of Prestonhall.</i>			Wheat, 78 bolls, at do.—		
			Money, rent payable in mo-			Malt, 3 bolls, at do.		
			ney			28 7 0		
			L.68 3 6			Oats, 197 bolls at do.—		
			Barley and Oats, 459 bolls,			Hens, 134, at 5d. each		
			3 firloths, at 7s. per boll			71 14 10		
			160 13 0			Cocks, 16, at 4d. each—		
			Chickens, 24, at 2d. each,			Capons, 68, at 7d. each		
			Poultry, 104, at 5d. each			2 5 0		
			2 7 4			Poultry, 20, at 5d. each—		
			Straw, 4 thraves, at 4d. per			Ducks 3, at 7d. each		
			thrave—Swine, 1, at 11s.			0 10 1		
			0 12 4			L.171 7 2		
			L.231 16 2			24.— <i>Estate of the late Earl Mar-</i>		
			20.— <i>Estate of Alexander Menzies,</i>			<i>chal.</i>		
			<i>late of Woodend.</i>			Money, rent payable in mo-		
			Money, rent payable in mo-			ney		
			ney			L.622 4 7		
			L.65 4 9			Barley, 1072 bolls, 3 firloths,		
			Barley, 30 bolls, at 7s. per			2 pecks, at 7s. per boll		
			boll			375 8 4		
			10 10 0			Oatmeal, 1699 bolls, 3 fir-		
			Oatmeal, 13 bolls, 3 firloths,			lots, 3 lippies, at do. per		
			at do.			boll		
			4 16 2½			584 8 6		
			Capons, 6, at 7d. each—			Oats, 26 bolls, 2 firloths, 3		
			Poultry, 108, at 5d. each			pecks, ½ lippie, at do.		
			2 8 6			9 6 9½		
			Carriages, 6 loads coals, at			Wheat, 22 bolls, at do. per		
			8d. per load			boll		
			0 4 0			7 14 0		
			L.83 3 5½			Wethers, 64, at 5s. per		
			21.— <i>Estate of Colonel John Bal-</i>			wether—Lambs, 23, at		
			<i>four, late of Fairney.</i>			1s. 8d.		
			Money, rent payable in mo-			17 18 4		
			ney			Swine, 6, at 11s. 1d. each		
			L.36 16 8			—Eggs, 640, 1d. per		
						dozen		
						3 10 7		

Capons, 385, at 6d. each			
—Hens, 478, 8d. each	L.15	7	0
Chickens, 142, at 2d. each			
—Geese 24, at 1s. 1d.	2	9	8
Marts, 21, at 16s. 8d. each.			
—Peats, 37 leats, 6s. 8d.		29	16 8

L.1668 4 5½

25.—*Estate of John Carstairs, late of Kilconquhar.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.42	1	7
Barley, 467 bolls, 1 firloft, 2 pecks, 2 lippies, at 7s.	163	10	10
Oatmeal, 123 bolls at do. per boll	43	1	0
Oats, 71 bolls, 2 firlofts, 1 lippie, at do. per boll	25	0	7
Beans, 10 bolls, at do. per boll—Malt 12 bolls, at do.	7	14	0
Malt, 12 bolls, at do. per boll	4	4	0
Wethers, 2, 5s. each—Grazing, 20 Wethers, 6d. each	1	0	0
Capons, 34, at 7d. each—Hens, 134, at 5d. each	3	15	8
Poultry, 185, at 4d. each	3	1	8

L.293 9 4

26.—*Estate of the late Lord Nairn.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.671	7	3
Barley, 47 bolls at 7s. per boll	16	9	0
Meal, 89 bolls, 3 lip. at do. per boll	31	3	3
Wethers, 19, at 5s. per wether	4	15	0
Capons, 128, at 7d. each	3	14	8
Poultry, 512, at 5d. each—Swine, 5, at 11s. each	13	8	4

L. 740 17 6

27.—*Estate of Sir David Threpland, late of Fingask.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.147	1	4
Barley, 144 bolls, at 7s. per boll	50	8	0

Oatmeal, 320 bolls, at do. per boll—Oats, 10 bolls at do.	L.115	10	0
Wheat, 48 bolls, at do.—Pease, 21 bolls, at do.	24	3	0
Yarn, 20 sps. 1 heap. 3 heers, at 2s. per sp.	2	0	9
Geese, 79 at 1s. each—Capons, 77, at 7d. each	6	3	11
Hens, 33, at 5d. each—Poultry, 508, at 4d. each	9	3	1
Chickens, 20, at 2d. each—Straw, 21 thraves, at 4d.	0	10	4

L.355 0 5

28.—*Estate of John Hay, late of Cromlix.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.274	2	7
Barley 224 bolls, 1 peck, 3 lippies, at 7s. per boll	78	8	8
Oats, 26 bolls, at do. per boll	9	2	0
Oatmeal, 75 bolls, 2 fir. at do. per boll	26	8	6
Hens, 16, at 5d. each—Poultry, 318, at 4d. each	5	12	8
Geese, 34, at 1s. 1d.—Capons, 41, at 7d. each	3	0	9
Straw, 69 thraves, at 4d. per thrave	1	3	0
Ditto, 24 turses, at 1s. 1d. per turse	1	6	0
Peats, 979 loads, at 8d. per dozen loads	2	14	4
Butter, 62 stone, at 4s. 5d. per stone—Cheese, 1, at 2s. 8d.	13	6	6

L.415 5 0

29.—*Estate of William, late Earl of Nithsdale.*

Money, rent payable in money	L.749	10	10
Barley. 16 bolls 2 firlofts, Nithsdale meas. about 44 bolls ordinary measure, 10s. 5d. per boll	22	18	4
Oatmeal, 18 bolls, 1 peck, 2 lippies, Nithsdale measure, 41 bolls, 2 pecks, ordinary measure, at do. per boll	20	8	5

APPENDIX.

Shearers, 4, at 10s. each— Shear dirgs, 4, at 5d. each L.2 1 8	37.— <i>Estate of Robert, late Earl of</i> <i>Carnwath.</i>	APPENDIX.
Straw, 115 thraves, at 4d. per thrave 1 18 4	Money, rent payable in money L.783 5 2	
L.700 12 3	Oatmeal, 15 bolls, 1 peck, 3 lippies, at L.1, 8s. 8d. per boll 21 15 2	
34.— <i>Estate of John Walkinshaw,</i> <i>late of Scotstown.</i>	Multure Shill, 16 bolls, 2 firlots, 1 peck, 3 lippies, at L.2, 17s. 4d. per boll 47 12 8	
Money, rent payable in money L.109 3 4	Horse corn, 1 boll, 2 firlots, at L.1, 8s. 6d. 2 5 0	
Capons, 6, at 8d. each— Hens, 43, at 5d. each 1 1 11	Peats, 195 loads, at 1d. per load 0 16 3	
L.110 5 3	Hens, 33, at 5d. each— Fowls, 450, at 4d. each 8 3 9	
35.— <i>Estate of William Graham,</i> <i>late of Duntroon.</i>	Poultry, 42, at 4d. each 0 14 0	
Money, rent payable in mon- ney L.39 8 4	L.864 12 0	
Barley, 20 bolls, at 7s. per boll 7 0 0	38.— <i>Estate of Mr. Basil Hamilton,</i> <i>late of Baldoon.</i>	
Oatmeal, 20 bolls, at do.— Yarn, 4 sps. at 2s. per sp. 7 8 0	Money, rent payable in money L.1225 12 8	
Capons, 12, at 6d. each— Hens, 12, at 4d. each 0 10 0	Barley, 127 bolls, 2 firlots, 2 pecks, at 13s. 10d. per boll 88 5 4	
L.54 6 4	Malt, 2 bolls, at do. per boll 1 7 8	
36.— <i>Estate of William Grier, jun.</i> <i>late of Lagg.</i>	Oats, 244 bolls, 1 firlot, at do. 168 18 1	
Money, rent payable in money L.424 15 0	Capons, 138, at 8d. each —Hens, 12, at 8d. each 4 17 0	
	Chickens, 636, at 2d. each 5 6 0	
	Tallow, 1 stone, at 0 4 5	
	L.1494 11 2	

Sum of the foregoing Articles.

1. Wintoun L.3393 10 5	16. Bowhill L.27 16 4
2. Southesque 3271 10 0	17. Lathrisk 163 12 11
3. Linlithgow 1238 0 0	18. Glenbervy 76 4 0
4. Keir 900 17 5	19. Preston-hall 231 16 2
5. Panmure 3437 3 0	20. Woodend 83 3 5
6. Wedderburn 213 0 1	21. Fairny 122 19 5
7. Ayton 323 10 4	22. Master of Nairn 60 7 10
8. Kilsyth 864 19 6	23. Dunboog 171 7 2
9. Bannockburn 412 12 7	24. Earl Marischall 1668 4 5
10. East Reston 137 9 10	25. Kilconquhar 293 9 4
11. Marr 1184 9 5	26. Lord Nairn 740 17 6
12. Invernitie 361 12 2	27. Fingask 355 0 5
13. Auchintowl 345 17 3	28. Cromlix 415 5 0
14. Powhouse 1216 9 7	29. Nithsdale 803 2 8
15. Nuthill 73 1 2	30. Inneray 281 15 6

APPENDIX.	31. Kenmure	.	L.600	9	10	36. Legg	:	L.424	15	0
	32. Drummond	.	2566	3	1	37. Carruth	.	864	12	0
	33. Burleigh	.	700	12	3	38. Baldoon	.	1494	11	1
	34. Scotstown	.	110	5	3					
	35. Duntroon	.	54	6	4			L.22,684	19	9

No. III.

*Extract from a Memorial on the state of the Highlands, by
DUNCAN FORBES, President of the Court of Session.*

THE memorial begins with Argyleshire, "the country of the Campbells."

"*Campbells*.—In Gaelic they are called Clan Guin, or O Duina. The Duke of Argyle is their chief. He is called in the Highlands Macaillain Mor. On his own property, and on his kinsmen's lands, he can raise above 3000 men! the earl of Breadalbane, more than 1000; and the barons of the names of Campbell, Ardkinglass, Auchinbrek, Lochell, Inneraw, and others, 1000; so that this clan could bring into the field above 5000 men, besides those barons and gentlemen of the name in Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perthshire, and the Laird of Calder in Nairn. They are at present the richest and most numerous clan in Scotland; their countries and bounds most extensive; their superiorities, jurisdictions, and other dependencies, by far the greatest in the kingdom, which makes the family of the greatest importance in North Britain, and has been so since the decline of the Douglasses, the total fall of the Cummins, the extinction of the earl of Ross's family, and of the Macdonalds of the isles.

"*Maclean*.—In Gaelic called Clan Lein. Sir Hector Maclean of Douart is their chief. He is called in the highlands Macil-Lein. This was a very potent clan 200 years ago, and could have raised 800 men; but now that the Campbells are possessed of their chief's estate, they will hardly make 500, and even many of that number must be brought out of the duke of Argyle's estate.

"*Maciachlan*.—In Gaelic called Clan Lachlan. The laird of Maciachlan is their chief. He can raise 300 men.

"*Stewart of Appin*.—The laird of Appin is their chieftain. He holds his lands of the crown, and can raise 300 followers.

"*Macdougall of Lorn*.—In Gaelic called Clanvickuil. Their chief is the laird of Macdougall. He is called in the highlands Mackuil Laurin. This was a more potent family of old, but is now much diminished by the Campbells; they can still (I believe) bring out 200 men.

"*Macdonalds of Sleate*.—Proceeding northward by the coast and inles, we come to the Macdonalds. Sir Alexander Macdonald is their chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac Connel nan Eilan, simply by

pre-eminence; he has a very large estate which he holds of the crown. It lies in the isles of Skye and Uist. He can bring out 700 men.

APPENDIX.

"*Macdonald of Clanranald*.—In Gaelic this chieftain is called Mack-vic Allian, and in English captain of Clanranald. He has a very handsome estate, holding most of it from the crown. It lies in Moidart and Arisaig on the continent, and in the isles of Uist, Benbecula, and Rum. He can bring out 700 men.

"*Macdonell of Glengarry*.—The laird of Glengarry is their chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac vic Allistair. He has a good estate, which he holds of the crown. It lies in Glengarry and Knoidart. He can bring out 500 men.

"*Macdonell of Keppoch*.—Keppoch is their chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac vic Raonuill. He is not proprietor of one ridge of land, but himself, kindred, and followers, are only tacksmen and tenants, holding the most of their possessions from the laird of Macintosh, and the rest from the duke of Gordon, all being in Lochaber. He can raise and bring out 300 followers.

"*Macdonald of Glenco*.—The laird of Glenco is their chieftain. In Gaelic he is called Mac vic Ian. He holds his lands of Stewart of Appin, and can raise 150 men.

"These five chieftains of the Macdonalds all claim a lineal descent from Alexander Macdonald, earl of Ross, successor and representative of the Macdonalds of the isles; but none of them have any clear document to vouch the same, so that that great and aspiring family, who waged frequent wars with our Scotch kings, and who acted as sovereigns themselves, and obliged most of the clans to swear fealty to them, is now utterly extinct. The last earl of Ross had no sons, nor any near male relation to succeed him.

"*Cameron*.—A very potent clan in Lochaber. The laird of Lochiel, called in Gaelic Maconnell Dui, is their chief. He has a good estate, but none of it holds of the crown; the most of it holds of the duke of Argyre, and the rest of the duke of Gordon. He can bring out 800 men. Of old there were several tribes in that country, viz. Macmartin of Letterfinlay, and others, branches of the Camerons, who faithfully followed their chief.

"*Macleods*.—Were two distinct and very potent families of old, viz. Macleod of Lewis, and Macleod of Harris, but they are both utterly extinct, and their lands possessed by the Mackenzies. The present laird of Macleod is chief of the name. He is called in Gaelic, Macleod. He has a very considerable estate, all holden of the crown, lying in Glenelg, on the continent, and in the isle of Skye. He can bring out 700 men.

"*Mackinnons*.—The laird of Mackinnon is their chief; he holds his lands of the crown, both in the isles of Skye and Mull, and can raise 200 men.

"I again pass to the south to give an account of the inland chiefs, beginning again in Argyreshire, and proceeding from thence northward. There are several persons of rank, as well as gentlemen, who are chieftains, and who have the command of many highlanders in Argyre, Monteth, Dumbarton, Stirling, and Perth shires; such as the Duke of Mon-

APPENDIX. trose, the earls of Murray and Bute, also the Macfarlanes, Macneil of Barra, Macnab of Macnab, Buchanans and Colquhouns of Luss, Macnaughtons, Lamont of Lamont, &c. They can raise among them 5,400 men. Besides these, there are several border families, those of Kilraick, Brodie of Brodie, Innes of Innes, Irvine of Drum, Lord Forbes, and the earl of Airley, all of whom are loyal, except the Ogilvies. Few or none of them have any followers, except lord Airley, from his highland estate.

"Duke of Perth."—Is no clan family, although the duke is chief of a considerable number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Drummond in the low country. He is brought in here alienarily on account of his command of about 300 highlanders in Glenartnie and other glens in the county of Perth.

"Robertsons."—The laird of Strowan is their chief. They are called in Gaelic, Clan Donachie. His lands hold of the crown, and lie in Rannoch, and in the Braes of Athole in Perthshire. On his own estate he can raise about 200 men. There are 500 men more of the Robertsons in Athole who never follow their chief, being part of the followers of the duke of Athole.

"Menzies."—Sir Robert Menzies of Weem is their chief. In Gaelic he is called Menairich. He has a very handsome estate, all holding of the crown, lying in Rannoch, and Appin Dull in Athole, and can raise 300 men.

"Stewart of Grandtully."—Has a handsome estate in Strathbrane and Strathay in Athole, all holding of the crown, out of which he can raise 300 followers.

"Clan Gregor."—This name was called down by act of parliament. They are now dispersed under the different names of Drummond, Murray, Graham, and Campbell, and live in the counties of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, &c. &c. They have no present chief, that being elective, and continuing no longer than the current expedition. He is chosen on the principle of *detur digniori*. They can raise among them 700 men.

"Duke of Atholl."—The Murrays is no clan family, though the duke of Atholl is chief, and head of a number of barons and gentlemen of the name of Murray in the lowlands; but he is deservedly placed here on account of his extensive following of about 3000 highlanders, a good many of them out of his own property, but most of them from the estates of the barons and gentlemen who hold their land of him on account of his great superiorities in Athole, Glenalmond, and Balquidder. The most numerous of these, and the readiest to turn out on all occasions, are the Stewarts of Athole, in number more than 1000 men, as also 500 Robertsons, who do not follow their chief; likewise the Fergusons, Smalls, Spaldings, Rattrays, Mackintoshes in Athole, and Macfarlens in Balquidder, with other broken names in Athole, are all followers of the duke of Atholl.

"Crossing the Grampian mountains to Brae Mar.

"Farquharsons."—The only clan family in Aberdeenshire. In Gaelic called Clan Iaula. They can bring out about 500 men. The laird of

Invercauld is their chief. He has a very handsome estate holden of the crown, both in Perthshire and Brae Mar. There are several other barons of the name that have competent fortunes, such as Monaltrie, Inverey, Finzean, &c. APPENDIX

"Duke of Gordon."—The Gordons is no clan family, although the duke is chief of a very powerful name in the lowlands. He has a great posse of cavalry, and gentlemen on horseback in Enzie and Strathbogie, but he is only placed here on account of his highland followings in Strathavon and Glenlivet, which are about 300 men; his extensive jurisdictions and superiorities in the centre highlands, viz. Badenoch, Lochaber, and Strathspey, do not yield him any followers. The tenants on his own property, as well as those who hold their lands of him in feu, follow their natural-born chief, of whom they are descended, and pay no regard either to the master or superior of their lands. Thus the Camerons follow Lochiel, the Macphersons follow Clunie, and other chiefs are followed and obeyed in the same manner from respect, family attachment, and consanguinity.

"Grant."—A considerable name and family in Strathspey. The laird of Grant is their chief. He has a handsome and large estate both in Strathspey and Urquhart, in the county of Inverness, all holden of the crown, except Abernethy, which he holds of the earl of Moray. He can raise out of Strathspey 700 men, and out of Urquhart 150. He has several barons of his name both in Inverness, Moray, Banff, and Aberdeen shires, such as Dalvey, Ballandalloch, Rothiemurcus, Cullen, &c.

"Mackintoshes."—This was one of the most potent clans in Scotland when their residence was at Tor Castle in Lochaber, the ancient seat of their family (of which country they are still heritable stewards), but the Camerons having purchased the said estate, their power is much diminished. The laird of Mackintosh is their chief; in Gaelic he is called Mackintoshach, and in English Captain of Clan Chattan. He can bring out 800 men, including the small neighbouring clans of Macgillivray, Macqueen, Macbean, &c. who all own themselves his kinsmen. His countries are Brae Lochaber, Badenoch, and Strathnearn, in Inverness-shire. He still retains a very competent estate. He holds Brae Lochaber, Moy, and Largs, of the crown, Badenoch of the duke of Gordon, and most of his kinsmen hold Strathnearn of the earl of Moray.

"Macphersons."—Called in Gaelic Clan Vurrich. Their chief is the laird of Clunie. He can raise 400 men. His whole lands, and all his kinsmen's lands, hold of the duke of Gordon, and lie in Badenoch.

"Fraser."—Are a considerable clan in the countries of Aird and Stratherrig, in Inverness-shire. Their chief is Lord Lovat; in Gaelic he is called Macimmie. He has a large estate held of the crown; and can raise 900 men. He has a good number of barons of his name in Inverness and Aberdeen shires.

"Grant of Glenmoriston."—Is chieftain of a branch of the Grants, but does not follow his chief. He brings out 150 men. In Gaelic he is called Macphadrick. His lands hold of the crown. In armaments he frequently joins with the laird of Glengarry.

"Macraes.—Sir Henry Macrae of Rowallan is their chief. He holds of the crown. He can raise 300 men.

"Rosses.—Lord Ross is their chief. His lands hold of the crown. He can raise 500 men.

"Sutherlands.—The earl of Sutherland is their chief. His lands hold of the crown. He can raise 3000 men.

"Mackays.—The Lord Reay is their chief. He is a Macrae. His estate holds of the crown, and brings out 300 men.

"Sinclairs.—The earl of Caithness is their chief. He is a Gaelic, Morar Gallu. He could raise 1000 men, but many of them are now under May, Dunbeath, Ulbster, Freewick, &c. &c.

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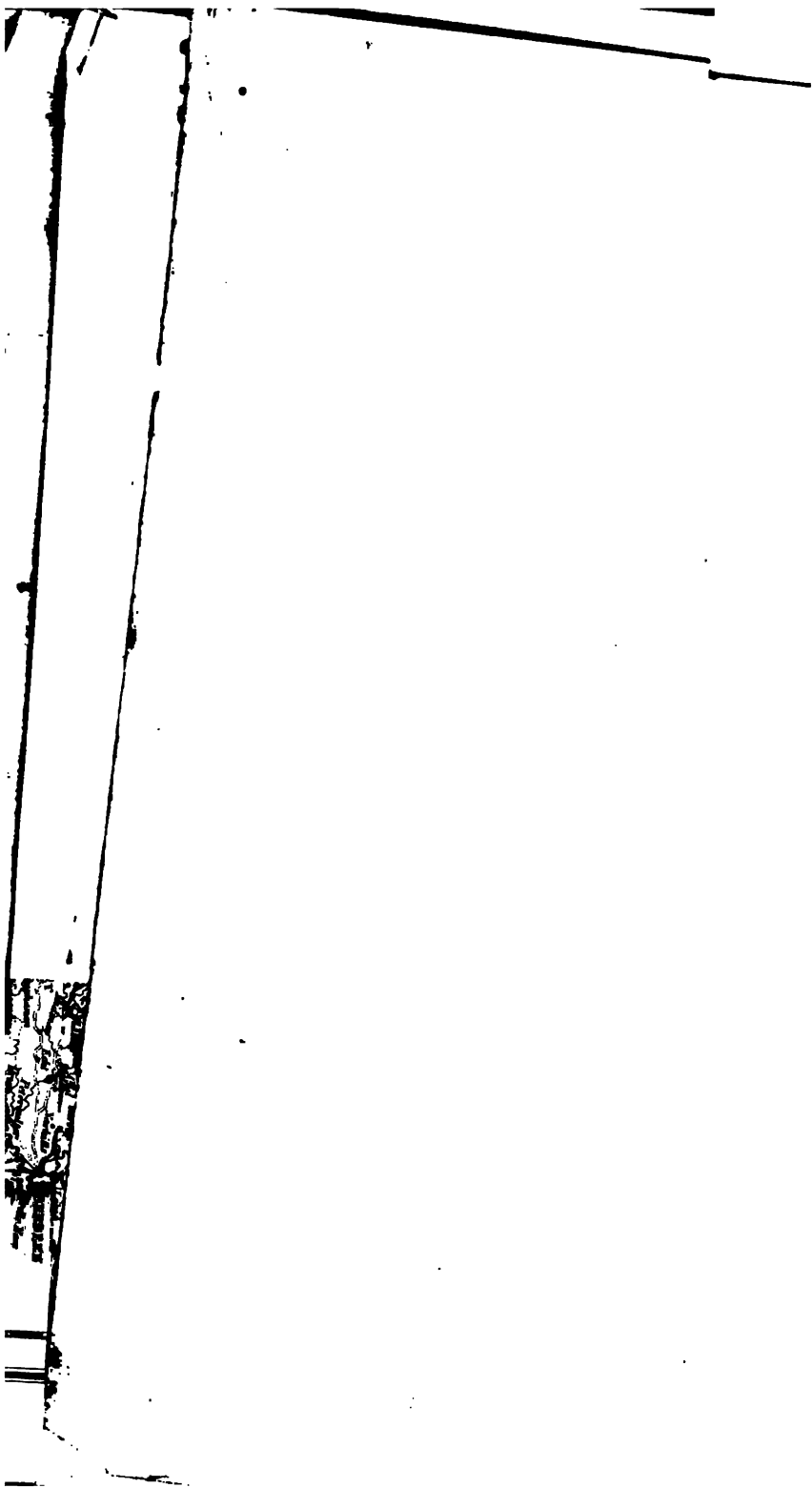
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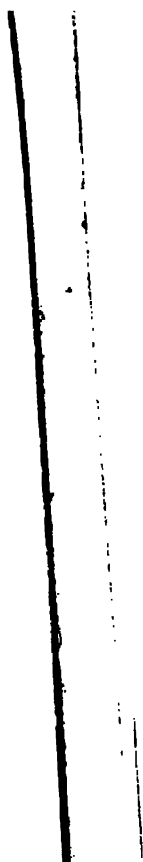
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